

Labor Omnia Vincit

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
THIRTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL
CONVENTION
OF
THE AMERICAN
FEDERATION OF LABOR



HELD AT ST. PAUL, MINN.
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1918



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PHYSICS DEPARTMENT

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LECTURE NOTES

BY

OFFICERS

OF THE

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

1918-1919

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	<i>Secretary,</i>	
FRANK MORRISON	- - - - -	- Washington, D. C.

DELEGATES

TO THE

Thirty-Eighth Annual Convention

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Asbestos Workers, International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators	1	16	Joseph A. Mullaney, 15 11th Street, Elmhurst, L. I.
		68	A. A. Myrup, 310 Bush Temple of Music, Chicago, Ill.
Bakery and Confectionery Workers, International Union of America.....	3	68	Peter Beisel, New Club Hall, 13th and Chouteau Ave., St. Louis, Mo.
		68	R. C. Schneider, 29 Oakland St., Salem, Mass.
		77	Frank X. Noschang, 222 E. Michigan Street, Indianapolis, Indiana.
		77	Jacob Fischer, 222 E. Michigan Street, Indianapolis, Ind.
Barbers' International Union, Journeymen.....	5	77	Jas. C. Shanessy, 222 Michigan Street, Indianapolis, Ind.
		77	C. M. Feider, Labor Temple, Los Angeles, Cal.
		76	C. F. Foley, 420 N. Second St., Pottsville, Pa.
		16	Thomas Noonan, 2 Elton St., Dorchester, Mass.
Bill Posters and Billers of America, International Alliance.....	1	61	James W. Kline, 1235 Transportation Bldg., 608 S. Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill.
		61	Wm. F. Kramer, 1235 Transportation Bldg., 608 S. Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.
Blacksmiths, International Brotherhood of.....	3	61	W. G. Powlesland, 250 Beatrice St., Toronto, Ont., Canaga.
		111	J. A. Franklin, Rooms 1 & 2, Law Building, Kansas City, Kans.
		111	Louis Weyand, Rooms 1 & 2, Law Bldg., Kansas City, Kans.
		111	Chas. F. Scott, 417 Heed Bldg., Philadelphia, Pa.
Boilermakers and Iron Ship Builders of America, Brotherhood of.....	5	111	Chas. MacGowan, 2104 3d Ave., Rock Island, Ill.
		111	Dan McKillop, 214 Jefferson St., Seattle, Wash.
		73	A. P. Sovey, 222 E. Michigan St., Indianapolis, Indiana.
		72	Walter N. Reddick, 222 East Michigan St., Indianapolis, Indiana.
Bookbinders, International Brotherhood of.....	2	72	Collis Lovely, 246 Summer St., Boston, Mass.
		72	Chas. L. Baine, 246 Summer St., Boston, Mass.
		72	John F. Grant, 65 Battles St., Brockton, Mass.
Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.....	5	71	Mary Noonan, 1827 Bacon St., St. Louis, Mo.
		71	Frederick C. Schmidt, 938 Bank St., Cincinnati, Ohio.

VI DELEGATES TO THE THIRTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL CONVENTION

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Brewery and Soft Drink Workers of America, International Union of the United.....	5	90	John Sullivan, 25 Thrd Ave., New York N. Y.
		90	Albert J. Kugler, 167 Bergen Ave., Jersey City, N. J.
		90	Joseph Proebstle, 2347 Vine St., Cincinnati, Ohio.
		90	Joseph Oberfell, 2347 Vine St., Cincinnati, Ohio.
		90	John Rader, 2347 Vine St., Cincinnati, Ohio.
		117	Wm. J. Bowen, University Park Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.
Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union of America.....	6	117	Thos. R. Preece, University Park Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.
		117	Wm. Dobson, University Park Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.
		117	Malcolm Geddes, 328 Van Buren St., St. Paul, Minn.
		117	John J. Corcoran, 358 So. Hamlin Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Brick and Clay Workers' of America, the United.....	1	116	Walter V. Price, 174 St. Nicholas Ave., New York, N. Y.
		25	Frank Butterworth, 166 W. Washington St., Suite 700, Chicago, Ill.
Bridge and Structural Iron Workers' International Association.....	4	40	J. E. McClory, 304 American Central Life Bldg., Indianapolis, Indiana.
		40	Sam Tobin, 304 American Central Life Bldg., Indianapolis, Indiana.
		40	P. J. Morrin, 304 American Central Life Bldg., Indianapolis, Indiana.
Broom and Whisk Makers' Union, International.....	1	40	F. M. Ryan, 304 American Central Life Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.
		7	Will R. Boyer, 851 King Place, Chicago, Ill.
Carmen of America, Brotherhood of Railway.....	5	107	Marvin F. Ryan, 503 Hall Bldg., Kansas City, Mo.
		107	Fred Schnorr, 503 Hall Bldg., Kansas City, Mo.
		107	Venner Anderson, 503 Hall Bldg., Kansas City, Mo.
		107	O. J. Shoemaker, Box No. 526, Wichita Falls, Texas.
		106	Theodore Thompson, Route 4, Box No. 37, Fort Worth, Texas.
Carpenters and Joiners of America, United Brotherhood of.....	8	335	Wm. L. Hutcheson, Carpenters' Bldg., 222 E. Michigan St., Indianapolis, Ind.
		334	Frank Duffy, Carpenters' Bldg., 222 E. Michigan St., Indianapolis, Ind.
		334	O. E. Woodbury, 443 East 43d St., Chicago, Ill.
		334	T. M. Guerin, 290 Second Ave., Troy, N. Y.
		334	E. W. Van Duyen, 517 Franklin Ave., Des Moines, Iowa.
		334	Bob White, 1002 West 21st St., Oklahoma City, Okla.
		334	J. A. Ross, 813 Oakwood St., Pittsburgh, Pa.
		334	P. H. McCarthy, Merchants Bank Building, San Francisco, Cal.
Oligarmakers' International Union of America.....	5	79	G. W. Perkins, 440 S. Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.
		79	Samuel Gompers, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
		79	J. Mahlon Barnes, 355 N. Tenth St., Philadelphia, Pa.
		79	W. A. Campbell, Care of G. W. Perkins, 440 S. Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.
		79	R. S. Sexton, Care of G. W. Perkins, 440 S. Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Clerks, Brotherhood of Railway.....	4	43	James J. Forrester, Room 407 A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
		43	Rose Yates, 30 Belmont St., Worcester, Mass.
		43	Fred W. Smith, 637 Simpson Ave., St. Paul, Minn.
		43	H. C. Reeves, Northern Pacific R. R. Office, Minneapolis, Minn.
Clerks' International Protective Association, Retail.....	3	50	E. E. Baker, 132 E. St. Clair St., New Philadelphia, Ohio.
		50	H. J. Conway, Lock Drawer 248, Lafayette, Indiana.
		50	W. G. Desepete, 2940 16th St., San Francisco, Cal.
Coopers' International Union of N. A.	2	20	Andrew C. Hughes, 1012 Boylston St., Newton Highlands, Mass.
		20	James J. Doyle, 615 South St., Rosindale, Mass.
Diamond Workers' Protective Union of America.....	1	4	Andries Meyer, 323 Washington St., Brooklyn, N. Y.
		109	Jas. P. Noonan, 408 Reisch Bldg., Springfield, Ill.
		109	Martin T. Joyce, 427 Old South Bldg., Boston, Mass.
		109	Jas. I. McAndrews, 175 W. Washington St., Chicago, Ill.
Electrical Workers of America, International Brotherhood of.....	5	109	Frank Fisher, 122 1/2 Capitol St., Charleston, W. Va.
		108	C. E. Brissman, 75 W. 7th Street, St. Paul, Minn.
		30	Frank Feeney, 708 S. 52d St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Elevator Constructors, International Union of.....	1	79	William S. Brown, 356 Ellicott Sq. Bldg., Buffalo, N. Y.
		58	Milton Snellings, 6334 Yale Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Engineers' Beneficial Association of the U. S. of A., National Marine.....	1	58	Jas. G. Hannahan, 6334 Yale Ave., Chicago, Ill.
		57	Herman M. Comerford, 696 Washington St., Boston, Mass.
		57	E. L. Edgerton, 212 Post-Standard Bldg., Syracuse, N. Y.
		26	Matthew Woll, 6111 Bishop St., Chicago, Ill.
Engineers, International Union of Steam and Operating.....	4	25	Peter J. Brady, 923 Pulitzer Bldg., New York, N. Y.
		37	E. J. Newmyer, 409 A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
		36	Luther C. Steward, 4015 Chestnut Ave., Kansas City, Mo.
Federal Employes, National Federation of.....	3	36	Chas. F. Nagl, 480 Federal Bldg., Chicago, Ill.
		12	Thomas G. Spellacy, 546 Brandywine Ave., Schenectady, N. Y.
Fire Fighters, International Association of.....	2	11	Owen C. Dunn, Fire Headquarters, St. Paul, Minn.
		43	Timothy Healy, 211 East 45th Street, New York, N. Y.
Firemen, International Brotherhood of Stationary.....	4	43	C. L. Shamp, 3615 No. 24th St., Omaha, Nebr.
		43	Joseph W. Morton, 156 W. Washington St., Chicago, Ill.
		42	William J. Brennan, 66 So. Orange Ave., Newark, N. J.
Foundry Employes, National Brotherhood of.....	1	33	A. R. Linn, 810 Chestnut St., St. Louis, Mo.

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Fur Workers' Union of U. S. and Canada, International.....	2	50	Phillip A. Silberstein, 291 Stockton St., Brooklyn, N. Y.
		50	Morris Kaufman, 747 E. 182d St. Bronx, N. Y.
		92	T. A. Rickert Morrison Hotel, Chicago, Ill.
		92	B. A. Larger, Room 117 Bible House, New York, N. Y.
Garment Workers of America, United	5	92	John J. Manning, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
		92	Margaret C. Daley, Room 117 Bible House, New York, N. Y.
		91	Frank Doyle, Room 117 Bible House, New York, N. Y.
		150	Benjamin Schlesinger, 31 Union Square, New York City.
		149	Jacob Heller, 117 2d Ave., New York, N. Y.
Garment Workers' Union, International Ladies.....	6	149	Max Gorenstein, 7 W. 21st St., New York, N. Y.
		149	Al Laporta, Lincoln Park, New Jersey.
		149	M. Friedman, 16 W. 21st St., New York, N. Y.
		149	I. Feinberg, 40 E. 23rd St., New York City.
Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the U. S. and Canada.....	3	34	John A. Voll, 1005-8 Colonial Trust Bldg., Philadelphia, Pa.
		33	John W. Clifton, 201 W. Grant St., Streator, Ill.
		33	Thomas W. Eames, 517 N. Second St., Millville, N. J.
		33	Wm. P. Clarke, 738 Ohio Bldg., Toledo, Ohio.
Glass Workers' Union, American Fin.	3	33	John F. Kennedy, 212 N. Henry St., Brooklyn, N. Y.
		33	John B. O'Brien, N. Myrtle Ave., Vineland, N. J.
Window Glass Workers, National.....	2	4	J. M. Neenan, 419 Electric Bldg., Cleveland, Ohio.
Glove Workers' Union of America, International.....	1	3	J. G. Montross, Utica, Ohio.
		7	Agnes Nestor, 139 North Clark Street, Chicago, Ill.
Granite Cutters' International Association of America, The.....	3	40	James Duncan, 25 School St., Quincy, Mass.
		40	Alexander W. Russell, 21 Gilmore St., Quincy, Mass.
		39	Joseph D. Will, 356 N. Main St., Barre, Vt.
		31	Martin Lawlor, 72 Bible House, New York City.
Hatters of North America, United.....	3	30	Cornelius F. McCue, 251 Main St., Danbury, Conn.
		30	Richard M. Humphrey, 989 Lafayette Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.
		74	D. D'Alessandro, 25 School St., Quincy, Mass.
Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America, International.....	5	74	J. B. Etchison, 120 North Noble Street, Indianapolis, Ind.
		73	J. V. Moreschl, 1055 North Richmond Street, Chicago, Illinois.
		73	John Carley, 310 Prospect Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.
		73	W. F. Dwyer, 200 Guerrero St., San Francisco, Cal.
Horse Shoers of U. S. and Canada, International Union of Journeymen.....	2	27	John T. Kane, 4430 W. Jackson Blvd., Chicago, Ill.
		27	Hubert S. Marshall 707 Second National Bank Bldg., Cincinnati, Ohio.

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Hotel and Restaurant Employes' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America.....	5	131	Edward Flore, 375 Oak Street, Buffalo, N. Y.
		131	Jere L. Sullivan, 610 Commercial Tribune Bldg., Cincinnati, Ohio.
		130	Thomas S. Farrell, 1936 E. 83rd St., Suite 6, Cleveland, Ohio.
		130	Emanuel Koveleski, 104 Reynolds Arcade, Rochester, N. Y.
Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, Amalgamated Association of.....	2	130	John J. McDevitt, 926 N. Broad St., Philadelphia, Pa.
		81	John Williams, Room 506 House Bldg., Pittsburgh, Pa.
Lace Operatives of America, The Chartered Society of Amalgamated	1	80	John J. Sullivan, 913 144th St., E Chicago, Ind.
Lathers, International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal.....	2	12	David L. Gould, 545 West Lehigh Ave., Philadelphia, Pa.
		30	William J. McSorley, 401 Superior Bldg., Cleveland, Ohio.
Laundry Workers' International Union	1	30	Joseph H. Duty, Room 5, Labor Temple, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Leather Workers, United, International Union.....	1	55	James F. Brock, P. O. Box 11, Station 1, Troy, N. Y.
Letter Carriers, National Association of.....	4	41	W. E. Bryan, 504 Postal Bldg., Kansas City, Mo.
		77	Edward J. Gainor, Kenois Bldg., Washington, D. C.
		76	John T. Mugavin, 3114 Woodburn Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio.
		76	Charles D. Duffy, 834 Elmwood Ave., Oak Park, Ill.
Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Assn. of the U. S. and Canada.....	2	76	L. E. Swartz, 1200 Seventh ave., North Nashville, Tenn.
		25	Philip Bock, 499 Chestnut St., Brooklyn, N. Y.
		24	Leopold Buxbaum, 5021 Indiana ave., Chicago, Ill.
		65	Thomas V. O'Connor, 704 Brisbane Building, Buffalo, N. Y.
Longshoremen's Association, International.....	4	65	Thomas P. Woodland, 2908 Fourth St., New Orleans, La.
		65	George F. Freitas, 217 Lawrence St., Sandusky, Ohio.
		65	Simon P. O'Brien, 281 Cumberland Ave., Buffalo, N. Y.
		240	Wm. H. Johnston, Room 300 A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
Machinists, International Association of.....	6	240	A. O. Wharton, Ohio Bldg., St. Louis, Mo.
		239	Jas. O'Connell, Room 402 A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
		239	Thos. J. Savage, Room 310 A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
		239	Jas. A. Taylor, Labor Temple, Seattle, Wash.
Maintenance of Way Employes, International Brotherhood of.....	2	239	Thos. Van Lear, Minneapolis, Minn.
		28	F. H. Fljozdal, 57 Pearl St., Winnipeg, Man., Canada.
		28	F. Finnsen, 27 Putnam Ave., Detroit, Mich.
Marble, Slate and Stone Polishers, Rubbers and Sawyers, Intl. Association of.....	1	10	Stephen C. Hogan, 446 E. 149th Street, New York, N. Y.
Masters, Mates and Pilots, American Association of.....	1	48	John H. Pruett, 423 1/2 49th St., Brooklyn, N. Y.

DELEGATES TO THE THIRTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL CONVENTION

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of N. A., Amalgamated.....	4	73	John F. Hart, Yorkville, N. Y.
		73	Dennis Lane, 166 W. Washington St., Chicago, Ill.
		73	Fred Schmidt, 4146 Osceola St., St. Louis, Mo.
		46	Timothy McCreash, 653 Kansas Ave., Kansas City, Kans.
Metal Workers' International Alliance, Amalgamated Sheet.....	4	46	John J. Hynes, 407 Nelson Bldg., Kansas City, Mo.
		46	Thos. Redding, 5019 Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill.
		46	Jas. T. Moriarty, 9 Appleton St., Boston, Mass.
		45	Jas. J. Ryan, 522 South Halsted St. Chicago, Ill.
Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, International Union of.....	4	42	Chas. H. Moyer, 509 Denham Bldg., Denver, Colo.
		42	Wm. Davidson, New Denver, B. C., Canada.
		42	Patrick Deloughery, care of Box 229, Butte, Mont.
		41	Joseph D. Cannon, 143 West 81st St., New York, N. Y.
		517	Frank J. Hayes, 1106 Merchants Bank Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.
		517	John P. White, 1109 Merchants Bank Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.
Mine Workers of America, United.....	8	517	William Green, 1107 Merchants Bank Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.
		517	John H. Walker, 302 Workman Bldg., Springfield, Ill.
		517	Frank Farrington, 508 Farmers' Bank Bldg., Springfield, Ill.
		517	John Moore, 77 Ruggery Bldg., Columbus, Ohio.
		516	John L. Lewis, 1109 Merchants' Bank Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.
		516	John T. Dempsey, 512 Miller Bldg., Scranton, Pa.
Molders' Union of N. A., International	5	100	Jos. F. Valentine, Commercial Tribune Bldg., Cincinnati, Ohio.
		100	John P. Frey, Box No. 699, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		100	Daniel Regan, Sunnyvale, Cal.
		100	Arthur Burns, Labor Temple, Portland, Oreg.
Musicians, American Federation of....	4	100	J. W. Mara, 130 Endicott St., Worcester, Mass.
		163	Jos. N. Weber, 110-112 W. 40th Street, New York, N. Y.
		163	Owen Miller, 3535 Pine St., St. Louis, Mo.
		182	Jos. F. Winkler, 3516 Lucky Street, St. Louis, Mo.
Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of A., Brotherhood of.....	6	62	D. A. Carey, 170 Montrose Ave., Toronto, Ont., Canada.
		141	Geo. F. Hedrick, Drawer 99, Lafayette, Ind.
		141	J. C. Skemp, Drawer 99, Lafayette, Ind.
		141	P. J. Guerin, 318 4th St., Troy, N. Y.
		141	A. J. McKeon, Box No. 571, Bridgeport, Conn.
		141	John J. Lynch, 23a Gove St., Medford, Hillside, Mass.
Paper Makers, International Brotherhood of.....	2	140	A. Avins, 138-40 E. 112th St., New York, N. Y.
		30	J. T. Carey, 127 North Pearl St., Albany, N. Y.
		30	Geo. J. Schneider, 941 State Street, Appleton, Wis.

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Pattern Makers' League of North America.....	2	44 44	Jas. A. Wilson, Rooms 1008-9 Second National Bank Bldg., Cincinnati, Ohio. Jas. L. Gernon, 411 Albemarle Road, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Pavers, Rammermen, Flag Layers, Bridge and Stone Curb Setters, International Union of.....	1	17	Edward I. Hannah, 249 E. 57th Street, New York, N. Y.
Paving Cutters' Union of the United States of America and Canada.....	1	32	Carl Bergstrom, Box No. 27, Albion, N. Y.
Piano and Organ Workers' Union of America, Intl.....	1	20	Chas. Dold, 166 W. Washington St., Room 610, Chicago, Ill.
Plasterers' International Association of the U. S. and Canada, Operative.....	4	48	Ed. J. McGivern, Castell Bldg., Middletown, Ohio.
		48	John Donlin, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
		47	Chris Hede, 908 W. Monroe St., Chicago, Ill.
		47	Thomas George, 1321 Russell Road, Cleveland, Ohio.
Plumbers and Steam Fitters of the U. S. and Can., United Assn. of.....	4	80	John R. Alpine, 411 Bush Temple of Music, Chicago, Ill.
		80	Thomas S. Kearney, 64 W. Randolph St., Chicago, Ill.
		80	Charles Anderson, Union Labor Temple, Pittsburgh, Pa.
		80	Charles M. Rau, 126 W. Randolph St., Chicago, Ill.
Polishers, Metal, International Union	3	34	W. W. Britton, 408 Neave Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		33	George Leary, 408 Neave Bldg., Cincinnati, Ohio.
		33	H. C. Diehl, 11523 Harvard Ave., W. Pullman Station, Chicago, Ill.
Postal Employes, National Federation of.....	1	101	Thos. F. Flaherty, Room 400, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
Potters, National Brotherhood of operative.....	2	39	Edward Menge, Box No. 6, East Liverpool, Ohio.
		39	Will T. Blake, Box No. 34, East Liverpool, Ohio.
Printers and Color Mixers of the U. S., Machine, Natl. Association of.....	1	5	Patrick E. Lyons, 334 Trenton Ave., Buffalo, N. Y.
Printers' Union of N. A., Intl. Steel and Copper Plate.....	1	12	Daniel Hassett, 2024 I Street N. W., Washington, D. C.
		68	Geo. L. Berry, Pressmen's Home, Tenn.
Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of N. A., International.....	5	68	Wm. H. McHugh, Pressmen's Home, Tenn.
		68	Chas. O. Isaacson, 148 W. George St., St Paul, Minn.
		68	Thomas Yould, Pressmen's Home, Tenn.
		68	Chas. L. Strunk, 495 St. Anthony Ave., St. Paul, Minn.
Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of the U. S. and Canada, Intl. Brotherhood of.....	3	27	John P. Burke, P. O. Drawer K, Fort Edward, N. Y.
		27	Herbert W. Sullivan, Main St., Orono, Me.
		26	Maurice LaBelle, P. O. Box 263, Sturgeon Falls, Ont., Canada.
Quarry Workers' International Union of N. A.....	1	31	Fred W. Sutor, Scampini Bldg., Barre, Vt.

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
		197	W. D. Mahon, 104 East High St., Detroit, Mich.
		197	Wm. Quinlan, 332-334 S. Ashland Blvd., Chicago, Ill.
Railway Employes of America, Amal. Assn. of Street and Electric.....	4	196	P. T. Sheehan, 167 Copeland St., Cambridge, Mass.
		196	Michael J. Cahill, 125 Illinois St., Central Falls, R. I.
		32	William M. Collins, 604 Colorado Bldg., Washington, D. C.
Railway Mail Association.....	3	31	Walter J. Brown, 1391 Commonwealth Ave., Allston, Mass.
		31	James R. McCoy, 1329 Benton Boulevard, Kansas City, Kansas.
Roofers, Composition, Damp and Waterproof Workers of the U. S. and Canada, Intl. Brotherhood of	1	12	Henry Sands, 346 Sussex Ave., Newark, N. J.
Roofers' Union of America, International Slate and Tile.....	1	6	J. M. Gavlak, 3643 W. 47th St., Cleveland, Ohio.
		74	Andrew Furuaseth, 57 Clay St., San Francisco, Cal.
		74	Paul Scharrenberg, Underwood Bldg., 525 Market St., San Francisco, Cal.
Seamen's Union of America, International.....	5	74	Patrick Flynn, 58 Commercial St., San Francisco, Cal.
		74	John Vance Thompson, 49 Clay St., San Francisco, Cal.
		74	Oscar Carlson, 40 Burling Slip, New York, N. Y.
Signalmen of A., Brotherhood of Railroad.....	1	9	D. W. Helt, 533 S. Market St., Shamokin, Pa.
Spinners' International Union.....	1	22	Urban Fleming, 188 Lyman St., Holyoke, Mass.
		47	Chas. C. Shay, 197 West 46th St., New York, N. Y.
		47	Lester G. Dolliver, 197 West 46th St., New York, N. Y.
Stage Employes of America, International Alliance of Theatrical.....	4	46	John J. Barry, 86 Draper St., Dorchester, Mass.
		46	John Suarez, 1434 N. Garrison Ave., St. Louis, Mo.
Steam Shovel and Dredgemen, International Brotherhood of.....	1	37	W. M. Welsh, Room 303, 39 Cortland St., New York, N. Y.
Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union of N. A., International.....	2	27	Charles A. Sumner, 3110 Olive St., Kansas City, Mo.
		26	J. Fremont Frey, The News, Indianapolis, Indiana.
		21	Sam Griggs, 528 Am. Central Life Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.
Stonecutters' Association of North America, Journeymen.....	2	21	Walter W. Drayer, 528 Am. Central Life Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.
Stove Mounters' International Union	1	19	W. L. Funder Burk, 1210 Jefferson Ave., East, Detroit, Mich.
		36	Samuel E. Heberling, 326 Brisbane Bldg., Buffalo, N. Y.
Switchmen's Union of North America	3	36	Thos. Clohessy, 7207 Peoria St., Chicago, Ill.
		35	Jas. B. Connors, Room 600, 164 W. Washington St., Chicago, Ill.
		40	Thos. Sweeney, Cor. E. 67th St., and Stony Island Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Tailors' Union of America, Journeymen.....	3	40	John B. Lennon, Bloomington, Ill.
		40	D. G. Biggs, corner east 67th Street and Stony Island Ave., Chicago, Ill.

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Teachers, American Federation of.....	1	10	Charles B. Stillman, 1620 Lake Ave., Wilmette, Ill.
		146	Daniel J. Fobin, 222 E. Michigan St., Indianapolis, Ind.
Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablenen and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of.....	5	146	Thomas L. Hughes, 222 E. Michigan St., Indianapolis, Ind.
		146	William A. Neer, 175 W. Washington St., Chicago, Ill.
		146	John M. Gillespie, 170 W. Brookline St., Boston, Mass.
		145	James Wilson, 536 Bryant St., San Francisco, Cal.
		95	H. B. Perham, Star Building, St. Louis, Mo.
Telegraphers, Order of Railroad.....	4	94	J. B. Bode, 50 Tudor St., Chelsea, Mass.
		94	Leonard J. Ross, 457 Wellington Ave., Auburn, R. I.
		94	Owen D. Gorman, Mauk, Ga.
Telegraphers' Union of America, The Commercial.....	1	10	S. J. Konenkamp, 669 Transportation Bldg., Chicago, Ill.
		153	John Golden, 86 Bible House, New York, N. Y.
Textile Workers of America, United.....	3	153	Mrs. Sara A. Conboy, 86 Bible House, New York, N. Y.
		153	Thomas F. McMahon, 762 Atwells Ave., Providence, R. I.
Tile Layers' and Helpers' Int'l. Union, Ceramic, Mosaic and Encaustic.....	1	25	James J. Daly, 17 Welling St., Astoria, L. I., N. Y.
Tip Printers, International Brotherhood of.....	1	3	Louis A. B. Agethen, 547 Chauncey Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Tobacco Workers' International Union.....	1	33	A. McAndrew, 2002 Wayland Avenue, Norwood, Ohio.
Tunnel and Subway Constructors International Union.....	1	24	Thomas J. Curtis, 3067 Hull Ave., New York, N. Y.
		127	Max S. Hayes, 979 Parkwood Drive, Cleveland, Ohio.
		127	Frank Morrison, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
Typographical Union, International.....	5	127	Hugh Stevenson, 97 Leuty Ave., Toronto, Ont., Canada.
		126	J. W. Hays, 640-650 Newton Claypool Bldg., Indianapolis, Indiana.
		126	B. G. Brady, 640 Newton Claypool Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.
Upholsterers' International Union of N. A.....	1	48	James H. Hatch, 229 E. 67th Street, New York, N. Y.
White Rats Actors' Union of America	1	30	Harry Mountford, 673 Broadway, New York, N. Y.
Georgia State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Louie P. Marquardt,
Illinois State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	John P. McGrath, 1355 Ledlie Ave., Springfield, Ill.
Indiana State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Shubert Sebree, 2615 N. 11th St., Terre Haute, Indiana.
Maryland-District of Columbia Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Joseph E. Toone, 606 5th Street N. W., Washington, D. C.
Massachusetts State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	P. Harry Jennings, 987 Washington Street, Boston, Mass.
Minnesota State Federation of Labor	1	1	E. G. Hall, 4124 Bryant Ave., South, Minneapolis, Minn.
Missouri State Federation of Labor....	1	1	J. L. Wines, Room 7, Rock Island Bldg., St. Joseph, Mo.
Montana State Federation of Labor....	1	1	M. M. Donoghue, 531 Diamond St., Butte, Montana.

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ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
New York State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Jas. P. Holland, 211 E. 45th St., New York City.
North Dakota State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	S. S. McDonald, 518 Cottonwood St., Grand Forks, N. D.
Ohio State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	James Boyle, 217 W. Twelfth St., Cincinnati, Ohio.
Oklahoma State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Edgar Fenton, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.
Oregon State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	E. J. Stack, 412 Stock Exchange Building, Portland, Oreg.
Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Michael Eagen, Sutersville, Pa.
Porto Rico, Free Federation of Workmen.....	1	1	Santiago Iglesias, Box 270, San Juan, Porto Rico.
Tennessee State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Jerry Williams, 316 Third Ave., North, Nashville, Tenn.
Texas State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Harry L. Spencer, Box 403, Houston, Texas.
Virginia State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	J. B. Clinedinst, Newport News, Va.
Washington State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Robert H. Harlin, Box 1285, Tacoma, Wash.
Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Frank J. Weber, Room 206 Brisbane Hall, Milwaukee, Wis.
Aberdeen, S. D., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Mathias N. Christensen, 114 South Second St., Aberdeen, S. D.
Ashland, Wis., Central Labor Council.....	1	1	Frank Wiess, 807 St. Clair St., Ashland, Wis.
Atlanta, Ga., Federation of Trades.....	1	1	Wm. Van Houten, 181 Plum St., Atlanta, Ga.
Augusta, Ga., Federation of Trades.....	1	1	Max Wilk, The Labor Review, Augusta, Ga.
Baltimore, Md., Federation of Labor.....	1	1	John H. Ferguson, 2715 Jefferson St., Baltimore, Md.
Battle Creek, Mich., Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Mrs. Goldie M. Spencer, 603 Ward Building, Battle Creek, Mich.
Bellingham, Wash., Central Labor Council.....	1	1	Emil Hoof, 1435 Franklin St., Bellingham, Wash.
Billings, Mont., Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Stephen Ely, Billings, Mont.
Bismarck, N. D., Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Frank Milhollan, 622 First St., Bismarck, N. D.
Bloomington, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Mrs. J. M. Patterson, 509 E. Monroe St., Bloomington, Ill.
Boston, Mass., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	John F. Stevens, 12 Ambrose St., Roxbury, Mass.
Brooklyn, N. Y., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Wm. F. Kehoe, 516 Van Buren St., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Buffalo, N. Y., Central Labor Council.....	1	1	John J. Doyle, Buffalo, N. Y.
Butte, Mont., Silver Bow Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Chas. Malloy, P. O. Box 1135, Butte, Mont.
Cedar Rapids, Iowa, Federation of Labor.....	1	1	R. G. Stewart, care of D. Morrison, 1424 J Street, West, Cedar Rapids, Iowa.
Charleston, W. Va., Kanawha Valley Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Chas. Crickmore, Box 1106, Charleston, W. Va.
Chicago, Ill., Federation of Labor.....	1	1	William Z. Foster, 6042 Eberhart Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Cleburne, Tex., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	J. R. McFadden, 921 N. Border St., Cleburne, Tex.
Cleveland, Ohio, Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Herman Derolph, 2182 E. 9th St., Cleveland, Ohio.
Covington, Ky., Trades and Labor Assembly of Kenton & Campbell Counties.....	1	1	Harry V. Dill, Bavaria Bldg., Cincinnati, Ohio.

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Denver, Colo., Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Earl R. Hoage, 2631 W. 34th Ave., Denver, Colo.
Detroit, Mich., Federation of Labor.....	1	1	William Bailey, 84 Macomb St., Detroit, Mich.
Dubuque, Iowa, Trades and Labor Congress.....	1	1	J. M. Conley, Dubuque, Iowa.
Easton, Pa., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Harold Williams, P. O. Box 65, Easton, Pa.
El Paso, Tex., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	G. F. Hardy, El Paso, Tex.
Everett, Wash., Trades Council.....	1	1	J. B. Moncur, Royal Hotel, 1508½ Hewitt Ave., Everett, Wash.
Fort Worth, Tex., Trades Assembly.....	1	1	A. G. Hutton, Box 167, Fort Worth, Tex.
Grand Forks, N. D., Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Peter Morgan, 421 Cherry St., Grand Forks, N. D.
Grand Rapids, Mich., Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Claude O. Taylor, 325 Ann St., Grand Rapids, Mich.
Hamilton, Ont., Can., Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	E. W. A. O'Dell, 221 Stinson St., Hamilton, Ont., Can.
Hannibal, Mo., Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	B. F. Brown, Box 45, Hannibal, Mo.
Hillsboro, Ill., Trades Council.....	1	1	John T. McGurty, Box 253, Hillsboro, Ill.
Holyoke, Mass., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	E. S. Alden, 214 Maple St., Holyoke, Mass.
Hoquiam, Wash., Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Harry S. Kress, 2610 Aberdeen Ave., Hoquiam, Wash.
Kansas City, Mo., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	John T. Smith, Labor Temple, Kansas City, Mo.
Kensington, Ill., Calumet Joint Labor Council.....	1	1	Thomas L. Gregson, 1443 E. 69th Place, Chicago, Ill.
La Crosse, Wis., Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	R. G. Knutson, 614 S. 3rd St., La Crosse, Wis.
Lansford, Pa., Central Labor Union of Panther Creek Valley.....	1	1	John B. Breslin, Lansford, Pa.
Louisville, Ky., United Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	George C. Burton, 9 Lincoln Apartments, Louisville, Ky.
Madison, Wis., Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Joseph H. Brown, 740 Crandall St., Madison, Wis.
Manitowoc, Wis., Central Labor Council.....	1	1	G. H. Thompson, 930 18th St., Manitowoc, Wis.
Milwaukee, Wis., Federated Trades Council.....	1	1	Frank Weinheimer, 611 23rd St., Milwaukee, Wis.
Minneapolis, Minn., Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Nels Nelson, 43 South 4th St., Minneapolis, Minn.
Montreal, Que., Can., Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	P. J. Ryan, 2 St. Paul Street, East Montreal, Que., Can.
New Kensington, Pa., Allegheny Valley Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Mrs. Fannie Sellins, Central Hotel, New Kensington, Pa.
New York, N. Y., Central Federated Union.....	1	1	R. P. Brindell, 1890 Daly ave., Bronx, N. Y.
New Bedford, Mass., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Samuel Ross, 109 County Street, New Bedford, Mass.
New Orleans, La., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	F. T. Chinn, Jr., 2121 Delechalse St., New Orleans, La.

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Niagara Falls, N. Y., Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Dan. J. O Shea, Niagara Falls, N. Y.
Norfolk, Va., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Lillie M. Barber, 114 West Main St., Norfolk, Va.
Olympia, Wash., Trades Council.....	1	1	Geo. W. Lish, 3rd and Washington St., Olympia, Wash.
Orange, N. J., Federated Trades Council.....	1	1	Michael F. Greene, Orange, N. J.
Ottawa, Can., Allied Trades and Labor Association.....	1	1	P. M. Draper, Box 515, Ottawa, Canada.
Philadelphia, Pa., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Joseph Richie, 417 Heed Bldg., 1211 Filbert St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Pittsburgh, Pa., Iron City Central Trades Council.....	1	1	Luther Ott, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Portland, Oregon, Central Labor Council.....	1	1	E. J. Vennewitz, Lumber Exchange Bldg., Portland, Oregon.
Pueblo, Colo., Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	W. H. Young, 121 East 8th St., Pueblo, Colo.
Racine, Wis., Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	A. J. Linck, 486 Water Street, Racine, Wis.
Roanoke, Va., Central Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Dan M. Gayton, Ponce de Leon Hotel, Roanoke, Va.
Rochester, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Richard H. Curran, 107 Hobart St., Rochester, N. Y.
Rochester, Minn., Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	John A. Fricke, Rochester, Minn.
Rockford, Ill., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	M. McGurk, 950 N. Horsman St., Rockford, Ill.
Roundup, Mont., Central Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Adam Wilkinson, Roundup, Mont.
St. Joseph, Mo., Central Labor Council.....	1	1	F. W. Brand, 416 S. 22nd St., St. Joseph, Mo.
St. Louis, Mo., Trades and Labor Union.....	1	1	E. O. Jennings, 1745 Missouri Ave., St. Louis, Mo.
St. Paul, Minn., Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Edw. J. Curry, 895 East 6th St., St. Paul, Minn.
Salem, Ore., Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	C. M. Rynerwon, care 457 Court St., Salem, Oregon.
Salt Lake City, Utah, Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Stephen B. Newman, Shubrick Apartments, Salt Lake City, Utah.
San Francisco, Cal., Labor Council.....	1	1	T. A. Reardon, Upper Terrace and Clifton Sts., San Francisco, Cal.
Schenectady, N. Y., Trades Assembly.....	1	1	M. J. Fanning, 9 Howard St., Schenectady, N. Y.
Seattle, Wash., Central Labor Council.....	1	1	Jas. A. Duncan, Labor Temple, Seattle, Wash.
Sioux City, Iowa, Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Wm. J. Fallon, 410 West 3rd St., Sioux City, Iowa.
Sioux Falls, S. D., Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Archie Mackellan, 1936 S. Spring Ave., Sioux Falls, S. D.
South Chicago, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	H. W. Raven, 7958 Constance Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Springfield, Ill., Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Robert E. Woodmansee, 407 Myers Bldg., Springfield, Ill.
Springfield, Mass., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Michael J. Scanlan, 14 Lyndale St., Springfield, Mass.

DELEGATES TO THE THIRTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL CONVENTION

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ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Superior, Wis., Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Jas. B. Campbell, 1809 Hught Ave., Superior, Wis.
Tacoma, Wash., Central Labor Council.....	1	1	Thos. F. Burns, 1153 1/2 Broadway, Tacoma, Wash.
Taft, Cal., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	S. C. Mosher, Taft, Cal.
Toronto, Ont., Can., District Labor Council.....	1	1	W. F. Bush, 62 Alton Ave., Toronto, Ont., Can.
Troy, N. Y., Central Federation of Labor.....	1	1	James Lemke, 160 3rd Street, Troy, N. Y.
Vincennes, Ind., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Chas. Kuhn, Vincennes, Ind.
Virginia, Minn., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	J. P. F. Sanders, 414 3rd St., S. Virginia, Minn.
Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	E. L. Tuckers, 904 B St. S. E., Washington, D. C.
Wheeling, W. Va. Ohio Valley Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Wm. F. Hahne, 4308 Water St., Wheeling, W. Va.
Winona, Minn., Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	F. H. Hester, 118 W. Mark St., Winona, Minn.
Yonkers, N. Y., Federation of Labor Zanesville, Ohio, Central Labor Council.....	1	1	George B. McGovern, Yonkers, N. Y.
Bookkeepers, Stenographers, and Accountants' Union No. 12646.....	1	3	Pat Casey, 506 Luck Ave., Zanesville, Ohio.
Cloth Examiners' and Spongers' Union No. 11680.....	1	3	Mrs. Carl Beck, 243 E. 84th St., New York, N. Y.
Coal Trimmers' Union No. 15277.....	1	7	Joseph F. Mezzacapo, 1123 Broadway, New York City.
Cold Drawn Steel Workers' Union No. 15539.....	1	1	George W. Milliner, 948 Barney St., Norfolk, Va.
Court Reporters' Federation No. 14171.....	1	1	Walter Bruen, 210 5th Street, New Brighton, Pa.
Draftsmen and Designers' Union No. 15635.....	1	1	Mrs. Grace H. Harte, Suite 501, 21 N. La Salle St., Chicago, Ill.
Egg Inspectors' Union No. 8705.....	1	2	M. J. Browne, care, Secretary A. Strippleman, 4955 Belle Plaine Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Federal Labor Union No. 7426.....	1	1	Edward Lampa, 735 N. Larnie Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Federal Labor Union No. 11587.....	1	1	Miss Mary Morris, 912 N. 6th St., Springfield, Ill.
Federal Labor Union No. 15047.....	1	1	Ida Levi, Labor Temple, Seattle, Wash.
Federal Labor Union No. 15214.....	1	1	Frank Devanzo, 916 Railroad Ave., Sault Ste. Marie, Mich.
Federal Labor Union No. 15284.....	1	2	William B. Gay, 1816 Chestnut St., Trenton, Mo.
Federal Labor Union No. 15295.....	1	2	Robert L. Hankins, 412 Hatten Ave., Rice Lake, Wis.
Federal Labor Union No. 15679.....	1	1	William Worland, 3019 S. Wayne Ave., Ft. Wayne, Ind.
Felt, Panama and Straw Hat Trimmers and Operators' Union No. 14569, United.....	1	4	Ed. Wendell, P. O. Box 21, Willisville, Ill.
Felt, Straw, Panama, Velvet Hat Trimmers and Operators' Union No. 15850, United.....	1	5	Minnie Teitelbaum, 7 East 15th St., New York City.
Grain Workers' Association No. 11407.....	1	1	Alice Scott, 845 Broad St., Newark, N. J.
Janitors' Protective Union No. 15876.....	1	1	Ernest Bohm, 210 E. 5th St., New York City.
			Wm. Schultze, 5015 Westminster Place, St. Louis, Mo.

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Janitors' Union, Flat, No. 14332.....	1	14	Wm. F. Quesse, 4732 Indiana Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Janitors' Union, Flat, No. 14601.....	1	1	G. W. Kester, 579 Selby ave., St. Paul, Minn.
Lead Burners' Union No. 14951.....	1	1	Joseph Staunton, 53 East 33rd St., Bayonne City, N. J.
Library Employes' Union No. 15590.....	1	1	May Walker, 59 West 10th St., New York City.
Marine Draftsmen's Union No. 15380	1	2	Plato F. Waplington, 8422 10th Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Marine Draftsmen's Union No. 15388	1	1	J. C. P. de Kraft, 411 S. Broad St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Navy Yard Laborers' Union No. 16015	1	1	Thos. J. Williams, 823 Johnson Ave., Norfolk, Va.
Neckwear Makers' Union, United, No. 11016.....	1	12	Louis D. Berger, 64 McKibben St., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Neckwear Workers' Union No. 15200	1	1	Miss Anna Weinstock, 919 Washington St., Boston, Mass.
Newsboys' Local Union No. 15834.....	1	4	Nathan P. Birch, 214 Orpheum Bldg., Seattle, Wash.
Office Employes' Association No. 12755	1	3	Joseph J. Ellicott, 5250 W. Adams St., Chicago, Ill.
Oil Field Workers' Union No. 15049	1	1	W. E. Welch, Drumright, Okla.
Oil Field Workers' Union No. 15387	1	2	W. W. Burns, Goose Creek, Tex.
Oil Field Workers' Union No. 15503	1	8	C. O. Moore.
Oil Field Workers' Union No. 15505	1	2	W. A. Campbell, Oil City, La.
Oil Field Workers' Union No. 15610	1	1	C. A. Hunter, 617 Fannin St., Shreveport, La.
Oil Field Workers' Union No. 15612	1	3	M. H. Crane, Fellows, Cal.
Oil Field Workers' Union No. 15651	1	1	Oliver Miller, Box 424, Maricopa, Cal.
Oil Field Workers' Union No. 15676	1	1	T. F. Bell, Vivian, La.
Oil Field Workers' Union No. 15691	1	2	O. D. Pinkston, Taft, Cal.
Oil Field Workers' Union No. 15731	1	5	E. H. Frazier, Brea, Cal.
Oil Field Workers' Union No. 15748	1	1	H. R. Paramore, P. O. Box 216, Guffey, Texas.
Oil and Gas Well Workers' Union' No. 15525.....	1	12	Walter J. Yarrow, Marsh Strong Bldg., Los Angeles, Cal.
Oil and Gas Well Workers' Union No. 15529.....	1	6	John L. Coulter, Box 38, R. F. D. No. 1 Bakersfield, Cal.
Oil and Gas Well Workers' Union No. 15644.....	1	4	J. J. Butler, Lost Hills, Cal.
Paving Inspectors' Union No. 14883.....	1	1	Michael K. Riordan, 4419 Berkeley Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Pipe Caulkers and Tappers' Union No. 7348.....	1	1	Frank A. Byrne, 1428 East 10th St., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Railroad Laborers' Union No. 15947	1	1	C. G. Voigt, 10 Cronkhite Ave., Danville, Ill.
Railroad Helpers and Laborers' Union No. 15791.....	1	1	E. B. Pruitt, Horton, Kans.
Shipyards Laborers' Union No. 15785	1	2	B. S. Lancaster, 554 St. Francis St., Mobile, Ala.
Sign and Bulletin Board Hangers' Union No. 14872.....	1	1	George Rincker, Villa Park, Ill. (General Delivery.)
Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 11597.....	1	1	Mrs. J. Sharon, 26 N. Delaware St., Indianapolis, Ind.
Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 11773.....	1	1	J. E. Giles, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
British Trades Union Congress.....	2	1	F. Hall, M. P., Miners' Offices, Barnsley, Yorks.
Canadian Trades and Labor Congress	1	1	Miss M. Bondfield, Dilke House, Malet St., London, W. C. 1.
Women's International Union Label League.....	1	1	Thomas Moore, Niagara Falls, South, Ontario, Can.
National Women's Trade Union League.....	1	1	Miss Anna Fitzgerald.
National Labor Publicity Organization	1	1	Miss Melinda Scott, 43 E. 22nd St., New York City.
			David J. Berry, Union Labor Temple, Pittsburgh, Pa.

DELEGATES TO THE THIRTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL CONVENTION

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Number of Unions.	NAME.	Number of Delegates.	Number of Votes.
101	National and International.....	283	26,372
20	State.....	20	20
88	Central.....	88	88
51	Trade and Federal Labor Unions.....	51	137
5	Fraternal Organizations.....	6	3
265		448	26,620

List of Delegates and Fraternal Delegates

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

1909. Samuel Gompers.	*1915.
1911. James Duncan.	*1917.
1913. George W. Perkins.	
To British Trades Union Congress.	
1895 { Samuel Gompers. P. J. McGuire.	1894 { John Burns. David Holmes.
1896 { J. W. Sullivan. Adolph Strasser.	1895 { Edward Cowsey. James Mawdsley.
1897 { Martin Fox. Geo. E. McNeil.	1896 { Sam Woods. John Mallinson.
1898 { James Duncan. Harry Lloyd.	1897 { Edward Harford. J. Havelock Wilson.
1899 { James O'Connell. Thomas F. Tracy.	1898 { William Inskip. William Thorne.
1900 { J. M. Hunter. Sidney J. Kent.	1899 { James Haslam. Alexander Wilkie.
1901 { Daniel J. Keefe. Eugene F. O'Rourke.	1900 { John Weir. Pete Curran.
1902 { Patrick Dolan. Henry Blackmore.	1901 { Frank Chandler. Ben Tillett.
1903 { Max S. Hayes. Martin Lawlor.	1902 { E. Arrandale. E. Edwards.
1904 { W. D. Ryan. D. D. Driscoll.	1903 { William Mullin. James O'Grady.
1905 { John A. Moffitt. James Wood.	1904 { William Abrahams. James Wignall.
1906 { Frank K. Foster. James Wilson.	1905 { William Mosses. David Gilmour.
1907 { John T. Dempsey. W. E. Klapetzky.	1906 { Allen Gee. J. N. Bell.
1908 { Andrew Furusest. James J. Creamer.	1907 { David J. Shackleton. John Hodge.
1909 { John P. Frey. B. A. Langer.	1908 { John Wadsworth. H. Skinner.
1910 { W. B. Wilson. T. V. O'Connor.	1909 { A. H. Gill. J. R. Clynes.
1911 { Wm. J. Macfarlane. Daniel J. Tobin.	1910 { W. Bruce. Ben Trotter.
1912 { George L. Berry. John H. Walker.	1911 { G. H. Roberts. J. Crinion.
1913 { Chas. L. Baine. Louis Kemper.	1912 { J. A. Seddon. R. Smillie.
*1914 { W. D. Mahon. Matthew Woll.	1913 { I. H. Gwynne. T. Greenall.
**1915 { W. D. Mahon. Matthew Woll.	**1914 { C. G. Ammon. E. Bevin.
1916 { W. D. Mahon. Matthew Woll.	1915 { H. Gosling. W. Whitefield.
1917 { John Golden. James Lord.	1916 { W. Whitefield. John Hill.
1918 { J. A. Franklin. Wm. J. Bowen.	1917 { Arthur Hayday. F. Hall.
	1918 { Miss Margaret Bondfield
To Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.	
1898 Thomas I. Kidd.	1898 David A. Carey.
1899 James H. Sullivan.	1899 David A. Carey.
1900 W. D. Mahon.	1900 David A. Carey.
1901 John E. O'Brien.	1901 P. M. Draper.
1902 D. D. Driscoll.	1902 John H. Kennedy.
1903 John Coleman.	1903 James Simpson.
1904 John H. Richards.	1904 John A. Flett.
1905 Frank Feeney.	1905 William V. Todd.
1906 Thomas A. Rickert.	1906 Samuel L. Landers.
1907 Robert S. Maloney.	1907 W. R. Trotter.
1908 Hugh Frayne.	1908 P. M. Draper.
1909 Jerome Jones.	1909 F. Bancroft.
1910 John J. Manning.	1910 R. P. Pettipiece.
1911 Wm. J. Tracy.	1911 Wm. Glocking.
1912 John P. Smith.	1912 John W. Bruce.
1913 Wm. J. McSorley.	1913 Gus Franco.
1914 M. M. Denoghue.	1914 R. A. Rigg.
1915 H. J. Conway.	1915 Fred Bancroft.
1916 Harry P. O'Corcoran.	1916 Thomas A. Stevenson.
1917 Emanuel Koveleski.	1917 Wm. Lodge
1918 Stuart H. Hayward.	1918 Thos. Moore
From Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.	

*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.

CONSTITUTION

OF THE

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

1918-1919

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 second Monday in June, 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).

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, 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 April 30 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 August 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 such sum as the Annual Convention may determine, 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 April 30 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 such sum as the Annual Convention may determine, 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 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 endorsement 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 \$7.00 per day as salary, actual railroad fare, and hotel expenses of \$4.00 per day when traveling away from their home city. The remuneration for services of members of the Executive Council, national 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 seven-eighths of one cent per member per month; from Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions, fifteen cents per member per month, five cents of which must be set aside to be used only in case of strike or lockout; Local Unions, the majority of whose members are less than eighteen (18) years of age, two cents per member per month; 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 April 30 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 exist. 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 Trades Assembly or 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 of delegates, shall have the authority or power to order any organization, affiliated with such Central Labor Union, or other central labor body, on strike, where such organization has a national organization, until the proper authorities of such National or International organization have been consulted and agreed to such action.

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 endorse and order the placing of the name of any person, firm, or corporation on 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.

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 four (\$4) dollars per week for each member. Each Local Union shall require its treasurer to give proper bond for the safekeeping 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 member of Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions, 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 sixty

(60) 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 \$1.00 or more than \$10.00, and that one-fourth of each initiation fee received by such Local Trade or Federal Labor Union shall be forwarded to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, 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 officials 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 Rail-

way 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 August 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.

THIRTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL CONVENTION

of the

American Federation of Labor

1918

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

FIRST DAY---Monday Morning Session

The Auditorium,

St. Paul, Minn., June 10, 1918.

Pursuant to law, the regular meeting of the thirty-eighth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor was called to order at 10 o'clock a. m., by Mr. James M. Clancy, President St. Paul Trades and Labor Assembly.

Mr. George W. Lawson, Secretary of the Minnesota State Federation of Labor, presided during the opening exercises of the convention.

At the opening of the convention the band played America and the Star-Spangled Banner.

Rev. Father J. A. Corrigan, Pastor of St. Matthews R. C. Church, delivered the invocation.

Hon. Julius Schmah, Secretary of the State of Minnesota, welcomed the convention in behalf of the state.

Address of Secretary of State Schmah.

Mr. Chairman and Delegates: There is hardly any need for me to appear before you on this occasion to give you a welcome in behalf of the State of Minnesota. The remarkable parade and demonstration which has been given under the auspices of the Capital City of Minnesota is sufficient evidence that Minnesota has always and will always stand firmly behind organized labor. Minnesota realizes that organized labor is the best labor, and consequently in order to attain the highest degree of efficiency and success, organized labor must always and will always be consulted. It is a matter of congratulation that you have at your head at this time the distinguished gentleman who is the president of the American Federation of Labor, a man who has always remained true to organized labor and who has always stood for the freedom of the United States and of the entire world. And I want to congratulate, not only you, my friends, but I want to congratulate the distinguished gentleman who stands at the head of the administration in

Washington for having as his close associate and close adviser Mr. Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor. It means much to have him and to have each one of you in this great representative labor movement for the purpose of planting democracy, not only throughout one or two countries, but throughout the entire world.

Have you thought how much we could get without labor, without organized labor, if you please? Labor is the skill, the brain, the real capital of the entire universe. Appearing before you today in behalf of Minnesota I want to congratulate you and the entire world for the manner in which labor is standing behind the governments that are struggling for the freedom of the world. Minnesota will furnish the bread and the steel, ah, yes, Minnesota will do its part in the factory and the mills, because organized labor of the state is back of the farm and the field, back of the anvil and the loom. And it is in behalf of the people of such a state, in behalf of the 2,250,000 people of Minnesota, that I extend a welcome.

Address of Mayor L. C. Hodgson.

Mr. Chairman, Distinguished President of the Federation, My Friends, Comrades and Americans—At this moment I realize a long cherished ambition, and that is to stand on the same platform with Samuel Gompers. It is an ambition any man might covet, this opportunity to welcome to this city the great hosts of American labor who follow the inspired leadership of Samuel Gompers, who have at least come in sight of the promised land and see the dawn of the day breaking across the world which is to give a larger liberty to the working masses of mankind. I am proud to welcome to St. Paul men who represent the inmost aspirations of the soul of America in these great days, men who come here as Americans, who will go away from here as Americans, men who today and tomorrow have proved and will prove that they will give service to the United States in the spirit which makes that cause the cause of humanity everywhere in the world.

Among all the chapters that organized labor has written to its credit in the history of this country none is more glorious and splendid than the one you are writing today, the great chapter of the loyalty of labor in the United States in these great hours. When the time comes that this war is over and peace is with us again, if any man should ever ask, "Was labor loyal?" the only answer we need to give is, "America fought and won the war." And you know and I know that if labor were not loyal, in vain we might attempt to win victory out of this great struggle. The hosts of organized labor today are building this new United States and this new world. Labor is marching under the flag of this free republic today on the thunder-smitten hills of France. The voice of labor mingles with the great harmony of freedom all over this land. We hear it in the music of the hammer and the anvil, in flaming forge and mighty engine, on the battlefield—everywhere the voice of labor. Labor, almost more than any other ele-

ment of our society, has caught the vision of what this great struggle means. Labor has had this vision of a new world in which men should no longer have to fight for their rights, a world so big and so pure that right and justice will be the heritage of all people. And so you meet here today with such inspiration as this about you. You need no official welcome to this city. Standing for the things you represent, you must be welcome everywhere in this great land to which you have given so splendid a service.

When this war is over I am sure that the one great name that shall shine out of this history will be the name of Woodrow Wilson. (When the name of President Wilson was mentioned the entire delegation arose and applauded.) And in connection with the name and fame of this great President I know will be written that, more than any man who ever sat in the White House, he understood the needs of labor and sympathized with its desires. When the history of the war is written I believe also that one of the great, resplendent names that will be prominent on its pages will be the name of this great man, Samuel Gompers. (The entire delegation again arose and applauded the name of President Gompers.)

Labor has made a long, hard fight. The road you have traveled has not always been easy, but, thank God, out of all your sacrifices and sufferings you have drawn new sustenance, you have drawn some spiritual resource which has made you realize the truth that all men must know before they are free, and that is that no man in this world is any freer than other men are, and no man is great until he knows and feels that as long as any man suffers that suffering touches him as though it were his own. Now that your great hour has come, now that the world sees as never before that labor is going to be the dominant and upbuilding influence in this world, you must look back on your struggles and trials and thank God that you made this long, faithful fight for the things that are right. People do not always know what labor is seeking. I know and you know that you do not seek to destroy men; you fight only to destroy the things which make men less men, and I know when you fight for your own rights you are fighting for a principle which will guarantee to all classes of people in this world the same perfect right you claim for yourself.

In behalf of the city of St. Paul, officially and personally, I bid you welcome. I hope that from your deliberations here you may find a new inspiration, that from the work you are doing may grow a larger spirit for the service of this nation and this land. I hope you will find in your gathering a new spirit of cooperation, that you will go away from here to stand a little closer together as human beings, shoulder to shoulder, and to fight for those things which prove to all the world the nobility of labor and the long pedigree of toil.

God bless you, and good luck, friends.

Address of Judge Thomas D. O'Brien.

Judge O'Brien, representing the St. Paul Association of Business Men, in

welcoming the convention on behalf of that body, said in part:

We feel that it is no exaggeration and it is no flattery to say that this is probably the most important gathering of unofficial citizens which has taken place in the United States this year. It is important because you in a direct sense represent the millions of the wage earners in this country, and in a larger sense you represent all of us who stand erect and support ourselves and our families by our own individual efforts. And it is you and we, the wage earners of this country, who have the greatest and most direct interest in the result of the tremendous struggle which is now convulsing the world, because it is we, the ordinary men, who demand and must have democracy. The multimillionaire may sit down with kings, he may hedge himself about with walls and guards, but we, the ordinary men, we men who are satisfied if we can pay our debts and support our families, we who want to see the struggle for life made just a little bit easier for our children than it was for us, we must have the protection which is accorded by the constitution of the United States, we must demand for all the world that form of government under which alone those rights of the individual can be protected.

The essence of democracy is this: That the individual citizen, so long as he conforms to the rules of good conduct, shall be free, free to labor as he chooses, free to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience, free to live where he will and free to take an equal part in the government to which he owes allegiance. And it is because of that fact that we have a greater interest in this struggle than has anyone else; because, my friends, the important question is, What shall be the conduct of the individual citizen who is neither in the army or the navy? The organization of the army and the navy, the carrying on of the great official work of this war goes on, one might say, almost automatically. The conduct behind the army depends upon the good will of the individual American citizen.

A democracy is a great family, and just as each one of us in our own family must give his individual effort, so each citizen must give his individual effort; and because you represent to such a great extent the industrial world behind the army your conduct and the result of your deliberations is more important than what any cabinet officer shall do. And what is the acid test that each individual American citizen must apply at this time? What is the test that we each must apply to his own conscience and his own heart? It is willingness to sacrifice until this great war is over, sacrifice our political allegiance, sacrifice our racial prejudices, sacrifice our nationality prejudices, sacrifice our comfort, sacrifice our appetite. Make one test, one question the ultimate question which will decide everything that comes before us—what effect will my action have upon the military efficiency of the United States? We must bear things we would not be asked to bear in ordinary times;

we must acquiesce in the exercise of arbitrary power by individual officers which they themselves would refuse to exercise in times of peace; we must bear, possibly, an injustice here and there. You laboring men must realize that strikes which might be proper under ordinary circumstances might perhaps be criminal under present circumstances. The great business man must recognize the same thing; the great employer of labor must recognize that this is not the time for him to carry out his peculiar views. And so each of us must sacrifice. And because the business men of St. Paul believe in you, because they believe that is your attitude, that you believe in democracy, we bid you welcome.

Chairman Lawson read a Communication from Hon. Carl C. Van Dyke, member of Congress from the Fourth Congressional District of Minnesota, in which he stated that he regretted his inability to be present, owing to the pressure of official business in Washington. He expressed his appreciation of the invitation that had been extended to him to attend and address the convention. The communication contained many interesting comments upon the conditions and duties of labor during the great war in which the country is now engaged.

Address of President E. G. Hall, of the Minnesota State Federation of Labor.

Mr. Chairman and Delegates:

There has been considerable said this morning about the welcome given you by the City of St. Paul. I assure you there is not a labor center in our state that would not be pleased to welcome you just as cordially as St. Paul has done. I attended the convention of the American Federation of Labor held in Buffalo last year, and with other delegates from this vicinity thought if we could enlist the support of enough members to bring the convention to St. Paul this year it would do away with much of the misunderstanding and misrepresentation of the attitude of the citizens of Minnesota. I am more than pleased to say this morning that it not only has had splendid results in our state, but in our adjoining sister states. I have no doubt that not only will the splendid work that will be done here benefit the movement in this part of the country, but in all the other states as well.

In behalf of the City of St. Paul and of every city, village and hamlet in the state, and in behalf of the State Federation of Labor of Minnesota, I welcome you to our great state.

Address of Hon. James M. Clancy, President St. Paul Trades and Labor Assembly.

In introducing the speaker the chairman announced that Mr. Clancy had just been elected a member of the City Council of St. Paul by a very large vote of the people. Mr. Clancy spoke as follows:

Mr. Chairman, Fellow Unionists, Ladies and Gentlemen:

Representing as its presiding officer the live, energetic and progressive central body which rules the forces of organized labor in St. Paul, and appearing here to welcome, in the name and behalf of the labor movement of this loyal wide-awake and forward-looking city, the greatest congress of working people ever assembled in our country, I realize with profound sensibility the honor of the position in which I stand.

While trade unionism, in the enormous sweep of its vision and expansion of its interests, touches the most lofty points of human existence and endeavor as well as the most lowly, it is necessarily most vitally concerned with the welfare of the actual workers in factory and workshop, in mine and mill, in field and forest, who constitute the great masses of the people. This large and imposing convention of their representatives, made up of plain, practical men and women who deal directly with the everyday productive agencies of life, and assembled in the most momentous period of our country's and the world's history, undoubtedly must realize keenly that its mission here is one of work and not of pleasure; that its main duty is to devote its time, its energies and its utmost zeal to the solution of problems of intense practical weight to the exclusion of everything that would impede its progress or dissipate its powers in disposing of them. Nevertheless, there must be some relaxation and relief from these burdensome exactions, and knowing this, the local convention committee has mapped out a series of little diversions and entertainments, some of them for all the delegates and their accompanying friends and others for the visitors alone, all arranged with a studious view to preventing interference with the serious work of the convention, and with special consideration for the lady visitors and provision for their enjoyment.

At the same time we wish the delegates to the convention and its officers and committees to understand that the labor movement of St. Paul and all its genuine and loyal members and friends, are ready and eager to aid the deliberations of this body in every way they can. While the labor organizations and their friends hold out their hands to their guests in sincere and hearty hospitality and wish to make their stay in our city as pleasant as possible for them, all the members and facilities of trade unionism in the community are also at the command of this gathering for whatever brain or brawn can do to aid in furthering its labors and bringing on the good results which are hopefully expected to follow them.

Delegates to the 1918 convention of the American Federation of Labor, in the name of all the organized workers in this city and its vicinity I most cordially, heartily and sincerely welcome you and your accompanying friends to St. Paul. I know I express the feeling of the whole community when I thank you for having selected this as your convention city at the present time, and also when I hope for the utmost harmony in your delibera-

tions and ardently desire that complete and most fruitful success may attend and highly beneficial results may spring from them.

Chairman Lawson made a brief address in presenting the convention the permanent chairman, President Gompers. At the close of his address he presented to President Gompers, on behalf of the organized labor movement of St. Paul, a handsome gavel.

Address of President Gompers

Ladies and Gentlemen:

It is most difficult for a man to respond appropriately to the many expressions of welcome and the wonderful sentences of appreciation, devotion and loyalty we have listened to. In the several addresses delivered to us by the men representing the government of the State of Minnesota and the City of St. Paul, of the organized labor movement of this great state and wonderful city, it is almost an embarrassment to select the expression of one as the thought and the key in which to respond. To me they have all seemed to blend so thoroughly and harmoniously that there was in all of them one great anthem of the spirit of labor, the spirit of the people of our country and the spirit of the peoples of all the democracies of the earth. Therefore I say to you, gentlemen of the state and city, of the cloth and of labor, that in behalf of the organized workers of America, representing the thought, the hope and the aspiration of all the toilers of our great country, we are grateful to you for your welcome, for your words of commendation and your hopes for the outcome of this convention.

This morning as we participated in and later reviewed the parade of the ranks of the prospective fighting men, of the women and the girls who marched behind them, the first columns organized to fight the enemy of labor and freedom and progress, the other following to assuage the pain and suffering of the injured, it presented a picture of combined willingness to sacrifice. It was an inspiring picture, men and women, boys and girls entwined, with one single thought dominating their entire being, and with our national anthem and martial music stirring every man and woman to the very depths.

When we met in the 37th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor at Buffalo, N. Y., that convention was appropriately designated as "Labor's War Convention." And there was set forth in unmistakable terms the purpose of the American workers in this great human struggle. It was a ratification of the declarations of the responsible representatives of organized labor of America made a month before our country entered into the world struggle. And after the lapse of eight months from the holding of that conference at Washington on March 12th, in November, in official session, the voice of organized labor representing the toilers of this North American continent emphasized with unanimous vote that with the insistence and main-

tenance of democratic institutions at home we would stand behind the government and her allies to fight and sacrifice in order that freedom and democracy might prevail over the whole world.

Somehow or other this thought has made a very weighty impression on my mind. All over the world, in each of the countries, there had grown up a separatist movement among the workers. There is not a country outside of the United States, except in Germany, where there was not a division among the organized labor forces. It seemed to me that along with the preparation and plans of the autocratic, militarist government of Germany for the greatest military machine that has ever existed in the history of man, at the same time a propaganda was inaugurated throughout the world to divide the organized labor forces within these countries. The attempt had been made long ago to bring about the same situation in America.

It is not necessary that I should now more than refer to the way and the manner and the means by which the world-war was begun in 1914. It is doubtful whether there were many men in all the world who loved liberty who were not shocked when the war began. There were numbers of men and women in the United States who were impatient because we had not entered into the world war to make that struggle shorter and so that liberty and the meaning of liberty should be safeguarded at once. But, be that as it may, more than two years elapsed, and the democracies of France and Britain were in the struggle and made the supreme sacrifice which nations could. At last there came the blows administered to the people and the government of the United States. Innocent men and women and children were sent to an untimely grave through the ruthlessness, the brutality and the atrocities of the German Imperial Government. And yet our government hesitated. It put the men of America to a severe test that they might withhold their patience.

I wonder whether there was not in the mind of those in governmental authority in our country the thought that, after all, with the make-up of our people in the United States, whether the working people of our country could be relied upon in the hour of peril. I wonder whether there was not lurking in the mind of the master spirit of our time the thought that, after all, if the working people of the United States were not a unit behind him and the government, whether it would be wise to enter into the struggle. The conference of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor was held on March 9th, 10th, 11th, and the great conference of March 12, 1917, where that famous declaration was adopted by unanimous vote, will stand as a monument to the loyalty, the devotion of the American labor movement, and as a monument to the activities and the worthiness of the cause of organized labor. That unanimous declaration made on March 12th was heralded the world over, and on April 2nd, about four weeks after the conference, the President of the United States appeared before the Congress and laid before that body the in-

dictment which America, in behalf of her people and in behalf of the civilization of the world, presented against the autocracy of Germany. The Congress, the representatives of the people of the United States, by practically a unanimous vote, decided that the time had come to recognize that we were in a state of war with Imperial Germany. And since then the American workers have given such a loyal support to the government of the United States and her allies that it has no parallel in the history of the world. And in connection with it came a recognition on the part of our government and on the part of the Allies of the tremendous part that American labor is performing in this titanic struggle.

As one of the results of our movement of labor we have had enacted into the laws of the United States a declaration of principles that cannot be found in the archives or the statute books of any country on the face of the globe. There are two of them, one that the seamen of America are free men and we have seen the last of the bondsmen of the sea; the other that the labor of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce. In other words, a human being can no longer be utilized and placed upon the same scale as a side of pork or a ton of coal; that the labor of a human being is part of his very existence, part of his very life. And now, my friends, I ask you whether, with kaiserism possibly victorious, that doctrine would be worth anything in the United States or anywhere else?

Our republic was formed because of grievances which the people of the American colonies endured and suffered. And in the document which declared for the creation of this new nation and its independence from any other country it also declared fundamental principles. Among them was the inalienable right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. It was based upon the declaration that governments obtain their just powers from the consent of the governed. I ask you, my friends, I ask the men who believe in this day that we can have a negotiated peace, with the present situation as it is, whether it is possible to maintain a republic, a democracy founded upon the right of men to the pursuit of life, liberty and happiness, and the principle that governments obtain their just powers from the consent of the governed, if we make peace with kaiserism until kaiserism has been destroyed?

More than 140 years ago, when the fate of the struggling colonists was hanging in the balance and gloom seemed about to overtake a large part of their forces, when hunger and privation and rags was the lot of the volunteer fighting man, there arose a spirit, the spirit of the times, and the declaration of one of the great pioneers of the struggle was, "Now is the time that tries men's souls." And that declaration falls into insignificance when compared with this hour of peril, for in this year of grace, 1918, the declaration may be repeated with emphasis—Now is the time that tries men's souls. For if we be craven, if we fail to do our whole duty men must lose heart and courage, and men cannot fight under such circum-

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

stances. Knowing the enemy which our country and our cause is dealing, we may well repeat, "Let us have liberty or let us have death." It is better to fight and to lose than not to fight at all. If we fight and lose there will be left in the hearts and the minds among the few the spirit to struggle on for freedom; it will be handed down from father to son and from the son to his sons in the generations to come. The fighting spirit for the right will be rekindled. The spark of liberty at least must be maintained in our breasts or we are cowards and poltroons, unworthy of the great heritage of liberty that has been handed down to us by the men of other days.

I have said, "If we should lose?" There is no such possibility. The spirit of the men of outraged Serbia and Rumania, of ravished Belgium and invaded France, the spirit of Britain, the spirit of '76 in America, the men of Garibaldi's blood—these men will fight and fight on until the Hun shall be driven from France, from Belgium, from Serbia and Roumania, yes, back from Russia into Germany. (The audience arose unanimously and applauded the above statement of President Gompers.)

We must not fail. We will win. If we should lose, if we could lose, the lights of freedom would go out over the whole world. The men and women of labor of America, combined with the citizenship of our republic, are heart and soul in this struggle, making common cause with the peoples of our allied countries. We are in this fight and we must win. We will win, no matter how long the contest may last. And God grant that it may be done quickly! We have said, and we repeat, that for the republic of the United States and her cause, for the cause of freedom and justice and democracy all over the world we will give everything, but for private profit nothing.

There is no hatred in our hearts for the people of Germany and Austria; there is nothing but sympathy or regret, or both sympathy and regret for them and their course. We know how they have been miseducated, we know how their aspirations have been dulled, we know how their men have suffered because they have dared to speak, and we know that the voice of labor of Germany must be attuned by the key given by kaiserism or that voice cannot be heard at all. We do hope that the spirit of America, the spirit of labor of America, the spirit of the democracies of the world may permeate the mind and the heart of the German people and that they themselves will crush the tyranny that has oppressed and misguided them so long. But if they fail, if they are unable to bring about that result, then it behooves the workers and the democracies of the world to crush that imperialism and that autocracy for them.

May I take this opportunity to say what perhaps I may not have another opportunity to say—a word in regard to Russia. It is a great pity that the situation has existed in that unhappy country as it has within these past several months. Every thinking man and woman must be convinced that a treaty or agreement of any government with the government of Germany is absolutely fruitless and worth-

less. From the time that German autocracy tore asunder the treaty that guaranteed the neutrality of Belgium and regarded it as a "scrap of paper," to its promises to the American government—again regarded as a scrap of paper—none of its promises have been kept. Even a few days ago an agreement secured that certain cities should not be bombarded by either the Allies or the Germans was regarded by the Germans as a "scrap of paper." A treaty of peace was entered into by the representatives of whatever government existed in Russia—a humiliating peace, but nevertheless a treaty of peace—with the Imperial governments of Germany and Austria, and the ink was hardly dry upon that treaty before German armies invaded Russia, just as though no treaty of peace had been concluded. Another scrap of paper! What hope is there of any agreement being kept by the government that now exists in Germany? The people of Russia are suffering as few people know. It is the duty of the American people, it is the duty of the people and the governments of our allied countries to come to the assistance in a material way of the people of Russia that they may be able to maintain themselves, to redeem themselves, and possibly again Great Russia with her people will stand side by side in spirit and in fact to fight and defeat and crush the hated Hun.

Lest I may be fempted, lest I may be urged on by my own impetuosity to discuss these great questions at length, I halt now just simply to express again to our great hosts of Minnesota my own deep sense of obligation and appreciation of whatever cordial spirit you may have manifested toward me. I prefer to interpret it, however, as a tribute to the tremendous tasks set before us in our movement, to the great achievements of the men and women of toil at home, to their fortitude, their courage and their willingness to sacrifice and bear burdens. They brought this movement into its present position of dignity and influence and service, for, after all, there is no greater blessing that can come to a human being than the knowledge, the comfort and the thought that he has been and is of service. To be able to render some assistance to the greatest cause entrusted to human beings, to help make life better worth living, to be reverential in understanding, to surrender no thought of hope here or above in the great realm of the spiritual, to make life better worth living in the here and the now, to work for the generations yet unborn that their life and work may be easier and better rewarded, with a greater result in the advancement of the human race, to cultivate the best that is in them, to make the arts of peace the every day activities of our fellows, developing in us a greater spirit of kindness and justice and human brotherhood—that, in part, is the work and the mission of the American Federation of Labor.

In accordance with the rule and the law I now declare the 38th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor in order and ready for the transaction of business.

President Gompers announced the following appointments:

Assistant to the Secretary, A. J. Thode, St. Paul Typographical Union.

Sergeant-at-Arms, E. J. Currie, Iron Molders' Union of St. Paul.

Messenger, Harry O'Connell, St. Paul.

Report of Committee on Credentials.

Delegate Joyce, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

St. Paul, Minn., June 10, 1918.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-eighth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Ladies and Gentlemen:

Your Committee on Credentials begs leave to report that they have examined the credentials of 432 delegates, representing 99 International and National Unions, 17 State Branches, 83 Central Bodies, 50 Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions, and 6 Fraternal delegates, and recommend that the following be seated:

Asbestos Workers' International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators, and—Joseph A. Mullaney, 16 votes.

Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America—A. A. Myrup, Peter Beisel, R. C. Schneider, 204 votes.

Barbers' International Union, Journeymen—Frank X. Noschang, Jacob Fischer, James C. Shanessy, C. M. Feider, C. F. Foley, 384 votes.

Bill Posters and Billers of America, International Alliance—Thomas Noonan, 16 votes.

Blacksmiths, International Brotherhood of—James W. Kline, Wm. F. Kramer, W. G. Powlesland, 183 votes.

Boilermakers and Iron Ship Builders of America, Brotherhood of—J. A. Franklin, Louis Weyand, Chas. F. Scott, Chas. MacGowan, Dan McKillop, 555 votes.

Bookbinders, International Brotherhood of—A. P. Sovey, Walter N. Reddick, 145 votes.

Boot and Shoe Workers' Union—Collis Lovely, Chas. L. Baine, John F. Grant, Mary Noonan, Frederick C. Schmidt 353 votes.

Brewery and Soft Drink Workers of America, International Union of the United—John Sullivan, Albert J. Kugler, Joseph Proebstle, Joseph Obergfell, John Rader, 450 votes.

Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union of America—Wm. J. Bowen, Thos. R. Preece, Wm. Dobson, Malcolm Geddes, John J. Corcoran, Walter V. Price, 700 votes.

Brick and Clay Workers of America, The United—Frank Butterworth, 25 votes.

Bridge and Structural Iron Workers' International Association—J. E. McClory, Sam Tobin, P. J. Morrin, F. M. Ryan, 160 votes.

Broom and Whisk Makers' Union—Will R. Boyer, 7 votes.

Carmen of America, Brotherhood Railway—Martin F. Ryan, Fred W. Schnorr, Verner Anderson, O. J. Shoemaker, Theodore Thompson, 534 votes.

Carpenters and Joiners of America, United Brotherhood of—Wm. L. Hutcheson, Frank Duffy, O. E. Woodbury, T. M. Guerin, E. W. Van Duen, Bob White, J. A. Ross, P. H. McCarthy, 2,673 votes.

Cigarmakers' International Union of America—G. W. Perkins, Samuel Gompers, J. Mahlon Barnes, W. A. Campbell, R. S. Sexton, 395 votes.

Clerks, Brotherhood of Railway—James J. Forrester, Rose Yates, Fred W. Smith, H. C. Reeves, 172 votes.

Clerks' International Protective Association, Retail—E. E. Baker, H. J. Conway, W. G. Desepte, 150 votes.

Coopers' International Union of North America—Andrew C. Hughes, James J. Doyle, 40 votes.

Diamond Workers' Protective Union of America—Andries Meyer, 4 votes.

Electrical Workers of America, International Brotherhood of—James P. Noonan, Martin T. Joyce, C. E. Brissman, James J. McAndrews, Frank Fisher, 544 votes.

Elevator Constructors, International Union of—Frank Feeney, 29 votes.

Engineers' Beneficial Association of the U. S. of America, National Marine—William S. Brown, 79 votes.

Engineers, International Union of Steam and Operating—Milton Snellings, James G. Hannahan, Herman M. Comerford, E. L. Edgerton, 230 votes.

Engravers' Union of North America, International Photo—Matthew Woll, Peter J. Brady, 51 votes.

Federal Employees, National Federation of—E. J. Newmyer, Luther C. Steward, Chas. F. Nagl, 109 votes.

Fire Fighters, International Association of—Thomas G. Spellacy, Owen C. Dunn, 23 votes.

Firemen, International Brotherhood of Stationary—Timothy Healy, C. L. Shamp, Joseph W. Morton, William J. Brennan, 171 votes.

Foundry Employees, International Brotherhood of—A. R. Linn, 33 votes.

Fur Workers' Union of U. S. and Canada, International—Philip A. Silberstein, Morris Kaufman, 100 votes.

Garment Workers of America, United—T. A. Rickert, B. A. Larger, John J. Manning, Margaret C. Daley, Frank Doyle, 459 votes.

Garment Workers' Union, International Ladies—Benjamin Schlesinger, Jacob Heller, Max Gorenstein, Al. LaPorta, M. Friedman, I. Feinberg, 895 votes.

Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the U. S. and Canada—John A. Woll, John W. Clifton, Thomas W. Eames, 100 votes.

Glass Workers' Union, American Flint—Wm. P. Clarke, John F. Kennedy, John E. O'Brien, 99 votes.

Glass Workers, National Window—J. M. Neenan, J. G. Montross, 7 votes.

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

Alexander W. Russell, Joseph D. Will, 119 votes.

Hatters of North America, United—Martin Lawlor, Cornelius F. McCue, Richard M. Humphrey, 91 votes.

Hodcarriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America, International—D. D'Alessandro, J. B. Etchison, J. V. Moreschi, John Carley, W. F. Dwyer, 367 votes.

Horseshoers of U. S. and Canada, International Union of Journeymen—John T. Kane, Hubert S. Marshall, 54 votes.

Hotel and Restaurant Employers' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America—Edward Flore, Jere L. Sullivan, Thomas S. Farrell, Emanuel Koveleski, John J. McDevitt, 652 votes.

Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, Amalgamated Association of—Jno. Williams, Jno. J. Sullivan, 161 votes.

Lace Operatives of America, The Chartered Society of Amalgamated—David L. Gould, 12 votes.

Lathers, International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal—William J. McSorley, Joseph H. Duty, 60 votes.

Laundry Workers' International Union—James F. Brock, 55 votes.

Leather Workers, United, International Union—W. E. Bryan, 41 votes.

Letter Carriers, National Association of—Edward J. Gainer, John T. Mugavin, Charles D. Duffy, L. E. Schwartz, 305 votes.

Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association of the United States and Canada—Philip Bock, Leopold Buxbaum, 49 votes.

Longshoremen's Association, International—Thomas V. O'Connor, Thomas P. Woodland, George F. Freitas, Simon P. O'Brien, 260 votes.

Machinists, International Association of—Wm. H. Johnston, A. O. Wharton, Jas. O'Connell, Thos. J. Savage, Jas. A. Taylor, Thos. VanLear, 1,436 votes.

Maintenance of Way Employees, International Brotherhood of—F. H. Fljoldal, F. Finnson, 56 votes.

Marble, Slate and Stone Polishers, Rubbers and Sawyers, International Association of—Stephen C. Hogan, 10 votes.

Masters, Mates and Pilots, American Association of—John H. Pruet, 48 votes.

Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, Amalgamated—John F. Hart, Dennis Lane, Fred Schmidt, Timothy McCreash, 291 votes.

Metal Workers' International Alliance, Amalgamated Sheet—John J. Hynes, Thos. Redding, Jas. T. Moriarty, Jas. J. Ryan, 183 votes.

Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, International Union of—Chas. H. Moyer, Wm. Davidson, Jos. D. Cannon, Patrick Delougherty, 167 votes.

Mine Workers of America, United—Frank J. Hayes, John P. White, Wm. Green, John H. Walker, Frank Farrington, John Moore, John L. Lewis, John T. Dempsey, 4,134 votes.

Molders' Union of North America, International—Jos. F. Valentine, John P.

Frey, Daniel Regan, Arthur Burns, J. W. Mara, 500 votes.

Musicians, American Federation of—Jos. N. Weber, Owen Miller, Jos. F. Winkler, D. A. Carey, 650 votes.

Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, Brotherhood of—Geo. F. Hedrick, J. C. Skemp, P. J. Guerin, A. J. McKeon, Jno. J. Lynch, A. Avins, 845 votes.

Papermakers, International Brotherhood of—J. T. Carey, Geo. J. Schneider, 60 votes.

Patternmakers' League of North America—Jas. A. Wilson, Jas. L. Gernon, 88 votes.

Pavers, Rammermen, Flagg Layers, Bridge and Stone Curb Setters, International Union of—Edward I. Hannah, 17 votes.

Paving Cutters' Union of the United States of America and Canada—Carl Bergstrom, 32 votes.

Piano and Organ Workers' Union of America, International—Chas. Doid, 20 votes.

Plasterers' International Association of the United States and Canada, Operative—Ed. J. McGivern, John Donlin, Chris Hede, Thomas George, 190 votes.

Plumbers and Steam Fitters' of the United States and Canada, United Association of—John R. Alpine, Thomas S. Kearney, Charles Anderson, Charles M. Rau, 320 votes.

Metal Polishers, International Union of—W. W. Britton, George Leary, H. C. Diehl, 100 votes.

Postal Employees, National Federation of—Thos. F. Flaherty, 101 votes.

Potters, National Brotherhood of Operative—Edward Menge, Will T. Blake, 78 votes.

Printers and Color Mixers of the United States, Machine, National Association of—Patrick E. Lyons, 5 votes.

Printers' Union of North America, International Steel and Copper Plate—Daniel Hassett, 12 votes.

Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America, International—Geo. L. Berry, Joseph C. Orr, Wm. H. McHugh, Chas. O. Isaacson, Chas. L. Strunk, 340 votes.

Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Workers of the United States and Canada, International Brotherhood of—John P. Burke, Herbert W. Sullivan, Maurice LaBelle, 80 votes.

Quarry Workers' International Union of North America—Fred W. Suito, 31 votes.

Railway Employees of America, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric—W. D. Mahon, Wm. Quinlan, P. F. Sheehan, Michael J. Cahill, 786 votes.

Railway Mail Association—Edward J. Ryan, William M. Collins, Walter J. Brown, 94 votes.

Roofers, Composition, Damp and Waterproof Workers of the United States and Canada, International Brotherhood of—Henry Sands, 12 votes.

Roofers' Union of America, International Slate and Tile—J. M. Gavlak, 6 votes.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

Seamen's Union of America, International—Andrew Furuseth, Paul Scharrenberg, Patrick Flynn, John Vance Thompson, Oscar Carlson, 371 votes.

Signalmen of America, Brotherhood of Railroad—D. W. Helt, 9 votes.

Spinners' International Union—Urban Fleming, 22 votes.

Stage Employes of America, International Alliance of Theatrical—Chas. C. Shay, Lester G. Dolliver, John J. Barry, John Suarez, 186 votes.

Steam Shovel and Dredgemen, International Brotherhood of—W. M. Welsh, 37 votes.

Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union of North America, International—James J. Freil, Charles A. Sumner, 53 votes.

Stonecutters' Association of North America, Journeymen—Sam Griggs, Walter W. Drayer, 42 votes.

Stove Mounters' International Union—W. L. Funder Burk, 19 votes.

Switchmen's Union of North America—Samuel E. Heberling, Thos. Clohessy, Jas. B. Connors, 107 votes.

Tailors' Union of America, Journeymen—Thos. Sweeney, Jno. B. Lennon, D. G. Biggs, 120 votes.

Teachers, American Federation of—Charles B. Stillman, 10 votes.

Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of—Daniel J. Tobin, Thomas L. Hughes, William A. Neer, John M. Gillespie, James Wilson, 729 votes.

Telegraphers, Order of Railroad—H. B. Perham, J. B. Bode, Leonard J. Ross, Owen D. Gorman, 337 votes.

Telegraphers' Union of America, The Commercial—S. J. Konenkamp, 10 votes.

Textile Workers of America, United—John Golden, Mrs. Sara A. Conboy, Thomas F. McMahon, 459 votes.

Tile Layers and Helpers' International Union, Ceramic, Mosaic and Encaustic—James J. Daly, 25 votes.

Tip Printers, International Brotherhood of—Louis A. B. Agethen, 3 votes.

Tobacco Workers' International Union—A. McAndrew, 33 votes.

Tunnel and Subway Constructors' International Union—Thos. J. Curtis, 24 votes.

Typographical Union, International—M. G. Scott, Max S. Hayes, Frank Morrison, Hugh Stevenson, J. W. Hays, 633 votes.

Upholsterers' International Union of North America—James H. Hatch, 48 votes.

White Rats Actors' Union of America—Harry Mountford, 30 votes.

Illinois State Federation of Labor—John P. McGrath, 1 vote.

Indiana State Federation of Labor—Shubert Schree, 1 vote.

Maryland—District of Columbia State Federation of Labor—Joseph E. Toone, 1 vote.

Massachusetts State Federation of Labor—P. Harry Jennings, 1 vote.

Minnesota State Federation of Labor—E. G. Hall, 1 vote.

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

Montana State Federation of Labor—M. M. Donoghue, 1 vote.

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

North Dakota State Federation of Labor—S. S. McDonald, 1 vote.

Ohio State Federation of Labor—James Boyle, 1 vote.

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

Oregon State Federation of Labor—E. J. Stack, 1 vote.

Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor—Michael Egan, 1 vote.

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

Texas State Federation of Labor—Harry L. Spencer, 1 vote.

Virginia State Federation of Labor—J. B. Clinedinst, 1 vote.

Aberdeen, S. D., Central Labor Union—Mathias N. Christenson, 1 vote.

Ashland, Wisconsin, Central Labor Council—Frank Wiess, 1 vote.

Atlanta, Ga., Federation of Trades—Wm. Van Houten, 1 vote.

Augusta, Ga., Federation of Labor—Max Wilk, 1 vote.

Baltimore, Md., Federation of Labor—John H. Ferguson, 1 vote.

Battle Creek, Michigan, Trades and Labor Council—Mrs. Goldie M. Spencer, 1 vote.

Bellingham, Washington, Central Labor Council—Emil Hoof, 1 vote.

Billings, Montana, Trades and Labor Assembly—Stephen Ely, 1 vote.

Bismarck, N. D., Trades and Labor Assembly—Frank Milhollan, 1 vote.

Bloomington, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly—Mrs. J. M. Patterson, 1 vote.

Boston, Mass., Central Labor Union—John F. Stevens, 1 vote.

Brooklyn, N. Y., Central Labor Union—Wm. P. Kehoe, 1 vote.

Buffalo, N. Y., Central Labor Council—John J. Doyle, 1 vote.

Butte, Montana, Silver Bow Trades and Labor Council—Chas. Malloy, 1 vote.

Cedar Rapids, Iowa, Federation of Labor—E. G. Stewart, 1 vote.

Charleston, W. Va., Kanawha Valley Central Labor Union—Chas. Crickmore, 1 vote.

Chicago, Ill., Federation of Labor—Wm. Z. Foster, 1 vote.

Cleveland, Ohio, Federation of Labor—Herman Derolph, 1 vote.

Covington, Ky., Trades and Labor Assembly of Kenton and Campbell Counties—Harry V. Dill, 1 vote.

Denver, Colo., Trades and Labor Assembly—Earl R. Hoage, 1 vote.

Detroit, Michigan, Federation of Labor—William Bailey, 1 vote.

- Dubuque, Ia., Trades and Labor Congress—J. M. Conley, 1 vote.
- Easton, Pa., Central Labor Union—Harold Williams, 1 vote.
- El Paso, Texas, Central Labor Union—G. F. Hardy, 1 vote.
- Everett, Washington, Trades Council—J. B. Moncur, 1 vote.
- Ft. Worth, Texas, Trades Assembly—A. G. Hutton, 1 vote.
- Grand Forks, N. D., Trades and Labor Assembly—Peter Morgan, 1 vote.
- Grand Rapids, Michigan, Trades and Labor Council—Claude O. Taylor, 1 vote.
- Hamilton, Canada, Trades and Labor Council—E. W. A. O'Dell, 1 vote.
- Holyoke, Mass., Central Labor Union—E. S. Alden, 1 vote.
- Hannibal, Missouri, Trades and Labor Assembly—B. F. Brown, 1 vote.
- Hillsboro, Illinois, Trades Council—John T. McGurty, 1 vote.
- Hoquiam, Wash., Central Trades and Labor Council—Harry S. Kress, 1 vote.
- Kansas City, Missouri, Central Labor Union—John T. Smith, 1 vote.
- Kensington, Illinois, Calumet Joint Labor Council—Thomas L. Gregson, 1 vote.
- LaCrosse, Wis., Trades and Labor Council—R. G. Knutson, 1 vote.
- Lansford, Pa., Central Labor Union—John B. Breslin, 1 vote.
- Madison, Wis., Federation of Labor—Joseph H. Brown, 1 vote.
- Manitowoc, Wis., Central Labor Council—G. H. Thompson, 1 vote.
- Milwaukee, Wis., Federated Trades Council—Frank Weinheimer, 1 vote.
- Montreal, Canada, Trades and Labor Council—F. J. Ryan, 1 vote.
- New Kensington, Pa., Allegheny Valley Central Labor Union—Mrs. Fannie Sellins, 1 vote.
- New York, N. Y., Central Federated Union—R. P. Brindell, 1 vote.
- New Orleans, La., Central Labor Union—F. T. Chinn, Jr., 1 vote.
- Olympia, Washington, Trades Council—Geo. W. Lish, 1 vote.
- Orange, N. J., Federated Trades Council—Michael F. Greene, 1 vote.
- Ottawa, Canada, Allied Trades and Labor Association—P. M. Draper, 1 vote.
- Philadelphia, Pa., Central Labor Union—Joseph M. Richie, 1 vote.
- Pittsburgh, Pa., Central Trades Council—Luther Ott, 1 vote.
- Portland, Oregon, Central Labor Council—E. J. Vennewitz, 1 vote.
- Pueblo, Colo., Trades and Labor Assembly—W. H. Young, 1 vote.
- Racine, Wis., Trades and Labor Council—A. J. Linck, 1 vote.
- Roanoke, Va., Central Trades and Labor Council—Dan M. Gayton, 1 vote.
- Rochester, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Council—Richard H. Curran, 1 vote.
- Rockford, Ill., Central Labor Union—M. McGurk, 1 vote.
- Rochester, Minn., Trades and Labor Assembly—John A. Fricke, 1 vote.
- Roundup, Montana, Central Trades and Labor Council—J. K. Parker, 1 vote.
- St. Joseph, Missouri, Central Labor Council—F. W. Brand, 1 vote.
- St. Louis, Missouri, Trades and Labor Union—E. O. Jennings, 1 vote.
- St. Paul, Minnesota, Trades and Labor Assembly—Edw. J. Curry, 1 vote.
- Salem, Oregon, Trades and Labor Union—C. M. Rynerson, 1 vote.
- Salt Lake City, Utah, Federation of Labor—Stephen B. Newman, 1 vote.
- San Francisco, California, Labor Council—T. A. Reardon, 1 vote.
- Schenectady, New York, Trades Assembly—M. J. Fanning, 1 vote.
- Seattle, Washington, Central Labor Council—Jas. A. Duncan, 1 vote.
- Sioux City, Iowa, Trades and Labor Assembly—Wm. J. Fallon, 1 vote.
- Sioux Falls, S. D., Trades and Labor Assembly—Archie Mackellar, 1 vote.
- South Chicago, Illinois, Trades and Labor Assembly—H. W. Raven, 1 vote.
- Springfield, Illinois, Federation of Labor—Robert E. Woodmansee, 1 vote.
- Springfield, Mass., Central Labor Union—Michael J. Scanlan, 1 vote.
- Superior, Wisconsin, Trades and Labor Assembly—Jas. B. Campbell, 1 vote.
- Taft, California, Central Labor Union—S. C. Mosher, 1 vote.
- Tacoma, Washington, Central Labor Council—Thos. F. Burns, 1 vote.
- Toronto, Ont., Canada, District Labor Council—W. L. Bush, 1 vote.
- Troy, N. Y., Central Federation of Labor—Jas. Lenuke, 1 vote.
- Vincennes, Ind., Central Labor Union—Chas. Kuhn, 1 vote.
- Virginia, Minnesota, Central Labor Union—J. P. F. Sanders, 1 vote.
- Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union—E. L. Tucker, 1 vote.
- Wheeling, W. Va., Ohio Valley Trades and Labor Assembly—Wm. F. Hahne, 1 vote.
- Winona, Minnesota, Trades and Labor Council—F. H. Hester, 1 vote.
- Yonkers, N. Y., Federation of Labor—Geo. B. McGovern, 1 vote.
- Zanesville, Ohio, Central Labor Council—Pat Casey, 1 vote.
- Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union No. 12646—Mrs. Carl Beck, 3 votes.
- Cloth Examiners and Spongers' Union No. 11680—Joseph F. Mezzacapo, 3 votes.
- Coal Trimmers' Union No. 15277—George W. Millner, 7 votes.
- Cold Drawn Steel Workers' Union No. 15539—Walter Bruen, 1 vote.
- Court Reporters' Federation No. 14171—Grace H. Harte, 1 vote.
- Draftsmen and Designers' Union No. 15635—M. J. Browne, 1 vote.
- Egg Inspectors' Union No. 8705—Edward Lampa, 2 votes.

- Federal Labor Union No. 7426—Mary Morris, 1 vote.
- Federal Labor Union No. 11587—Ida Levi, 1 vote.
- Federal Labor Union No. 15047, Frank Davanzo, 1 vote.
- Federal Labor Union No. 15214—William B. Gay, 1 vote.
- Federal Labor Union No. 15284—Robert L. Hankins, 2 votes.
- Federal Labor Union No. 15295—William Worland, 2 votes.
- Federal Labor Union No. 15679—Ed Wendell, 1 vote.
- Felt, Panama and Straw Hat Trimmers and Operators' Union No. 14569—Minnie Tietelbaum, 4 votes.
- Felt, Straw, Panama, Velvet Hat Trimmers and Operators' Union No. 15850—Alice Scott, 5 votes.
- Grain Workers' Association No. 11407—Ernest Bohm, 1 vote.
- Janitors' Union, Flat, No. 14332—Wm. F. Quesse, 14 votes.
- Janitors' Union, Flat, No. 14601—G. W. Kester, 1 vote.
- Janitors' Protective Union No. 15876—Wm. Schultz, 1 vote.
- Lead Burners' Union No. 14951—Joseph Staunton, 1 vote.
- Library Employees' Union No. 15590—May Walker, 1 vote.
- Marine Draftsmen's Union No. 15388—J. C. P. de Kraft, 1 vote.
- Marine Draftsmen's Union No. 15380—Plato F. Waplington, 2 votes.
- Navy Yard Laborers' Union No. 16015—Thos. J. Williams, 1 vote.
- Neckwear Makers' Union, United, No. 11016—Louis D. Berger, 12 votes.
- Neckwear Workers' Union No. 15200—Anna Weinstock, 1 vote.
- Newsboys' Local Union No. 15834, Nathan P. Birch, 4 votes.
- Office Employees' Association No. 12755—Joseph J. Ellicott, 3 votes.
- Oil Field Workers' Union No. 15049—W. E. Welch, 1 vote.
- Oil Field Workers' Union No. 15387—W. W. Burns, 2 votes.
- Oil Field Workers' Union No. 15505—W. A. Campbell, 2 votes.
- Oil Field Workers' Union No. 15610—C. A. Hunter, 1 vote.
- Oil Field Workers' Union No. 15612—M. H. Crane, 3 votes.
- Oil Field Workers' Union No. 15651—Oliver G. Miller, 1 vote.
- Oil Field Workers' Union No. 15676—T. F. Bell, 1 vote.
- Oil Field Workers' Union No. 15691—O. D. Pinkston, 2 votes.
- Oil Field Workers' Union No. 15731—R. H. Frazer, 5 votes.
- Oil Field Workers' Union No. 15748—H. R. Paramore, 1 vote.
- Oil and Gas Well Workers' Union No. 15529—John L. Coulter, 6 votes.
- Oil and Gas Well Workers' Union No. 15644, J. J. Butler, 4 votes.
- Paving Inspectors' Union No. 14883—Michael K. Riordan, 11 votes.
- Pipe Caulkers and Tappers' Union No. 7348—Frank A. Byrne, 1 vote.
- Railroad Laborers' Union No. 15947—C. G. Voigt, 1 vote.
- Shipyards Laborers' Union No. 15785—B. S. Lancaster, 2 votes.
- Sign and Bulletin Board Hangers' Union No. 14872—George Rincker, 1 vote.
- Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 11597—Mrs. J. M. Sharon, 1 vote.
- Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 11773—J. E. Giles, 1 vote.
- British Trades Union Congress—F. Hall, Miss M. Bondfield, 2 votes.
- Canadian Trades and Labor Congress—Thomas Moore, 1 vote.
- Women's International Union Label League—Anna Fitzgerald.
- National Women's Trade Union League—Melinda Scott.
- National Labor Publicity Organization—David J. Berry.

Respectfully submitted,
H. C. DIEHL, Chairman.
MAX GORENSTEIN,
MARTIN T. JOYCE, Secretary.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee and seat the delegates named therein.

Delegate Clarke: As a representative of the American Flint Glass Workers' Union it is mandatory upon me to question the seating of William H. Johnston, James O'Connell, Thomas J. Savage, James A. Taylor and Thomas VanLear, of the International Association of Machinists, for the reason that they have failed, or their organization has failed, to conform to the Laws of the American Federation of Labor. After the exercises that have just been concluded, I reluctantly state at this time that I am agreeable to entering this formal protest with the understanding that those delegates can be seated, and the additional understanding that the subject-matter shall come up for their suspension at a later date in the convention, if that is agreeable to the presiding officer and the delegates; otherwise I am ready now to contest the seating of the delegates I have named.

President Gompers: If the delegates of any organization are seated they cannot be ousted except by the due processes of this convention.

Delegate Clarke: That is, by a majority vote?

President Gompers: It depends entirely upon the nature of the complaint made. If it is a question of personal conduct, no doubt a majority vote would be sufficient. If it is the official conduct of the organization it would require other procedure. The waiver of a protest to the seating of a delegate, if the delegate is seated, settles his standing.

Delegate Clarke: Then I will withdraw the waiver of my protest to a later date. I protest against these delegates being seated, and as an amendment I move that the report of the committee be adopted as read, except as to the delegates of the Machinists, and that their case be taken up later.

Delegate Johnston, Machinists, asked if Delegate Clarke had been seated. The chairman stated that no delegate had been seated, that the convention was considering who should be seated.

In discussing the question briefly Delegate Johnston said in part: I do not care to go into the merits of the case. We have had many rulings and decisions made that have not been carried out. Were we so inclined we might protest the credentials of several delegates. However, we have no desire to do so. We have come here with the desire to do some real constructive work for the labor movement. We have violated no law, despite what has been said. We have declined to carry out a recommendation made to transfer machinists to another organization. That is the basis upon which the protest is made. I leave the matter to the intelligence of the delegates.

Delegate Clarke proceeded to make a further statement of the case.

Vice President Mahon: I rise to a point of order. No delegates have been seated and no action can be taken on a question of this kind until the delegates are seated. We should accept the delegates whose credentials are not questioned and refer this case back to the Committee on Credentials.

President Gompers: The merits of the question cannot be discussed at this time. The question is as to the legality of the credentials presented by the men claiming to be delegates from this organization. If the organization is in good standing and there is no question as to the legality of the election of the delegates, the question of their seating in this convention cannot be upon the merits of a controversy between the two organizations, no matter how one-sided the decisions may have been. The point of order is well taken—the merits of the case cannot be discussed.

Delegate Clarke asked if the question could be taken up later under a special order of business. The chairman stated that it could be brought up in its regular order; that the Executive Council made reference to the case in question in their report, and it could be taken up under that report or in the form of a resolution.

The protest was then withdrawn by Delegate Clarke.

The motion to adopt the report of the Credentials Committee was carried unanimously.

Vice-President Mahon: As the first official act of this convention, I move that the delegation arise and stand in silence with bowed heads for the space of one minute to honor the memory of the dead soldiers who represented our Federation in the United States and Canada.

The motion was adopted and the entire delegation arose and remained standing with bowed heads for one minute.

President Gompers announced that the custom of past conventions to allow resolutions to be introduced up to midnight of the second day would not be followed during the present convention, that the Executive Council in a recent meeting had decided it was in violation of the laws of the Federation. He announced that resolutions would be received up to the close of the afternoon session Tuesday.

At 12:30 the convention was adjourned to 2 o'clock p. m.

FIRST DAY-- Monday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2 o'clock p. m., Monday, June 10th, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—Shanessy, Noschang, Kline, Franklin, Baine, Geddes, Corcoran, Tobin (S.), Boyer, Hutcheson, Guerin (T. M.), McCarthy, Barnes, Baker, Conway, Desepte, Feeney, Brennan, Silberstein,

Kaufman, Rickert, Manning, Doyle (F.), Friedman, Neenan, Flore, Sullivan (J. L.), Williams (J.), Gould, McSorley, O'Connor, Wharton, Hogan, Schmidt (F.), Davidson, Delougherty, Hayes (F. J.), White (J. P.), Green, Farrington, Lewis, Valentine, Carey, Schneider, Dold, Hede, Alpine, Kearney, Anderson, Leary, Berry, Mc-

Hugh, Burke, LaBelle, Ryan (E. J.), Helt, Freil, Heberling, Ross, Gorman, Konenkamp, Curtis, Scott (M. G.), Mountford, Marquardt, McGrath, Wiess, Wilk, Hoof, Milhollan, Stevens, Doyle, Williams, Hutton, Morgan, Alden, Kress, Smith (J. T.), Brown (J. H.), Thompson (G. H.), Sellins, Brindell, Linn, Greene, Draper, Ott, Parker, Ryners, Fanning, Mosher, Bush, Kuhn, Tucker, Hahne, Hester, Casey, Beck, Mezza capo, Bruen, Harte, Browne, Lampa, Morris, Gay, Wendell, Quesse, Kester, Staunton, Walker, Waplington, de Krafft, Williams (T. J.), Ellicott, Welch, Burns (W. W.), Moore (C. O.), Campbell, Bell, Riordan, Byrne, Rincker, Sharon.

APPOINTMENT OF COMMITTEES

The following appointments were announced:

Committee on Rules and Order of Business—John Sullivan, W. F. Kramer, Theodore Thompson, Joseph D. Cannon, Frank Fisher, Edward Menge, Walter N. Reddick, R. C. Schneider, P. J. Morrin, Frank Butterworth, Jas. H. Hatch, J. T. Carey, J. V. Moreschi, Andrew C. Hughes, Thomas J. Savage.

Committee on Report of Executive Council—James Wilson, Matthew Woll, George L. Berry, John B. Lennon, Martin Lawlor, T. V. O'Connor, Wm. L. Hutcheson, Jere L. Sullivan, Frank X. Noschang, Thomas Rickert, Wm. P. Clarke, John Williams, W. A. Campbell, A. O. Wharton, Thomas Kearney.

Committee on Resolutions—James Duncan, John P. Frey, George W. Perkins, George F. Hedrick, E. A. Larger, Hugh Stevenson, Chas. L. Baine, John A. Voll, Martin F. Ryan, A. A. Myrup, Joseph W. Morton, Jas. G. Hannahan, J. A. Franklin, O. E. Woodbury, John Moore.

Committee on Laws—Daniel J. Tobin, Frank J. Hayes, Owen Miller, Paul Scharrenberg, S. W. Heberling, Wm. Dobson, Thomas F. Flaherty, Jas. P. Holland, A. P. Sovey, Timothy Healy, Joseph Proebstle, J. A. Ross, E. E. Baker, Martin T. Joyce, Dennis Lane.

Committee on Organisation—Frank Duffy, A. J. Kugler, Wm. A. Neer, John L. Lewis, Benjamin Schlesinger, Thomas S. Farrell, Sara A. Conboy, W. M. Welsh, Jas. L. Gernon, Patrick Flynn, S. J. Konenkamp, Chas. F. Scott, Wm. S. Brown, Thomas G. Spellacy, Chas. H. Moyer.

Committee on Labels—John J. Manning, R. S. Sexton, Thomas Sweeney, A. McAndrew, Max Hayes, Jacob Fischer, Thomas Noonan, Cornelius McCue, Hubert S. Marshall, James F. Brock, Will R. Boyer, Peter Beisel, Mary Noonan, Chas. O. Isaacson, Al. Laporta.

Committee on Adjustment—James O'Connell, John Golden, Collis Lovely, Jas. C. Shanessy, Wm. Quinlan, H. J. Conway, Milton Snellings, John P. Kennedy, Edward Flore, A. W. Russell, John H. Walker, Sam Tobin, C. L. Shamp, J. B. Etchison, W. E. Bryan.

Committee on Local and Federated Bodies—H. B. Perham, John J. Barry, Emanuel Koveleski, Jacob Heller, Thomas

L. Hughes, John F. Stevens, Wm. L. Foster, R. P. Brindell, P. M. Draper, Jos. Richie, T. A. Reardon, R. E. Woodmansee, E. W. A. O'Dell, Wm. H. McHugh, James Boyle.

Committee on Education—Joseph Valentine, Chas. C. Shay, M. G. Scott, Chas. B. Stillman, Thos. J. Curtis, Margaret Daley, Chas. A. Sumner, Joseph C. Orr, John J. Sullivan, Rose Yates, Peter Brady, E. J. Newmyer, Jas. A. Taylor, J. M. Conley, Edward J. Curry.

Committee on State Organizations—John R. Alpine, J. B. Bode, Jas. W. Kline, Bob White, W. H. Young, Thos. R. Freece, E. G. Hall, R. G. Stewart, Earl R. Hoage, E. O. Jennings, T. P. Hyland, John T. Mugavin, P. J. Guerin, John P. Burke, Edward J. Ryan.

Committee on Boycotts—W. D. Mahon, J. J. Freil, J. M. Gillespie, Wm. H. Johnston, W. W. Britton, M. M. Donoghue, W. L. Funder Burk, James J. Forrester, F. H. Fljoldal, J. M. Neenan, John W. Clifton, Harry Jennings, E. S. Alden, E. L. Tucker, P. Casey.

Committee on Building Trades—John Donlin, James P. Noonan, T. M. Guerin, Wm. J. McSorley, D. D'Alessandro, J. C. Skemp, Chas. M. Rau, Sam Griggs, Frank Feeney, John J. Hynes, Joseph D. Will, Henry Sands, J. M. Gaviak, Wm. J. Bowen, J. E. McClory.

Committee on Shorter Workday—Wm. Green, J. W. Hays, Geo. Leary, Thomas Redding, Chas. MacGowan, Joseph Weber, John J. Lynch, E. J. Gainor, John H. Pruett, Carl Bergstrom, Thos. P. Woodland, Ed. McGivern, A. R. Linn, Philip A. Silberstein, Edward I. Hannah.

Committee on International Labor Relations—George W. Perkins, James Duncan, Jas. O'Connell, Max S. Hayes, Martin Lawlor, James Wilson, John P. Frey, B. A. Larger, T. V. O'Connor, D. J. Tobin, Geo. L. Berry, John H. Walker, C. L. Baine, W. D. Mahon, Matthew Woll, John Golden, Samuel Gompers.

At the request of the Committee on International Labor Relations the name of President Gompers was added to that committee after the appointments had been read in the convention.

Delegate Wilson, Patternmakers, asked why the members of his own and some other delegations had not been included in the report read by the Credentials Committee during the morning session.

Secretary Morrison explained that the committee had included in the report only the delegates who had presented their original credentials upon arriving in the city; that in past conventions many delegates had been seated in the first report of the committee, and when they arrived some days later complained because they had been marked absent at every session until their arrival, and some delegates had been seated who never appeared in the convention.

After a brief discussion President Gompers read the following from the constitution of the Federation: "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." He stated that the Committee on Credentials would be governed by the names sent to the secretary.

Delegate Walker, Mine Workers, asked unanimous consent to the introduction of a resolution dealing with the dispute between the Commercial Telegraphers and the Western Union Telegraph Company.

Vice-President Perham announced that he had a resolution dealing with the question for which he would ask unanimous consent, but that it dealt also with the Postal Telegraph and Cable Company.

Delegate Duncan, Seattle Central Labor Body, stated that he would object to the introduction of the resolution by Vice-President Perham because of the absence of President Konenkamp, of the Commercial Telegraphers. He stated further that he had a resolution on the subject he would ask to submit if Vice-President Perham's resolution was read.

After a brief discussion by Vice-President Perham, Delegate Walker, Delegate Lynn, Delegate Lennon and Delegate Duncan, unanimous consent was obtained for the introduction of the following resolution, which was adopted:

Resolution No. 1.—By Delegates J. H. Walker, John T. Dempsey and John Moore, of the United Mine Workers of America:

WHEREAS, The Associated Press, as well as other press associations, and practically all of the newspapers of the United States, have carried a statement purporting to have been made by Newcomb Carlton, President of the Western Union Telegraph Company, to the effect that there has been no complaint by the telegraph operators of that company as to wages, hours and other conditions of labor; and

WHEREAS, The truth is that the operators did file a complaint in writing with the National War Labor Board, setting out among other grievances that they were compelled, upon pain of discharge, to work hours of such length as to completely exhaust them physically and mentally and to cause them to become ill, and to shorten their lives, and said complaint sent out the fact that the great majority of the telegraph operators of the United States were receiving wages far below the standard of bare subsistence; and

WHEREAS, The telegraph operators of the Western Union Telegraph Company appeared in person before the National

War Labor Board, and fully substantiated these allegations; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, denounce the statement of said Newcomb Carlton as absolutely false, and declare the fact to be that the complaints were so made, and that they were founded in truth, and request that the Associated Press and the other press agencies give the same publicity to this as they did to the initial falsehood of Mr. Carlton; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be telegraphed Hon. Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States of America.

President Gompers: At this stage of the proceedings it becomes the duty of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to submit its annual report. In this instance it is a report of the period of seven months. The reports of the Executive Council have grown in size by reason of the growth in importance of the work coming under the activities of the Council and our movement. In recent years there has been a digest or a brief made of the report. I am going to ask the First Vice-President to read that digest, and full copies will be placed in the hands of the delegates.

Vice-President Duncan read the digest of the report, printed copies of which were distributed to the delegates.

President Gompers referred the following subjects in Executive Councils Report to the following committees:

"Report of Trustees of A. F. of L. Building"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"International Labor Relations"—Committee on International Labor Relations.

"British and American Labor Commissions"—Committee on International Labor Relations.

"Peace Terms"—Committee on International Labor Relations.

"Labor and the War"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Railroad Wage Commission"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Committee on Labor"—Committee on Education.

"Labor Representation"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Wage Questions Propounded"—Committee on Resolutions.

"The Eight-Hour Law"—Committee on Shorter Workday.

"Progress in Securing the Eight-Hour Workday"—Committee on Shorter Workday.

"Federal Employment Bureau"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Compulsory Labor Laws"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Constructive Demands"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Avoid Interruptions of War Production"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Injunction Case—United Mine Workers"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Coronada Coal Company vs. United Mine Workers of America"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Health Insurance"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Education"—Committee on Education.
"Charges Against Arthur Yager, Governor of Porto Rico"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Report on Labor Legislation"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Government Railroad Control Law"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Rehabilitation Bill"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Victims of Industrial Accidents"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Housing Shipyard Employes"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Housing for War Workers"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Transportation for Shipyard and Plant Employes"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Compensation for Maritime Workers"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Injury to War Material Law"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"War Finance Law"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Civil Rights Law"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Chinese Coolie Labor"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Enlisted Men in Civil Occupations"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Child Labor Law"—Committee on Education.

"Workmen's Compensation"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Compensation to Orphans"—Committee on Resolutions.

"School Teachers' Pension Bill"—Committee on Education.

"Convict Labor Bill"—Committee on State Organizations.

"Nolan Minimum Wage Bill"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Insurance Against Unemployment"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Women's Suffrage"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Suffrage for the District of Columbia"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Wheat Price Legislation"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Education of Adult Illiterates"—Committee on Education.

"Standardization of Wages"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Eight Hours for Women"—Committee on Shorter Workday.

"Protective Mine Legislation"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Immigration Legislation"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Proposed Minimum Wage"—Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

"Municipal Ownership"—Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

"Borland Amendment"—Committee on Shorter Workday.

"Wage Raise for Federal Employes"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Taylor System Again"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Postal Employes' Wage Increases"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Fire Prevention Laws"—Committee on Building Trades.

"Second Class Mail Rates"—Committee on Education.

"First Things First"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Carpenters—Bridge and Structural Iron Workers"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Lithographers—Printing Trades"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Tile Layers—Bricklayers and Masons"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Colored Workers—Organization of"—Committee on Organization.

"Co-operative Lecturer and Advisor"—Committee on Education.

"Labor Day"—Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

"Amendment to Constitution"—Committee on Laws.

"Jewelry Workers—Metal Polishers—Machinists"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Flint Glass Workers—Machinists"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Carpenters—Sheet Metal Workers"—Committee on Building Trades.

"Machinists—Carpenters"—Committee on Building Trades.

Secretary Morrison read the following telegram from the Secretary of the Department of Labor, dated June 10, Washington, and addressed to President Gompers:

"Unexpected developments in departmental work made it impossible for me to attend opening session of the Federation convention today. I hope to be able to be with you on Monday or Tuesday of next week. Accept my sincere wishes for a successful convention.

W. B. WILSON."

The Committee on Credentials made a supplemental report which included those whose names had been omitted from the first report. A motion was adopted that the names in the supplemental report be added to the first list.

At 4:15 p. m. the convention was adjourned to 9:30 a. m., Tuesday, June 11th.

REPORT OF A. F. OF L. EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

ST. PAUL, MINN., June 10, 1918.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-eighth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, Greeting:

Because of the short period of time intervening between this convention and the one held in November in Buffalo, we are unable to report to you the amount of completed work usually brought to the attention of the various conventions.

As the whole of our national activity is focused upon the conduct of the war in which we are engaged, organizations of labor are necessarily engaged primarily in matters concerned in war production. Therefore, many of the important matters presented herein center about the war problems.

It has been our purpose even in dealing with emergency problems, to base all plans and policies upon constructive principles that would serve the interests of humanity whether in peace or in war. We feel that the events of the past year have been helpful in testing our agencies and methods, in disclosing fundamental essentials, and in directing the whole of our national thought and action in accord with ideals that make human interests and welfare paramount.

SECRETARY MORRISON'S REPORT

To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-eighth 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 seven months, beginning October 1, 1917, and ending April 30, 1918.

It is with satisfaction I report at the close of the fiscal year a balance on hand of \$165,320.98—\$125,320.98 in cash and \$40,000 loaned to the trustees of the A. F. of L. Building. Of the total amount on hand \$148,072.20 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, \$17,248.78 is in the general fund, and available for the general expenses of the American Federation of Labor.

The total receipts from all sources, \$303,463.71; the total expenses, \$277,110.57; excess of receipts over expenses, * \$26,353.14.

The following are the receipts and expenses for the seven months ending April 30, 1918:

RECEIPTS	
Balance on hand September 30, 1917 (\$141,467.84) Cash Balance.....	\$98,967 84
Per capita tax.....	\$182,239 21
Supplies.....	9,751 64
Interest on funds on deposit.....	1,468 95
<i>American Federationist</i>	58,993 90
Defense fund for local trade and federal labor unions.....	25,768 72
Disbanded and suspended unions and fees for charters not issued.....	1,028 68
Initiation fees.....	19,514 02
Reinstatement fees.....	1,163 68
Premiums on bonds of officers of unions bonded through A. F. of L.....	3,544 91
Total.....	\$303,463 71
EXPENSES	
General.....	\$171,557 48
Defense fund:	
Local trade and federal labor unions.....	\$8,748 00
Refund of overpayment of per capita tax.....	73 16
	8,821 16
<i>American Federationist</i>	58,876 52
Premiums on bonds of officers of affiliated unions.....	3,055 26
Initiation fees.....	45 15
Reinstatement fees.....	30 00
Paid to trustees for A. F. of L. Building Fund.....	34,725 00
Total.....	\$277,110 57
Cash balance on hand April 30, 1918.....	\$125,320 98
RECAPITULATION	
In general fund.....	\$17,248 78
In Defense Fund for local and Federal Labor Unions (cash).....	108,072 20
Cash balance on hand April 30, 1918.....	\$125,320 98
Loan to Trustees for A. F. of L. Building Fund from Defense Fund.....	40,000 00
Total balance on hand April 30, 1918.....	\$165,320 98

(*Includes \$2,500 returned on account of loan from Defense Fund).

EXPENSES GROUPED

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

Per capita tax for directly affiliated local unions:	
Metal Trades Department.....	\$93 77
Union Label Trades Department.....	42 92
Rent.....	6,917 00
Refunds on premiums on bonds, overpayments on per capita tax and supplies returned	132 13
Premiums:	
Bonds, local unions.....	3,055 26
Secretary's bond.....	10 00
Expressage, freight and drayage.....	571 95
Legislative expenses.....	3,808 45
Legal expenses.....	150 00
Newspapers, magazines and books.....	183 64
Office fixtures.....	379 34
Postage stamps.....	4,353 39
Printing and binding proceedings of the Buffalo Convention.....	2,732 97
Stamped envelopes.....	823 20
Supplies and printing.....	16,587 95
Telegrams.....	1,555 99
Expenses fraternal delegates from Great Britain and Canada.....	343 07
Balance of expenses of fraternal delegate, James Lord, to British Trades Union Congress.....	
	14 30
Buffalo:	
Committee and office rooms.....	213 50
Expenses, Secretary attending Buffalo Convention.....	144 61
Messenger, Sergeant-at-Arms and Assistant Secretary.....	505 00
Printing and supplies.....	157 20
Printing daily proceedings.....	1,341 00
Stenographers.....	1,824 00
Telegrams, telephone, stamps, porters, reading proof, sending out daily proceedings, rent of typewriters, photographs, stationery.....	218 49
Salary:	
President.....	4,375 00
Secretary.....	2,916 67
Treasurer.....	166 67
Office employes.....	35,149 63
Expenses:	
Auditing and Credential Committee.....	318 78
Executive Council meetings.....	6,018 18
President traveling during year.....	959 89
Secretary traveling during year.....	270, 75
Defense Fund:	
Strike benefits.....	8,748 00
Refund of overpayment of per capita tax received from local trade and federal labor unions.....	73 16
Organizing expenses.....	76,892 51
Printing and publishing <i>American Federationist</i>	58,876 52
Printing American Federation of Labor Weekly News Letter for organizing and legislative purposes.....	440 78
Printing American Federation of Labor Weekly News Letter.....	810 00
Postage on American Federation of Labor Weekly News Letter.....	100 00
Initiation fees refunded to local trade and federal labor unions.....	45 15
Reinstatement fees refunded to local trade and federal labor unions.....	30 00
Paid to trustees for A. F. of L. Building Fund.....	34,725 00
Expenses in connection with funeral of John McBride, Columbus, Ohio.....	34 75
Total.....	\$277,110 57

DIRECTLY CHARTERED LOCAL TRADE AND FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS

On April 30, 1918, this year we had 854 local trade and federal labor unions with an average membership for seven months of 66,453 in good standing, and a defense fund of \$148,072.20 to protect the members of these unions in case of strike or lockout.

There are only 8 of the 111 national and international unions that have a larger membership than is contained in the 854 local trade and federal labor unions directly chartered by the American Federation of Labor.

In case of strike, the Federation has a substantial defense fund to assist in sustaining the directly affiliated members.

There are also 2,000 district organizers, as well as the paid organizers, and 782 city central bodies ready to respond to a call to assist members of local unions in case of a strike or lockout.

Many strikes that would have cost the American Federation of Labor a large sum were averted during the past year through the assistance of organizers of the American Federation of Labor in adjusting the differences with employers and securing conditions desired by the union.

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 (seven months), ending April 30, 1918:

RECEIPTS			
Receipts from Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions for Defense Fund.....			\$23,258 72
Returned to Defense Fund by Trustees A. F. of L. Building.....			2,500 00
Total.....			\$25,758 72
EXPENSES			
Union and Location.	Average Membership.	Weeks.	Amount.
Basket Makers' Prot., No. 14353, New York, N. Y.....	140	4	\$2,245 00
Tobacco Strippers, No. 12046, New Haven, Conn.....	58	9	2,120 00
Hat Makers, No. 14209, Cabo Rojo, P. R.....	133	2	1,064 00
Foundry Workers, No. 15179, Chicago, Ill.....	230	1	920 00
Tobacco Strippers, No. 12722, Bayamon, P. R.....	76	2	608 00
Reed & Rattan Workers, No. 15053, Los Angeles, Cal.....	19+	6	476 00
Oystermen's Prot. Assn., No. 14878, Apalachicola, Fla.....	109	1	436 00
Cigarmakers, No. 15206, San Juan, P. R.....	24	3	288 00
Oystermen's Prot., No. 14900, Apalachicola, Fla.....	28+	2	228 00
Tobacco Strippers, No. 12439, Puerta de Terra, P. R.....	27	2	216 00
Oil Refinery Workers, No. 15184, Coffeetown, Kans.....	7	3	84 00
Willow Reed & Rattan Workers, No. 14565, Boston, Mass.....	7+	2	60 00
Total strike benefits.....			\$8,748 00
Refund of overpayment of per capita tax received in defense fund			73 16
Total expenses.....			\$8,821 16
RECAPITULATION			
Cash balance in defense fund September 30, 1917.....			\$91,134 64
Receipts for seven months ending April 30, 1918.....			25,758 72
Total cash balance.....			\$116,893 36
Paid out of defense fund.....			8,821 16
Cash balance in defense fund for local trade and federal labor unions, April 30, 1918.....			\$108,072 20
Loan to trustees for A. F. of L. Building Fund.....			40,000 00
Balance in defense fund, including loan, April 30, 1918.....			\$148,072 20

FUND FOR PROMOTING AND ADVANCING COOPERATION

Contributions to fund for promoting and advancing cooperation upon the plan of the Rochdale Cooperative Society, in accordance with the direction of the Buffalo, 1917, A.P. of L. Convention to April 30, 1918, \$282.

AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST

The receipts on account of the *American Federationist* for the fiscal year (seven months) ending April 30, 1918, are \$58,993.90, the total expenses are \$58,876.52, which is an excess of receipts over expenses of \$117.38.

The following is a statement of the receipts and expenses for the seven months ending April 30, 1918:

RECEIPTS	
Advertisements and subscriptions.....	\$35,742 69
Tax received from local, trade and federal labor unions on account of subscriptions....	23,251 21
Total	\$58,993 90

EXPENSES	
Attorney fees.....	\$49 79
Commission on advertising contracts and subscriptions.....	19,763 19
Hauling.....	14 50
Postage, pound rate.....	1,588 83
Printing regular edition <i>American Federationist</i>	5,806 18
Printing additional copies for local unions, <i>American Federationist</i>	30,378 39
Printing proofs.....	1 50
Refunds.....	74 14
Salaries.....	1,200 00
Total	\$58,876 52

RECAPITULATION	
Receipts.....	\$58,993 90
Expenses.....	58,876 52
Excess of receipts over expenses	\$117 38

CHARTERS ISSUED

During the seven months ending April 30, 1918, there have been issued 323 charters to National and International, Central, Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions.

Of this number, three were granted to the following Internationals:

Railway Mail Association;
International Association of Fire Fighters;
National Window Glass Workers;
Thirty-five Central bodies, as follows:

Arizona:	Kansas:	New Jersey:
Bisbee.	Arkansas City.	Vineland.
Jerome.	Fort Scott.	Oregon:
Arkansas:	Junction City.	Bend.
Van Buren.	Louisiana:	Oklahoma:
Canada:	Sildell.	Blackwell.
Moncton, New Brunswick.	Maine:	Ohio:
St. John, New Brunswick.	Madison.	Bucyrus.
Colorado:	Watertown.	Elyria.
Silverton.	Minnesota:	Guernsey County.
Idaho:	Cloquet.	Pennsylvania:
Rexbury.	St. Cloud.	Bethlehem.
Illinois:	Virginia.	Indiana.
Blue Island.	Mississippi:	Texas:
Iowa:	Pascagoula.	Abilene.
Newton.	Missouri:	Virginia:
Oelwein.	Slater.	Danville.
	New York:	Wisconsin:
	Amsterdam.	Rhineland.
	Nebraska:	Wyoming:
	Grand Island.	Glenrock.

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 seven months \$76,892.51. Of this amount \$1,882.14 was paid to district or volunteer organizers, in sums ranging from \$5 to \$50, 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, Pennsylvania.....	\$3,128.76
2. **John J. Fitzpatrick.....	Indiana, Illinois, District of Columbia, New York.....	2,788.14
3. Emmet T. Flood.....	Illinois, New York, Missouri, Oklahoma, Texas, Nebraska.....	2,377.10
4. T. H. Flynn.....	Pennsylvania, New York, West Virginia, Alabama.....	2,355.99
5. C. O. Young.....	Idaho, Washington, Oregon.....	2,336.50
6. P. F. Duffy.....	Pennsylvania, New York, Kentucky.....	2,330.52
7. Mary P. Scully.....	New York.....	2,308.47
8. Charles P. Taylor.....	Washington.....	2,304.22
9. Cal Wyatt.....	Pennsylvania, Ohio, District of Columbia, Indiana.....	2,206.07
10. Henry E. Stredler.....	New York.....	2,174.66
11. P. J. Smith.....	Pennsylvania, Illinois, Missouri, Indiana.....	2,099.77
12. J. A. Flett.....	Pennsylvania, New York, Canada.....	1,995.49
13. C. Covert.....	Washington, Oregon.....	1,926.26
14. H. L. Eichelberger.....	Maryland, Delaware, Pennsylvania.....	1,919.19
15. Frank H. McCarthy.....	Connecticut, Maine, New Hampshire, Rhode Island.....	1,912.24
16. J. Kikinski.....	Illinois.....	1,866.65
17. H. F. Hillera.....	New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware.....	1,826.60
18. Stanley Cupinski.....	Missouri, Nebraska, Illinois.....	1,789.90
19. Edw. Cunningham.....	Oklahoma, Texas, Missouri, District of Columbia.....	1,764.97
20. James E. Roach.....	New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Indiana, Ohio, Illinois, Canada.....	1,700.97
21. Santiago Iglesias.....	Porto Rico, New York, District of Columbia, Mexico.....	1,692.82
22. J. E. Smith.....	Oklahoma, Missouri, Illinois, Texas, Minnesota.....	1,687.50
23. E. E. Ball.....	Missouri, Oklahoma, Texas.....	1,618.09
24. W. Shurtieff.....	Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, West Virginia.....	1,550.00
25. R. E. Peabody.....	New York, District of Columbia, New Jersey, Pennsylv- ania, Ohio, Illinois, Minnesota, Kentucky, Indiana.....	1,515.93
26. William Collins.....	New York.....	1,504.90
27. J. M. Richie.....	Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Indiana, Ohio, Illinois.....	1,449.68
28. A. Goode.....	Virginia.....	1,414.70
29. Jos. Miszewski.....	Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Maine, New Hampshire, New York.....	1,360.25
30. Mary Kelleher.....	New York, Ohio, New Hampshire, Canada, Massachu- setts, Maryland, Pennsylvania, New Jersey.....	1,275.28
31. J. B. Dale.....	California.....	1,275.00
32. A. Marks.....	New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania.....	1,131.16
33. M. Miller.....	Illinois, Missouri.....	1,127.79
34. Melinda Scott.....	New Jersey, New York.....	1,125.60
35. J. S. McDonald.....	Washington.....	1,002.70
36. Anna Neary.....	District of Columbia, Maryland.....	885.14
37. Lillian Heafely.....	Illinois, Massachusetts, New York.....	839.89
38. P. Quinlan.....	Pennsylvania, Virginia.....	669.46
39. A. Wilson.....	Illinois, Missouri, Kansas, New York.....	614.30
40. John Riley.....	Illinois.....	603.25
41. J. Hamor.....	New York.....	600.00
42. J. G. Brown.....	Washington.....	564.35
43. H. F. Colvin.....	Virginia, North Carolina.....	548.84
44. J. Murray.....	Arizona, Mexico.....	525.40
45. A. B. Linn.....	Pennsylvania, New York, Missouri, District of Columbia.....	516.27
46. Jane Olcott.....	New York.....	450.00
47. P. R. Bell.....	Indiana.....	394.50
48. L. B. Travers.....	New Jersey.....	350.35
49. Marie Seary.....	New York.....	340.00
50. D. S. Beasley.....	Virginia.....	294.92
51. Anna Danard.....	New York.....	280.00

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

NAME	STATES WHEREIN WORK WAS DONE.	Amount Received.
52. W. E. Castro.....	California.....	\$273.00
53. Grace Dunford.....	Michigan.....	200.00
54. D. Kreyling.....	Missouri, Illinois.....	167.50
55. G. Hamilton.....	District of Columbia.....	163.15
56. Katherine Carey.....	Pennsylvania.....	135.00
57. J. L. Pauley.....	West Virginia.....	132.20
58. R. Clemmons.....	Alabama.....	123.00
59. Chas. Mucek.....	Missouri, Illinois.....	122.73
60. W. A. Spooner.....	California.....	122.00
61. C. M. Slater.....	Pennsylvania.....	120.00
62. F. L. Rist.....	Ohio.....	114.00
63. J. Leonard.....	Louisiana.....	111.25
64. A. T. Carliquist.....	Illinois.....	102.00
65. T. P. Hyland.....	New York.....	95.70
66. F. T. Carter.....	Tennessee, District of Columbia.....	91.46
67. Rose A. Heller.....	New York.....	80.00
68. E. M. Barry.....	South Carolina.....	80.00
69. H. B. Brown.....	Ohio, Maine.....	73.34
70. Linn Thompson.....	Minnesota.....	64.50
71. E. Jenkins.....	Michigan.....	60.00
72. H. H. Weir.....	Mississippi.....	60.00
73. M. E. Kane.....	Pennsylvania.....	60.00
74. J. E. Toone.....	District of Columbia.....	50.00
75. C. W. Doyle.....	Washington.....	50.00
76. W. C. Wilson.....	California.....	50.00
	Paid to district organizers in amounts less than \$50.....	1,882.14
Total		\$76,892.51

*This amount includes \$1,131.40 paid out by Organizer Frayne for rent of office and office expense, salary of stenographer, interpreter, and other organizers.

**This amount includes \$2,204.81 paid for one-half rent of office, salary stenographer, telegrams, stationery and office supplies.

NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS FORMED FROM AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR LOCAL UNIONS

The American Federation of Labor in the past twenty-three years has formed out of directly chartered local unions, eighty-three national and international organizations.

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

INTERNATIONAL UNIONS. Suspended, 2. International Union of Carriage and Wagon Workers' of North America; membership, 4,133. United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers' of North America; membership, 9,990. Amalgamated, 1. International Shingle Weavers' Union of America; membership, 206†, with Timber Workers' International Union; membership, 2,324†. Disbanded, 1. Brushmakers' International Union; membership, 200.

CENTRAL BODIES. Disbanded, 4; suspended for non-payment of per capita tax, 4.

LOCAL TRADE UNIONS. Disbanded, 10; suspended, 180; joined national and international organizations, 83; reinstated, 20; merged, 1.

FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS. Disbanded, 1; suspended, 55; joined national and international unions, 5.

VOTING STRENGTH OF FEDERATION, 1897 TO 1918, INCLUSIVE

Year.	No. Votes.	Year.	No. Votes.
1897.....	2,747	1908.....	16,892
1898.....	2,881	1909.....	15,880
1899.....	3,632	1910.....	16,737
1900.....	5,737	1911.....	18,693
1901.....	8,240	1912.....	18,499
1902.....	10,705	1913.....	20,976
1903.....	15,238	1914.....	21,185
1904.....	17,363	1915.....	20,433
1905.....	16,338	1916.....	21,906
1906.....	15,621	1917.....	24,973
1907.....	16,425	1918.....	25,375

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

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VOTING STRENGTH

The following table shows the voting strength of the affiliated unions of the American Federation of Labor for the years 1910 up to and including 1918. This table is based upon the average membership reported or paid upon to the American Federation of Labor:

ORGANIZATIONS.	1910.	1911.	1912.	1913.	1914.	1915.	1916.	1917.	1918.
Bakery & Confectionery Wkrs. Intl. U. of A.	127	138	146	151	157	158	175	189	204
Barbers' International Union, Jour.	265	285	299	318	343	341	359	398	384
Bill Posters	14	14	14	14	14	14	15	15	16
Blacksmiths, Intl. Brotherhood of	100	100	93	90	96	85	97	120	183
Boilermakers and Iron Shipbuilders	161	199	167	162	167	173	182	312	555
Boot and Shoe Workers' Union	325	327	333	343	381	356	390	396	358
Bookbinders, Intl. Brotherhood of	78	79	85	91	94	85	93	114	145
Brewery Workmen, International Union	400	450	450	450	520	520	496	540	450
Brick and Clay Workers, etc.	38	34	34	39	32	29	32	28	25
Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' Intl. U. of A.	6	7	7	7	7	7	8	700	700
Broom and Whisk Makers' Union, Intl.	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	7
Brushmakers' International Union	71	78	*	*	*	*	*	*	+
Carpenters and Joiners, Amalgamated	1904	1946	1923	2107	2128	1956	1977	2317	2673
Carpenters and Joiners, United Bro. of	11	20	27	29	35	38	40	42	i
Carriage & Wagon Workers	12	12	10	10	11	10	11	12	12
Carvers' Union, International Wood	50	46	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Car Workers, International Association of	90	90	90	90	73	16	g	g	g
Cement Workers	2	c	c	c	c	c	c	c	c
Chainmakers' National Union	432	438	415	402	400	394	377	416	395
Cigarmakers' International Union	50	50	50	50	50	50	51	68	172
Clerks, Bro. of Railway	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150
Clerks, Bro. of Railway Postal	14	16	18	22	28	32	42	i	i
Clerks, Intl. Protective Asso. Retail	21	22	28	38	36	30	63	88	m
Clerks, National Post-office	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10
Cloth Hat and Cap Makers, United	6	6	6	8	10	12	14	16	n
Commercial Telegraphers	41	43	48	46	45	39	36	39	40
Compressed Air and Foundation Workers	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	2	2
Coppers' International Union	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	4
Cutting Die and Cuttermakers, Intl. Union	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	4
Diamond Workers' Prot. Union of A.	160	189	196	227	308	362	362	415	544
Electrical Workers, International Bro.	21	21	23	26	27	27	28	29	29
Elevator Constructors	160	160	177	200	203	210	210	220	230
Engineers, Ben. Assn. of U. S. & C., Nat. Marine	2	2	2	1	++	++	++	++	++
Engineers, International Union of Steam	81	80	114	160	160	160	170	171	109
Express Messengers of A., Bro. of Railway	47	40	25	10	29	+	+	+	23
Federal Employes, National Federation of	3	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	171
Fire Fighters, International Association of	3	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	+
Firemen, International Bro. of Stationary	7	5	5	5	6	6	8	13	33
Freight Handlers, Bro. of Railroad	2	c	c	c	c	c	c	c	c
Flour and Cereal Mill Employees	542	525	464	585	607	422	430	449	81
Foundry Employes, International Bro. of	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Fur Workers, International Association of	12	12	11	13	12	11	h	h	h
Fur Workers' Union of U. S. and Can., Intl.	*	*	*	91	99	94	94	98	99
Garment Workers of America, United	8	9	11	13	11	10	10	8	7
Glass Bottle Blowers' Assn. of U. S. and Canada	2	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Glass Workers' International Assn., Amal.	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	+	+
Glass Workers, American Flint	134	135	135	135	135	135	131	125	119
Glass Workers', National Window	85	85	85	85	85	85	85	85	91
Glove Workers	114	127	125	221	256	319	324	324	367
Grinders' National Union, Table Knife	72	49	52	53	57	57	58	54	54
Grinders and Finishers, Pocket Knife Blade	370	430	476	539	590	606	590	646	652
Granite Cutters' International Assn. of A., The.	80	45	45	55	64	65	67	110	161
Hatters of North America, United	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	j	160
Heat Press, Genl. Insulators, and Asbestos	4	3	2	++	++	++	53	43	48
Hodcarriers and Common Laborers	187	688	584	788	699	653	851	822	825
Horsehoers of United States and Canada	50	50	50	50	55	60	60	60	60
Hotel and Restaurant Employes, etc.	29	26	26	26	28	41	43	46	55
Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers' Amal. Assn.	37	26	20	19	18	18	18	k	k
Iron Workers, Bridge and Struc. Intl. Assn.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	c
Jewelry Workers' International	8	9	10	11	12	11	12	11	12
Lace Operatives, Amal.	157	9	9	9	10	10	10	10	10
Ladies' Garment Workers, International	50	50	50	50	55	60	60	60	60
Lathers, Intl. Union of W. W. and Metal	29	26	26	26	28	41	43	46	55
Laundry Workers, International Union	37	26	20	19	18	18	18	k	k
Leather Workers on Horse Goods	8	6	6	c	c	c	c	c	c
Leather Workers of America, Amal.									32
Leather Workers Intl. Union, United									41
Letter Carriers, National Association of	17	21	24	26	28	35	42	46	49
Lithographers Intl. P. and B. Assn.	9	9	9	10	10	10	10	10	10
Lithographic Pressworkers, International	208	250	235	220	250	250	250	255	260
Longshoremen's Association, International	569	671	598	710	754	719	1009	1125	1436
Machinists, International Association of									

VOTING STRENGTH—Continued

ORGANIZATIONS.	1910.	1911.	1912.	1913.	1914.	1915.	1916.	1917.	1918.
Machine Printers and Color Mixers.....	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
Maintenance of Way Employees, Intl. Bro. of.....	87	100	91	80	65	81	89	97	56
Marble, etc., Intl. Association of.....	27	28	28	30	41	16	6	10	18
Masters, Mates and Pilots.....							40	43	48
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen.....	54	31	40	54	62	61	73	96	291
Metal Workers' Intl. Alliance, Amal. Sheet.....	162	172	168	169	178	178	175	176	183
Metal Polishers, Buffers, and Platers, etc.....	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Mine Workers of America, United.....	2337	2504	2670	3708	3345	3116	3180	3520	4134
Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' Intl. Union of.....		513	508	485	369	167	161	179	167
Molders' Union of North America, Intl.....	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500
Musicians, American Federation of.....	400	500	500	546	600	600	600	604	650
Painters of America, Brotherhood of.....	635	676	685	709	744	753	782	852	845
Papermakers, United Brotherhood of.....	16	24	28	40	44	45	52	64	60
Patternmakers' League of N. A.....	52	56	60	65	67	65	65	70	88
Pavers and Rammermen, Intl. Union of.....	15	15	15	15	16	15	15	15	17
Paving Cutters Union of U. S. of A. & Can.....	32	32	35	35	35	35	33	32	32
Photo-Engravers' Union of N. A., Intl.....	35	37	40	44	47	48	51	51	51
Piano and Organ Workers' Union of A. Intl.....	40	40	20	10	10	10	10	15	20
Plasterers' Intl. Assn. of U. S. & Can., Oper.....	152	147	157	173	180	183	184	190	190
Plumbers, Steamfitters, etc.....	200	200	260	290	297	320	320	320	320
Postal Employees, National Federation of.....								81	101
Powder and High Explosive Workers.....	2	2	2	2	2	2	3	3	4
Potters, National Brotherhood of Operative.....	58	59	65	65	77	78	77	76	78
Printing Pressmen, International.....	186	190	190	190	193	227	290	330	340
Printers Union of N. A., Intl. S. and C. Plate.....	13	13	13	13	13	13	12	13	12
Print Cutters' Assn. of A. Natl.....	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Pulp, Sulphite, and Paper Mill Workers.....	7	28	35	31	35	43	44	65	80
Quarry Workers, International.....	50	35	40	40	40	36	35	35	31
Railway Carmen of A. Bro.....	228	269	287	280	287	293	308	390	534
Railway Employees' Amal. Assn., St. & Elec.....	367	393	402	457	545	589	646	737	786
Railway Mail Association.....									94
Roofers, Comp. Damp & Waterproof Wkrs.....	11	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12
Sawmills' National Union.....	3	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Seamen's Union of America, Intl.....	160	160	160	160	160	160	217	322	371
Shipwrights, Joiners and Calkers.....	9	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†
Signalmen, Bro. R. R.....					7	8	9	8	9
Slate and Tile Roofers.....	5	5	5	6	6	6	6	6	6
Slate Workers.....	14	7	4	3	3	3	††	††	††
Spinners' Intl. Union.....	22	22	22	22	22	22	22	22	22
Steam Shovel and Dredge Men.....	56	56	d	d	d	d	20	20	d
Steel Plate Transfers' Assn. of America.....	1	1	1	1	1	1	20	20	37
Stereotypers & Electrotypers' Union of N. A.....	40	42	43	45	45	49	49	52	53
Stonemasons' Association, Journeymen.....	80	86	89	66	60	44	43	41	42
Stove Mounters' International Union.....	9	11	11	11	11	11	12	17	19
Switchmen's Union of North America.....	80	87	87	96	98	90	93	102	107
Tailors' Union of America, Journeymen.....	117	120	120	120	120	120	120	120	120
Teachers, Am. Fed. of.....							87	21	10
Teamsters, Chauffeurs, etc., Intl. Bro. of.....	358	382	415	469	511	516	590	703	729
Telegraphers, Order of Railroad.....	200	250	250	250	250	250	250	272	377
Textile Workers of America, United.....	100	100	109	162	180	189	255	371	459
Theatrical Stage Employees, Intl. Alliance.....	91	98	110	132	150	180	181	186	186
Tile Layers and Helpers, Intl. Union.....	19	21	24	27	30	30	28	28	25
Timber Workers, Intl. Union of.....								2	23
Tin Plate Workers, Intl. Protective.....	8	3	3	f	f	f	f	f	f
Tip Printers.....	2	2	2	2	3	3	3	3	3
Tobacco Workers' Intl. Union of America.....	41	40	37	36	37	39	34	32	33
Travelers' Goods & Leather Novelty Intl.....	6	8	9	9	9	9	10	k	k
Tunnel & Subway Constructors, Intl. Union.....	13	17	18	19	17	15	27	34	24
Typographical Union, International.....	491	518	547	564	594	591	607	616	633
Upholsterers, International Union of.....	28	28	28	31	35	35	39	40	48
Watch-case Engravers, International.....	2	2	c	c	c	c	c	c	c
Weavers, Elastic Goring.....	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Weavers, Shingle.....	18	15	15	31	25	7	4	5	0
White Rats Actors' Union of A.....	11	66	110	110	110	87	90	47	30
Wire Weavers' Protective, American.....	4	4	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Woodsmen and Saw Mill Workers.....	6	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†
Wood Workers, Amalgamated.....	32	31	e	e	e	e	e	e	e
Centrals.....	632	631	560	621	647	673	717	762	781
State Branches.....	39	38	41	42	43	44	45	45	45
Directly affiliated local unions.....	647	680	590	659	570	489	705	1016	1076
Total vote of Unions.....	16737	18643	18499	20976	21185	20433	21906	24973	28375

* Charter revoked. ** Withdrew. † Suspended for non-payment of per capita tax. †† Disbanded.
a Merged with Machinists. b Merged with Molders. c Surrendered charter. d Not recognized.
e Merged with Carpenters. f Merged with Iron and Steel Workers. g Merged with Operative Platers. h Merged with Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers.
i Bro. of Railway Postal Clerks and National Federation of Post Office Clerks, merged.
j Suspended for failure to comply with decision of Baltimore Convention. k Leather Workers on Horse Goods and Travelers' Goods merged with Leather Novelty Workers.
l Suspended for failure to comply with decision of A. F. of L. Convention. m Suspended for failure to comply with decision of A. F. of L. n Merged with Hod-carriers. o Merged with Timber Workers.

CHARTERS—Reports from the Secretaries of 100 of our National and International organizations furnish us with the information that 2,977 charters have been issued during the past year and 2,492 Applications were received for the charters lapsed and surrendered of the National and International unions and affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

GAIN IN MEMBERSHIP—The gain in membership reported by the Secretaries of 55 International organizations over the membership on the first of September last year is 531,438.

STRIKES—Reports were received from 49 National and International organizations and from local unions directly affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. All the International organizations have not available complete figures covering strikes in their trades and the figures supplied in the following table do not cover completely the movements for improved conditions of labor. The information, however, is sufficient to show that the organized workers are steadily standardizing their demands for better working conditions and more adequate wages. There were 140,042 involved, 134,053 secured and 6,989 lost. The total cost of the strikes reported on this report is \$1,295,031.07. Adding to that amount \$102,656.81, donations made by unions for financial assistance of other unions, we have a total of \$1,397,687.88 expended to sustain members on strike during the past year.

ORGANIZATIONS.	Charters Issued.	Charters Surrendered.	Gain in membership.	Strikes won.	Strikes compromised.	Strikes pending.	Strikes lost.	Number Involved	Number benefited.	Number involved in strikes pending.	Gain in wages.	Reduction in hours per day.	Cost of strikes.	Donations to other unions.
A. F. of L. Locals.....	285	294	8,037	18	9	4	1	18,328	18,525	7	50c per day		\$14,879.96	\$1,573 35
Asbestos Workers.....	3	1	600	4	4	2		400	120	49	50c per d.	1 hour	7,118 50	685 00
Bakers.....	15	8	883	8				300	300	70	50c per d.		1,000 00	1,020 00
Barbers.....	47	20	1,000	2	1	3		500	1,434		\$1 to \$4 per w		17,274 65	7,000 00
Bill Posters.....	48	1	8,133	2		3		500	494		10 per ct.			12,862 00
Blacksmiths.....	15	1	2,533	6				500	50	100				
Boat and Shoe Workers.....	13	11	1,898	15	8			1,800	600		22 per cent		11,000 00	
Brewery Workers.....	13	11	1,898	15	8			1,800	600		22 per cent		11,000 00	
Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers.....	12	24	6,000	2		2		1,800	600		22 per cent		11,000 00	
Brick and Clay Workers.....	15	21	23,161	1				174	25		\$1		200 00	
Bridge and Structural Iron Workers.....	11	2	15,000	1				174	25		\$1		1,020 00	
Broom and Whisk Makers.....	200	15	23,161	1				174	25		\$1		1,020 00	
Carpenters.....	150	88	28,470	3		1		174	25		\$1		9,165 00	
Carringtons.....	1			3		1		174	25		\$1		170 00	
Carvers.....	1			3		1		174	25		\$1		170 00	
Cigarmakers.....	6	11	11	19	5	6	2	18	15	15	3 40c & 80c p. d.		300 00	
Clerks, Railway.....	158	21	14,039	4		6	2	9,155	8,174	790	50c to \$2 a		1,020 00	
Clerks, Retail.....	68	49	2,533	2		3		6,000	10,000		40c per day	2 hrs. a	8,000 00	300 00
Cooks.....	9			2				30					1,116 00	260 00
Coopers, Die Makers.....	89	12	12,000	11	2			800	800		75 cents per d.		1,116 00	260 00
Electrical Workers.....	2			2				800	800		75 cents per d.		1,116 00	260 00
Engineers, Marine.....	28	28		5		1	2	447	70	322	15 per c/		4,720 00	
Engineers, Steam and Operating.....	24	2	8,000	2		4		447	70	322	15 per c/		4,720 00	
Engineers, Photo.....	24	2	8,000	2		4		447	70	322	15 per c/		4,720 00	
Federal Employees.....	24	2	8,000	2		4		447	70	322	15 per c/		4,720 00	
Fire Fighters.....	100		1,000	1		1		48			\$1 per day	4 hrs. per d. 1	2,330 00	3,000 00
French, Stationary.....	20		1,500	11	2	1		385	385		\$1 per day	4 hrs. per d. 1	2,330 00	3,000 00

CHARTERS, GAIN IN MEMBERSHIP, AND STRIKES—CONTINUED.

ORGANIZATIONS.	Charters issued.	Charters surrendered.	Gain in membership.	Strikes won.	Strikes compromised.	Strikes pending.	Strikes lost.	Number involved.	Number benefited.	Number involved in strikes pending.	Gain in wages.	Reduction in hours per day.	Cost of strikes.	Donations to other unions.
Postal Employees.....	110		4,000							45			\$13,942 00	\$580 00
Print Cutters.....	1	1	79			1				400				323 15
Printers, Steel and Copper Plate.	1		27					332	297		\$2 per week			
Printing Pressmen.....	6	2	2,266	8		4		11,000	10,875	2,000	1c to 7c per hr.		8,790 00	150 00
Pulp and Sulphite Workers.	3	3	800	18	10	4	3	500	500	1,000	50 & 60c per da.		6,800 00	
Railway Employees, Street.	30	3	3,000	8		11		400	560	100	\$12.50 per mo.		48,783 45	
Roofers, Compositors.	2	4		3				200						
Roofs, Slate and Tile.....	2	4		3										
Seamens.....	5	3		1										3,213 78
Signalmen, Railroad.....	11	2	607											
Spinners.....														
Stage Employees, Theatrical.	10	4		10	2	10		400	150	150	20 to 25 per ct. g		3,000 00	5,000 00
Steam Shovel and Driftman.	3	1	261	1				33	33		5 per cent			200 00
Stencillers and Electrotypers.	3	1	188											
Stonemasons.....	1	1						300	50	100	16 per cent		4,310 00	120 00
Stove Mounters.....	20	29	200	2	4	4	3	751	570	150	40 cts. per day/d		15,965 00	50 00
Tailors.....	2		100	6	2			1,200	1,200	300	75 cts. per day		1,120 00	
Teachers.....	7	98	271	22		2								5,000 00
Telegraphers, Railroad.	123		5,000					500	500		25 per cent		400 00	
Telegraphers, Commercial.	6	6		1		2		18,000	18,000		50 30 to 60 per ct.	5 hrs. per week	15,000 00	2,500 00
Textile Workers.....	31	6	10,566	15										
Tile Layers.....	1	2	30											
Timber Workers.....	22	2												
Tip Printers.....	2	4						25						
Tobacco Workers.....	2		2,208	1		1		4,000	4,000					
Transferers, Glass Plate.	5													
Transferers, Subway Constructors.	2							400	500	300	40 cts. per day	1 hour /	53,304 46	600 00
*Typographical Union.....	24	12	1,887	3	1	2		43	30	13	65 cts. per day		1,500 00	
Upholsterers.....	11	3	1,200	7			7	418	610				6,985 00	
Weavers, Elastic Goring.	2													
Weavers, American Wire.														200 00
Totals.....	2,977	1,052	591,498	570	108	201	43	140,042	134,033	20,741			\$1,295,031.07	\$102,656.81

* From June 1, 1917, to April 1, 1918.

a, per thousand cigars; b, for 50 per cent of membership; c, for 75 members; d, for 570 members; e, gains in wages aggregate \$2,314,446 for ten months; f, over 19 rates for 100 men; g, for 275 men and 6-day week instead of 7 for 25 men; h, for 25 men; i, for 400 men; m, for 20 workers; n, local unions; o, 8-hour day in 5 instances; Saturday half-holidays; p, 6 clubs, 3-day week in 3 localities; q, for 1,000; r, for 1,200.

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.....	\$817 50	\$70 00	\$2,035 62	\$1,130 88	\$10 00	\$287 86
Bakers.....	4,982 50	950 00	32,303 00			35,232 00
Barbers.....	18,200 00		48,768 63			
Bookbinders.....	5,100 00					
Boot and Shoe Workers.....	10,375 00		c 45,327 31			
Bricklayers and Masons.....	150,042 62					a
Brick and Clay Workers.....	1,000 00					
Bridge and Structural Iron Workers.....	16,550 00					
Broom and Whisk Makers.....	700 00					
Carmen, Railway.....	27,750 00					
Carpenters.....	237,975 05	34,325 00				
Carvers, Wood.....	2,400 00				30 00	
Cigarmakers.....	210,000 00					
Clerks, Railway.....						600 00
Clerks, Retail.....	4,400 00		6,060 00			
Coopers.....	4,750 00		200 00	800 00		
Cutting Die Makers.....	600 00			156 50		
Diamond Workers.....	400 00		865 00			2,338 75
Electrical Workers.....	26,760 00					
Engravers, Photo.....	2,200 00		6,962 41			
Glass Bottle Blowers.....	31,500 00					
Glass, Window, Workers.....	6,200 00	1,600 00				5,915 62
Glove Workers.....	h 22 00					
Hatters.....	21,000 00					
Hodcarriers.....	9,200 00					
Hotel and Restaurant Employees.....	54,558 80		102,937 46			
Iron and Steel Workers.....	9,000 00	1,500 00	16,500 00			
Lace Operatives.....	6,000 00					
Lathers.....	2,562 50					
Laundry Workers.....	400 00					
Leather Workers.....	850 00		675 00			
Letter Carriers.....	183,783 96		55,366 85			
Lithographers.....	5,550 00					
Marble Workers.....	600 00					
Meat Cutters.....	2,250 00					
Metal Workers, Sheet.....	13,300 00					
Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers.....	11,690 00		22,104 00			
Molders.....	50,443 07		123,235 60			11,902 50
Painters.....	72,161 30	6,725 00	f14,626 00			
Pattern Makers.....	4,125 00		5,274 29		2,149 44	75 00
Paving Cutters.....	2,300 00					
Piano and Organ Workers.....	2,500 00	200 00	1,500 00	637 63		300 00
Plasterers.....	20,275 00					
Plumbers.....	23,280 00		61,810 00			
Polishers, Metal.....	9,375 00					100 00
Potters.....	7,824 25					
Print Cutters.....	800 00					
Printers, Machine and Color Mixers.....	1,800 00					
Printers, Steel and Copper Plate.....				200 00		
Printing Pressmen.....	12,030 50					
Quarry Workers.....	625 00					
Railway Employes, Street.....	b 317,594 25		98,914 79			e
Railway Mail Association.....	4,000 00					
Roofers, Composition.....				800 00		
Roofers, Slate and Tile.....	900 00					
Seamen.....	8,905 25		d 5,781 00			
Stage Employes, Theatrical.....						1 000 00
Stereotypers and Electrotypers.....	4,200 00					
Stonecutters.....	7,375 00					
Tailors.....	7,638 85		14,002 00			
Telegraphers, Railroad.....	60,000 00					
Telegraphers, Commercial.....		300 00				
Textile Workers.....	3,100 00					
Tobacco Workers.....	800 00		2,934 00			
Tunnel and Subway Constructors.....	1,000 00					
*Typographical Union.....	279,609 76					g
Weavers, Wire.....	500 00		600 00			
Total.....	\$1,989,632 16	\$45,670 00	\$668,782 96	\$3,725 01	\$2,189 44	\$57,751 63

*From June 1, 1917, to April 1, 1918: a, pensions, \$575,585; b, including disability benefits; c, disability benefits, \$2,000; d, shipwreck benefits, \$11,005.25; e, \$100 old-age exemption card benefits; f, total disability; g, old-age pensions, \$302,210; h, local unions.

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 hereinbefore 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.

INTERNATIONAL UNIONS

- Asbestos Workers.**—Charters issued, 3; surrendered, 1. Gain in membership, 600. Strikes won, 4; compromised, 4. Number of persons involved, 400. 50 cents per day gain in wages. 20 agreements were secured without strike, increasing wages. No reductions in wages.
- Bakers and Confectioners.**—Charters issued, 15; surrendered, 8. Gain in membership, 883. Number of strikes won, 8; pending, 3. Number of persons involved, 169; benefited, 120. Number involved in strikes pending, 49. Strikes were conducted for the maintenance of the union shop. Cost of strikes, \$7,118.50. No instances of wage reductions. Death benefits, \$4,982.50; death benefits members' wives, \$950; sick benefits, \$32,303; unemployed benefits, \$35,232. Donations to other unions, \$685.
- Barbers, Journeymen.**—Charters issued, 47; surrendered, 20. Death benefits, \$18,200; sick benefits, \$48,768.63.
- Bill Posters.**—Charters issued, 5; surrendered, 1. Gain in membership, 100. Strikes won, 2; compromised, 1. Number of persons involved, 300; benefited, 300. 50 cents per day gain in wages. Hours of labor reduced 1 per day. Cost of strikes, \$1,000. 10 agreements secured without strike. No reductions in wages. Wages have increased 50 per cent since organization.
- Blacksmiths.**—Charters issued, 48. Gain in membership, 8,000. Number of strikes won, 3; pending, 3. Number of persons involved, 520; benefited, 1,500. Number involved in strikes pending, 70. Hours of labor reduced from 10 to 9 hours and in majority of cases to 8 per day. Saturday half-holiday also secured. Cost of strikes, \$15,649.70. 27 agreements secured without strike. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted.
- Bookbinders.**—Charters issued, 15. Gain in membership, 2,533. Strikes won, 6; pending, 3. Number of persons involved, 500; benefited, 424; number involved in strikes pending, 74. Gains in wages average from \$1 to \$4 per week. Cost of strikes, \$7,274.65. 49 local unions secured agreements with their employers without strike. Death benefits, \$5,100. As a result of organization hours of labor have been reduced from 10 and 11 to 8 per day, and wages increased 60 to 100 per cent.
- Boot and Shoe Workers.**—Charters issued, 13; surrendered, 15. Gain in membership, 1,898. Strikes won, 1. Number of persons involved, 50; benefited, 100. Gains in wages average 10 per cent. Cost of strikes, \$929.37. Secured increases averaging from 10 to 23 per cent through mutual agreement without strike covering the entire membership. As a result of efforts substantial increases have been secured by shoe workers not yet members of union. Death benefits, \$10,375; sick benefits, \$45,327.31; disability benefits, \$2,000. Donations to other unions, \$7,000. As a result of organization the hours of labor have been reduced from 60 to 50 per week and wages increased 100 per cent and over.
- Brewery Workers.**—Charters issued, 13 local and 3 branch unions; surrendered, 11 local and 22 branch. Number of strikes won, 15; compromised, 8. 47 agreements secured without strike. Reductions in wages were resisted with partial success; in some instances successful in restoring union scale. Sanitary conditions improved. Donations to other unions, \$12,862. As a result of organization wages are 30 to 40 per cent higher than when organization was started 32 years ago and hours of labor decreased 1 to 8 per day.
- Bricklayers.**—Charters issued, 12; surrendered, 24. From 300 to 400 agreements secured without strike. No reductions in wages in the past year. Death benefits, \$150,042.62; pensions benefits, \$575,585. As a result of organization conditions have improved as follows: 1865, wages averaged \$2.50 a day for a 10-hour day; 1917, wages average near \$6 a day for an 8-hour day.
- Brick and Clay Workers.**—Charters issued, 15. Number of strikes won, 2; pending, 2. Number of persons involved, 1,800; benefited, 600; balance working at other lines of work with good wages. Where strikes resulted in settlement wages were advanced about 22 per cent. The check-off system has been gained in about 90 per cent of all locals. No

- reductions in wages in past seven months. War has curtailed work in the building brick industry. Cost of strikes, \$11,000. 24 agreements have been secured without strike. Death benefits, \$1,100. As a result of organization, wages have been increased 10 to 25 per cent and hours of labor reduced to 8 and 9 from 9 and 10 hours.
- Bridge and Structural Iron Workers.**—Charters issued, 11. Gain in membership, 8,000. 125 local unions have renewed agreements since September, 1917, without strike. Increases in wages average 21½ cents an hour. No reduction in wages in the past year. Death benefits, \$16,550. At the formation of the international union in 1896, the average wage was \$2.50 for a 10-hour day; the average wage now is \$6.10 for an 8-hour day.
- Broom and Whisk Makers.**—Charters issued, 11; surrendered, 2. 1 strike during year which was won, securing \$1 per day increase in wages for 25 members. 700 members secured advance from \$1 to \$2 per day without strike. Cost of strikes, \$200. 120 agreements secured without strike; practically all shops operating as union shops have signed agreements without strike, with wage increases of \$1 to \$2 per day. Death benefits, \$700. When organization was started wages averaged \$2 per day; at present wages in union shops, \$4 to \$6 per day; in non-union shops from \$2.50 to \$3 per day.
- Carmen Railway.**—Charters issued, 200; surrendered, 15. Gain in membership, 23,161. Strikes won, 1; lost, 1. Number of persons involved, 174. No reductions in wages. Cost of strikes, \$1,020.94. Death benefits, \$27,750.
- Carpenters.**—Charters issued, 150; surrendered, 88. Trade movement season, generally speaking, begins about April 1, and the great majority of movements for better working conditions become effective from April 1 to June 1, most of them on May 1. About 500 trade movements pending in which increases in wages averaging 10 to 12½ cents per hour are asked and in nearly every instance the outlook for success without strike is good. Strikes pending, 1; 15 involved. 92 successful trade movements without strike involving approximately 3,000 members with an average increase in wages of 10 cents per hour. No reductions in wages. Cost of strikes, \$9,165. Death benefits, \$237,975.05; death benefits, members' wives, \$34,325.
- Carvers, Wood.**—Charters issued, 1. Strikes won, 3; lost, 1; pending, 2. Persons involved, 18; benefited, 15. Number involved in strikes pending, 3. Gain in wages of 40 and 80 cents per day. Cost of strikes, \$170. 15 agreements secured without strike, benefiting 80 members, all receiving 5 to 10 cents per hour increase in wages. No reductions in wages. Death benefits, \$2,400. Tool insurance, \$30.
- Cigarmakers.**—Charters issued, 6; surrendered, 11. Strikes won, 19; compromised, 5; lost, 2; pending, 6. Number of persons involved, 9,155; benefited, 8,174. Number involved in strikes pending, 790. Wages increased from 50 cents to \$2 per 1,000 cigars. In a number of instances strikes brought about improved sanitary conditions in workshops. 48 agreements secured without strike involving 4,054. Attempts to reduce wages were resisted with success in 2 cases; 3 cases pending. Entirely without strikes, about 25,000 members have obtained increases in wages in the past 18 months. Death benefits, \$210,000.
- Clerks, Railway.**—Charters issued, 158; surrendered, 21. Gain in membership, 14,039. Strikes won, 4. Number [of persons involved, 6,000; benefited, 25,000. 40 cents per day increase in wages. Reduction of 2 hours a day was secured on the Northern Pacific. Other improvements are the right of appeal and seniority rights. 8 agreements were secured without strike. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. Cost of strikes, \$8,000. Unemployed benefits, \$600. Donations to other unions, \$300. Organization has resulted in conditions being bettered in all instances.
- Clerks, Retail.**—Charters issued, 68; surrendered, 49. Strikes won, 2; pending, 3. No reductions in wages. Death benefits, \$4,400; sick benefits, \$6,060. As result of organization many locals have been successful in obtaining 20 per cent wage increase.
- Coopers.**—Charters issued, 9; surrendered, 2. 1 strike, now pending; 30 members involved. Cost of strikes, \$1,116. 20 agreements secured without strike. No attempts to reduce wages. Death benefits, \$4,750; sick benefits, \$200. Traveling benefits, \$800. Donations to other unions, \$260. When organization was started there was no limit to the working hours, members now enjoy 8-hour day practically everywhere.
- Cutting Die and Cutter Makers.**—Gain in membership, 18. Death benefits, \$600; traveling benefits, \$156.50.

- Diamond Workers.**—1 agreement secured without strike providing for a general 5 per cent increase in wages. Death benefits, \$400; sick benefits, \$865; unemployed benefits, \$2,338.75. In 1902 wages averaged \$26 per week for 56 to 60 hour week; in 1913 wages average \$62 for a week of 48 hours.
- Electrical Workers.**—Charters issued, 89; surrendered, 12. Gain in membership, 12,000. Number of strikes won, 11; compromised, 2. Number of persons involved, 800; benefited, 800. 75 cents per day gain in wages. 417 agreements secured without strike. No attempts to reduce wages. Death benefits, \$26,760. When organization was started the wages were \$1.75 to \$2 per day, 10 and 12 hours per day; present average \$5.60 for an 8-hour day.
- Elevator Constructors.**—No reductions in wages.
- Engineers, Marine.**—Charters issued, 2. No strikes, but new increased wage-rates have been secured in most parts of the country. No reductions in wages in the past seven months. In 1875, when the National Association was started, wages to chiefs were not more than \$1,200 per year, now about \$3,000 a year.
- Engineers, Steam.**—Charters issued, 28. Number of strikes won, 5; lost, 2; pending, 11. Number of persons involved 447; benefited, 70. Number involved in strikes pending, 322. Cost of strikes, \$4,720.
- Engravers, Photo.**—Strikes won, 2; pending, 4. Number of persons involved, 68. Number of persons involved in strikes pending, 11. Cost of strikes, \$18,205.55. 21 agreements were secured without strike. No reductions in wages. Death benefits, \$2,200. Tuberculosis benefit, \$6,962.41. As a result of organization there has been a 50 per cent increase in wages with hours of labor reduced from 54, 58 and 60 per week to 48, 46 and 44 per week, and better cooperation between employer and employe.
- Federal Employes.**—Charters issued, 24; surrendered, 2. Gain in membership, 8,000.
- Fire Fighters.**—Charters issued, 1. Gain in membership, 100. Strikes won, 1; pending, 1; 48 persons involved. As a result of organization general improvement in conditions for the firemen throughout all fire departments with increases in salaries and a considerable number of cities have granted 10 and 14 hour shifts. The two-platoon system is now in operation in 42 cities and a considerable number will be added to this figure in the near future; the hours secured by the two-platoon or two shift system are usually 10 and 14 hours for each shift, the day shift being 10 hours and the night shift 14 hours.
- Firemen, Stationary.**—Charters issued, 20. Gain in membership, 1,500. Number of strikes won, 11; compromised, 2; pending, 1. Number of persons involved, 385; benefited, 385. Cost of strikes, \$2,300. \$1 per day gain in wages. 8-hour day instead of 12 hours for 275 men; 6-day week instead of 7 for 38. 50 agreements were secured without strike and in each case wages increased 75 cents to \$1 per day. No instances of reductions in wages in the past seven months. Donations to other unions, \$3,000. When organization started all worked 12 hours, 7 days a week; now 90 per cent are working 8 hours with a 4-day week.
- Foundry Employes.**—Charters issued, 16; surrendered, 2. Gain in membership, 2,100. Strikes won, 8; pending, 3. Number of persons involved, 874; benefited, 680; number involved in strikes pending, 194. 50 cents to \$1.50 per day gain in wages. 16 agreements were secured without strike. In 1904, the highest rate paid to members was \$1.90 for 10 hours work; the highest rate now is \$5.76 for 8 hours work.
- Garment Workers, United.**—Charters issued, 18; surrendered, 3. Number of strikes won, 10; lost, 1. Number of persons involved, 1,044; benefited, 959. Gains in wages of \$2 and \$3 per week. Cost of strikes, \$1,615.46.
- Garment Workers, Ladies.**—Charters issued, 6; surrendered, 2. Gain in membership, 7,000.
- Glass Bottle Blowers.**—Gain in membership, 166. Strikes won, 3; pending, 1. Number of persons involved, 251; benefited, 166; balance involved in strike pending. 15 to 35 per cent gain in wages. Hours of labor reduced from 9½ to 8½ per day. Cost of strikes, \$2,500. Two wage agreements secured without strike. Death benefits, \$31,500.
- Glass Workers, Flint.**—Number of strikes lost, 1; pending, 1; number involved, 128. Number involved in strikes pending, 7. Cost of strikes, \$2,500. No reductions in wages.
- Glass Workers, Window.**—Gain in membership, 137. Have had no strikes in the past 10 years and secured wage increases each year through conferences with manufacturers. 2 agreements secured in the past year carrying 25 and 27 per cent wage increase. Death

- benefits, \$6,200; death benefits, members' wives, \$1,600. Unemployed benefits, \$5,915.52.
- Glove Workers.**—Charters issued, 3; surrendered, 2. 1 strike compromised; 50 persons involved, all benefited. 5 per cent increase on piece and day rate. 50-hour week prevails in all but 3 shops, where 8-hour day is in effect. 6 agreements were renewed without controversy with increased wage-scales. 7 new agreements were secured without strike, providing for increased prices amounting to approximately 25 per cent. For 20 workers, hours of labor were reduced 3 per day. Death benefits, \$22.
- Granite Cutters.**—Charters issued, 4. 2 strikes pending, involving 250. Gains in wages average 90 cents per member per day. 95 agreements were secured without strike. No instances of reductions in wages. Donations to other unions, \$1,000. When organization was started the wages were \$2 for a 10-hour day—6-day week; present wages \$5 for an 8-hour day, 4 hours on Saturday. Greatly improved sanitary conditions in granite-cutting sheds; protection through adjustment conferences and recognized agreements.
- Hatters.**—Charters issued, 4. Gain in membership, 1,500. Strikes won, 2; pending, 3. Number of persons involved, 2,000; benefited, 300. Number of persons involved in strikes pending, 2,000. Cost of strikes, \$115,000. 30 agreements were secured without strike. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. Death benefits, \$21,000. Donations to other unions, \$6,000. There has been at least 100 per cent wage increase since organization started.
- Hodcarriers.**—Charters issued, 58; surrendered, 3. Gain in membership, 8,500. Number of strikes won, 12; compromised, 1; pending, 3. Number of persons involved, 10,000; involved in strikes pending, 5,000. Gains in wages average 50 cents per member per day. No instances of reductions in wages in the past seven months. Death benefits, \$9,200. When organization was started the wages averaged \$1.25 for a 10-hour day; at present the average is \$4.50 for an 8-hour day.
- Horseshoers.**—Charters issued, 5; surrendered, 4. Gain in membership, 300. Number of strikes won, 2; compromised, 10; pending, 1. Number of persons involved, 172; benefited, 150. Number involved in strikes pending, 22. Average gain in wages, \$1 per day. 15 agreements secured without strike. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted, resulting in increased wages in some instances. Average 70 per cent improvement in working conditions and wages due to organization.
- Hotel and Restaurant Employes.**—Charters issued, 55; surrendered, 57. Gain in membership, 447. Strikes won, 110; compromised, 29; lost, 15; pending, 13. Number of persons involved, 5,579; benefited, 4,389; returned to work under same conditions, 413. Number involved in strikes pending, 777. 50 per cent of membership secured 10 per cent increase in wages. Hours of labor reduced 1 per day—6-day week. There has been slow but steady improvement in sanitary conditions. Cost of strikes, \$33,996.39. 3,470 agreements were renewed without controversy. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. Death benefits, \$54,558.80; sick benefits, \$102,937.46. Donations to other unions, \$24,041.53. Before organization, catering industry workers received small wages and worked long hours—7 days a week; the 6-day week and shorter hours are now enjoyed to considerable extent.
- Iron, Steel and Tin Workers.**—Charters issued, 15; surrendered, 2. Gain in membership, 5,000. 3 strikes pending; 500 involved. Cost of strikes, \$20,000. All annual wage agreements renewed without strike. Death benefits, \$9,000; death benefits, members' wives, \$1,500; sick benefits, \$16,500. Donations to other unions, \$5,000.
- Jewelry Workers.**—Charters issued, 12; surrendered, 3. Gain in membership, 2,501. Number of strikes won, 1; compromised, 3; pending, 2. Number of persons benefited, 1,100. Number involved in strikes pending, 100. Established a minimum wage of \$25 per week for 200 watchmakers; other increases gained but figures not available when report was submitted. Hours of labor reduced 4 to 6 hours per week. 3 agreements secured without strike. Cost of strikes, \$6,800 (not including expenditures made from local treasuries). Donations to other unions, \$900. As a result of organization hours of labor have been reduced generally 4 to 10 per week, elimination of piece and home work in three-fifths of the industry and increase in wages of about 60 per cent and in some cases 100 per cent, and general elevation in living and citizen standards.
- Lace Operatives' Union.**—Charters surrendered, 1. One strike lost, 595 persons involved, re-

- turned to work under same conditions. Cost of strike, \$64,746. An attempt to reduce wages was resisted, resulting in a 10 per cent increase. Death benefits, \$6,000. As a result of organization there has been a 30 per cent increase in wages in the curtain department, 10 per cent increase in the lever department, with reduction of 1 hour per day in hours of employment.
- Lathers.**—Charters issued, 7; surrendered, 18. No strikes occurred during the period of this report. Death benefits, \$2,562.50.
- Laundry Workers.**—Charters issued, 16; surrendered, 7. Gain in membership, 820. Strikes won, 3; pending, 1. Number of persons involved, 756; benefited, 569. Number of persons involved in strikes pending, 87. An average 10 per cent gain in wages. 26 agreements secured without strike, granting 10 per cent increase in wages; 6 of these agreements reduced working hours from 10 to 9 per day. No reductions in wages. Death benefits, \$400. Donations to other unions, \$70. At the time of organization wages ranged from \$5 to \$.25 per month, with hours of labor 15 and 16 per day; at present time wages of men range from \$3 per day up, and for women \$7.50 to \$15 per week, with the 9 and 8 hour day.
- Leather Workers.**—Charters issued, 17; surrendered, 6. Gain in membership, 3,000. Agreement negotiated August 27, 1917, between the organization and the U. S. government and between the contractors in the harness and saddlery industry and the U. S. government for the period of the war, has prevented strikes; a basic wage-scale has been agreed upon to apply in all shops on government contract work, signatory to the agreement. Automatically it is being applied to the production of the regular line of goods. The basic 8-hour day with time and a half for overtime has been put into effect quite generally. Machinery for the adjustment of differences has been constructed and is gradually being improved upon through experience. Death benefits, \$850; sick benefits, \$675. Donations to other unions, \$950. As a result of organization conditions have improved from a wage of 25 cents an hour for a 10-hour day to 50 cents per hour for an 8-hour day with time and a half for overtime.
- Letter Carriers.**—Charters issued, 31; suspended, 12. Death benefits, \$183,783.96; sick benefits, \$55,366.85. Salaries at time of organization ranged from \$600 to \$1,000 per year; at present, \$800 to \$1,200 per year.
- Lithographers.**—Charters issued, 4. Gain in membership, 300. Death benefits, \$8,550. Economic conditions greatly improved since organization was started.
- Longshoremen.**—Charter issued, 33; surrendered, 16. Number of strikes won, 2. Number of persons involved, 600; benefited, 600. Approximately 10 per cent increase in wages.
- Maintenance of Way Employees.**—Charters issued, 52; surrendered, 3. Gain in membership, 5,169. 12 agreements secured without strike, benefiting 35,000 employees, with an average increase of 40 cents per day. No instances of wage reductions.
- Marble Workers.**—Charters issued, 1; compromised, 1; number of persons involved, 75; benefited, 75. 75 members secured 25 cents per day gain in wages. No reductions in wages. Death benefits, \$600.
- Masters, Mates and Pilots.**—Charters issued, 8; surrendered, 1. Gain in membership, 620. 20 agreements secured without strikes. No instances of wage reductions. Donations to other unions, \$100.
- Meat Cutters.**—Charters issued, 80; surrendered, 12. Gain in membership, 33,152. Strikes won, 2; compromised, 1; pending, 1. Persons involved, 16,800; benefited, 16,000; pending, 800. Gain in wages, 33½ per cent. Reductions in hours of labor have been secured in some instances from 10 to 8 per day. A large number of agreements was secured without strike with many improvements in working rules and sanitary conditions in workshops. Cost of strikes, \$10,000. No reductions in wages. During the past 7 months, 100,000 butcher workmen have increased their wages and gained the 8-hour day. Death benefits, \$2,250.
- Metal Workers, Sheet.**—Charters issued, 60; surrendered, 10. Gain in membership, 1,000. Number of strikes won, 7; lost, 1; pending, 2. Number of persons involved, 400; benefited, 350. Number involved in strikes pending, 25. No instances of reductions in wages. Cost of strikes, \$1,540. Death benefits, \$13,300.
- Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers.**—Charters issued, 15; surrendered, 5. Gain in membership, 1,000. Number of strikes won, 1; compromised, 4; pending, 1; number of persons in-

- involved, 2,500; benefited, 5,000. 1,000 returned to work under old conditions. 1,000 involved in strikes pending 50 cents per day average gain in wages. General improvements in working rules and sanitary conditions in some camps, Utah and Arizona. Cost of strikes, \$6,612.55. 3 agreements secured without strike. 1 wage reduction, which was resisted; men have returned to work, agreeing to abide by decision of U. S. War Labor Board; hearing now pending. Death benefits, \$11,690; sick benefits \$22,104. Donations to other unions, \$7,978. As result of organization, wages increased including reduction of hours about 100 per cent.
- Mine Workers, United.**—Charters issued, 437; surrendered, 32. Gain in membership, 367,966. One general supplementary agreement with increase in mining prices of 20 to 35 per cent. Cost of strikes, \$403,200. Donations to other unions, \$1,000 to Mooney Defense Fund.
- Molders.**—Charters issued, 8; surrendered, 10. 34 strikes pending involving 3,457. Cost of strikes, \$251,206.99. Death benefits, \$50,443.07; sick benefits, \$123,235.60; unemployed benefits, \$11,902.60.
- Musicians**—Charters issued, 20; surrendered, 13. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. Better wages and shorter hours without decrease in pay are results of organization.
- Painters and Decorators.**—Charters issued, 50; surrendered, 39. Number of strikes won, 25; compromised, 10; lost, 2; pending, 20. Number of persons involved, 5,000; benefited, 10,000. Number involved in strikes pending \$2,500. Average gain in wages of 50 cents per day. The 8-hour day was gained in 5 instances; Saturday half-holiday in 6 cities, and 5-day week in 3 localities. Cost of strikes, \$25,000. 83 agreements secured without strike. No instances of wage reductions. Death benefits, \$72,161.30; death benefits members' wives, \$6,725. Total disability benefits, \$14,626. Donations to other unions, \$10,000. Sick benefits are paid by majority of local unions, no record of amount paid. As a result of organization the 8-hour day with Saturday half-holiday has been established and 100 per cent increase in wages.
- Pattern Makers.**—Charters issued, 4. Gain in membership, 800. Number of strikes won, 46; pending, 4. Number of persons involved, 1,609; benefited, 1,528; involved in strikes pending, 75. Wage increases of 2 to 15 cents per hour. Entire membership benefited. Cost of strikes, \$12,992.97. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. Death benefits, \$4,125; sick benefits, \$5,274.29. Tool insurance, \$2,149.44. Unemployed benefits, \$75. Among results of organization are greatly increased wages, greatly improved health standards, shorter hours of labor and higher efficiency created.
- Pavers and Rammersmen.**—Charters issued, 6. 8 strikes during the year all settled satisfactorily, securing an average wage increase of 75 cents per day for members involved with a closed shop agreement. Increased the wages of affiliated members throughout the country without strike 50 per cent, with a closed shop agreement. Trade conditions slow owing to difficulty of shipment of material due to the war.
- Paving Cutters.**—Charters issued, 2. Number of strikes won, 1; number of persons involved, 50; benefited, 50. 50 cents per day gain in wages. 12 agreements were secured without strike, carrying an increase of 20 per cent in wages, benefiting about 1,200 members. No reduction in wages. Cost of strikes, \$271.50. Prior to organization wages were \$3.50 a day for a 10-hour day; at present, \$5 for an 8-hour day. Death benefits, \$2,300; traveling benefits, \$637.63.
- Piano and Organ Workers.**—One strike pending; 300 involved. 3 agreements were secured without strike, carrying wage increases averaging from 5 to 50 per cent. Cost of strike, \$20,000. No reductions in wages. Death benefits, \$2,500; death benefits, members' wives, \$200; sick benefits, \$1,500; unemployed benefits, \$300. Donations to other unions, \$500. As a result of organization wages have increased almost 60 per cent and hours of labor reduced from an indefinite number to the 9-hour day with Saturday half-holiday.
- Plasterers, Operative.**—Charters issued, 20; surrendered, 14. Number of strikes won, 3; compromised, 1; pending, 1. Number of persons involved, 611; 5,137 benefited by increase in wages, as follows: \$2 a day for 60 members; \$1.20 for 80; \$1 for 2,988; 90 cents for 8; 80 cents for 480; 63 cents for 15; 50 cents for 303; 45 cents for 57; 40 cents for 746; 25

- cents for 242; 22½ cents for 70; 20 cents for 88. Number of persons involved in strikes pending, 400. Death benefits, \$20,275.
- Plumbers.**—Charters issued, 34; surrendered, 13. Strikes won, 84; pending 12; number involved, 5,615; number of persons benefited, 5,046; involved in strikes pending, 569. Wage increases of 50 cents to \$2 per day. 8-hour day with Saturday half-holiday. Cost of strikes, \$20,729. 125 agreements secured without strike. No instance of wage reduction. Death benefits, \$23,280; sick benefits, \$61,810. Average wage in 1889, \$3 per day; average wage in 1918, \$6 per day.
- Pollshers, Metal.**—Charters issued, 15; surrendered, 10. Number of strikes won, 16; lost, 1; pending, 4. Number of persons involved, 1,000; benefited, 900. Number involved in strikes pending, 175. Average gain of 60 cents per day. Hours reduced 1 per day. 100 agreements secured without strike. Cost of strikes, \$9,000. No wage reductions. Death benefits, \$9,375; sick benefits, \$3,000; unemployed benefits, \$100. Donations to other unions, \$1,500. As result of organization wages have been increased and about 250 factories have granted the 8-hour day.
- Postal Employees.**—Charters issued, 110. Gain in membership, 4,000. Donations to other unions, \$580. Organization has forced some improvements in working conditions.
- Potters.**—Charters surrendered, 1. Gain in membership, 79. One strike pending; 45 persons involved. One agreement secured without strike, carrying an increase in wages averaging 12½ per cent. Cost of strikes, \$13,942. In addition the International Union paid out benefits amounting to \$33,307.01, from the defense fund, on account of two weeks' suspension of work in the General Ware Potteries, pending a referendum vote of the trade on increase of wages offered by manufacturers. No reduction in wages. Death benefits, \$7,824.25. Donations to other unions, \$323.15.
- Print Cutters.**—Strike pending, 1. Number of persons involved 400. Death benefits, \$800.
- Printers and Color Mixers, Machine.**—At conference held in May with manufacturers committee of organization concluded an agreement which gave to all members of association increase of 20 per cent in wages and hours of labor reduced from 10 to 9 and 5 hours on Saturday, from April to October. This agreement will run for three years and beginning the last 18 months of the same the Saturday half-holiday will go into effect all year round. The wage increase gives to the lowest paid \$4.40 increase per week, the next, \$4.80, and the next, \$5.40. When the National Association was formed in 1893, the wages were \$18 and \$22 per week; under the new agreement the wages will amount to \$26.40, \$28.80 and \$32.40 per week. Death benefits, \$1,800.
- Printers, Steel and Copper Plate.**—Charters issued, 1. Gain in membership, 27. 4 local unions have secured increases in wages without strike, increases ranging from \$3 to \$5 per week. Traveling benefits, \$200. As a result of organization the weekly wage has been increased from \$27 to \$35 for 44-hour week and piece work rate increased 35 per cent.
- Printing Pressmen.**—Charters issued, 8; surrendered, 2. Gain in membership, 2,266. Number of strikes won, 8. Number of persons involved, 332; benefited, 297. \$2 per week gain in wages. Strike benefits, \$8,790. 120 agreements were secured without strike. No reductions in wages. Death benefits, \$12,030.50. Donations to other unions, \$150.
- Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers.**—Charters issued, 3. Gain in membership, 800. 4 strikes pending, 2,000 persons involved. Cost of strikes, \$6,800. When organization was started, members worked two shifts of 11 and 13 hours alternating each week; there are now three shifts of 8 hours with wages doubled.
- Quarry Workers.**—12 supplementary agreements secured without strike, increasing wages of about 3,000 members 5 and 10 cents per hour. No reductions in wages. Death benefits, \$625; old age exemption card benefit, \$100. Since the organization was formed, wages have been increased from \$1.60 to \$3.20 a day with hours of labor reduced from 10 and 11 to 8 per day.
- Railway Employees, Street and Electric.**—Charters issued, 30; surrendered, 3. Gain in membership, 3,000. Strikes won, 15; compromised, 10; lost, 3; pending, 4. Number of persons involved in strikes, 11,000; number of persons benefited, 10,875. Most of members involved in strikes lost left employment of companies. Number involved in strikes pending, 1,000. From 1 to 7 cents per hour increase in wages as result of strikes. 41 agreements were secured without strike, carrying better wages and working conditions. No attempts to reduce wages. Cost of strikes, \$48,783.45. Death and disability bene-

- fits, \$317,594.25; sick benefits, \$98,914.79. As a result of organization, wages have been advanced from about 14 cents an hour to the present wages which vary from 17 to 53½ cents per hour. Hours of labor formerly were from 12 to 16 per day; the workday is now from 9 to 12 hours.
- Railway Mail Association.**—Death benefits, \$4,000. General improved conditions and about 25 per cent increase in wage-scale since organization was started.
- Roofers, Composition.**—Charters issued, 2; surrendered, 1. Number of strikes won, 6; pending, 11. Number of persons benefited, 560. 50 and 60 cents per day increase in wages, 15 agreements secured without strike. Traveling benefits, \$800. As result of organization, wages have been increased from \$2 per day to \$5.60 and \$6, and hours of labor reduced from 10 to 8 per day.
- Roofers, Slate and Tile.**—Charters surrendered, 4. Strikes won, 3; compromised, 1. Number of persons involved, 200; benefited, 150. 40 and 50 cents gain in wages per member per day. 16 agreements secured without strike. No reductions in wages. Death benefits, \$900.
- Sawsmiths' Union.**—No instances of wage reductions. Average wage-rate paid when organization was started, 30 cents per hour; present average, 55 cents per hour.
- Seamen.**—(From October 1, 1917, to April 1, 1918).—Charters issued, 5; surrendered, 3. Strikes won, 1. Wages advanced, \$12.50 to \$23 per month. Increase in overtime pay and better regulation of watch system among other improvements. 5 agreements secured without strike. No reductions in wages. Death benefits for members and members' wives, \$8,905.25; sick benefits and hospital supplies, \$5,781; shipwreck benefits, \$11,005.25. Donations to other unions, \$3,213.78.
- Signalmen, Railroad.**—Charters issued, 11; surrendered, 2. Gain in membership, 607. 2 agreements secured without strike.
- Spinners.**—Agreements secured without strike, carrying a general advance in wages of 20 to 25 per cent.
- Stage Employees.**—Charters issued, 10; surrendered, 4. Strikes won, 10; compromised, 2; pending 10. Number of persons involved, 400; benefited, 150. Number involved in strikes pending, 150. 5 per cent increase in wages. Cost of strikes, \$3,000. 35 agreements were secured without strike. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted, and in two instances the resistance resulted in wage increases. Unemployed benefits, \$1,000. Donations to other unions, \$5,000.
- Steam Shovel and Dredgemen.**—Charters issued, 1. Gain in membership, 291. Number of strikes won, 1; benefiting 33. Several agreements secured without strike. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. Donations to other unions, \$200. At the time of organization monthly wages were as follows: engineers, \$100; cranemen, \$75; firemen, \$60, for the 10 and 12 hour day; present scale: engineers, \$175; cranemen, \$115; firemen, \$100, for 8 and 10 hours.
- Stereotypers and Electrotypers.**—Charters issued, 3; surrendered, 1. Gain in membership, 138. 30 agreements secured without strike. No attempts to reduce wages. Death benefits, \$4,200.
- Stone Cutters.**—Charters issued, 1; surrendered, 1. One strike pending; 100 involved. 21 agreements secured without strike. No reductions in wages. Death benefits, \$7,375. Wages have been increased from 5 to 15 cents per hour as a result of organization.
- Stove Mounters.**—Charters issued, 2. Gain in membership, 200. Number of strikes won, 2; pending, 4. Number of persons involved, 300; benefited, 150. Number involved in strikes pending, 150. 16 per cent advance in wages. 53 agreements were secured without strike, with an average advance of 16 3-10 per cent benefiting 1,500 members. Cost of strikes, \$4,310. No reductions in wages. Donations to other unions, \$120. Day rate of wages of 50 cents per hour has been established as a result of organization, and an average piece rate of \$4.90 per day of 9 hours.
- Tailors.**—(From July 1, 1917, to April 1, 1918).—Charters issued, 20; surrendered, 29. Gain in membership, 550. Strikes won, 6; compromised, 2; lost, 3. Number of persons involved, 751; benefited, 570. Wages advanced 40 cents per member per day for 570 members; 150 members benefited by reduction in hours of labor. 72 agreements secured without strike, carrying higher wages in all cases and in some places shorter hours and weekly system installed instead of piece work. Cost of strikes, \$15,965. No reductions in

- wages. Death benefits, \$7,638.85; sick benefits, \$14,002. Donations to other unions, \$50.
- Teachers.**—During the 7 months of this report, 2 locals have secured 10 per cent salary increases and 6 locals have conducted campaigns for from 10 to 50 per cent increases which show every indication of being successful.
- Teamsters.**—Charters issued, 125; surrendered, 98. Gain in membership, 271. Strikes won, 22; pending, 2. Number of persons involved, 1,200; benefited, 1,200. Number involved in strikes pending, 300. Wages advanced 75 cents per day. Hours of labor reduced 1 per day. 357 agreements secured without strike. Cost of strikes, \$1,120. No reductions in wages.
- Telegraphers, Railroad.**—Charters issued, 4. Gain in membership, 5,000. 75 agreements secured without strike. No instances of wage reductions. Death benefits, \$60,000. Donations to other unions, \$5,000. About 220 per cent wage increase since 1886.
- Telegraphers, Commercial.**—Charters issued, 6. 1 strike won; 500 involved, and all benefited. 25 per cent increase in wages. Cost of strikes, \$400. 3 agreements secured without strike. Increase in wages reducing hours of labor and improving working conditions generally for 600. No instances of wage reductions. Death benefits, members' wives, \$300.
- Textile Workers.**—Charters issued, 31; surrendered, 6. Gain in membership, 10,566. Number of strikes won, 15; pending, 2. Number of persons involved, 18,000; benefited, 18,000. Number of persons involved in strikes pending, 50. From 30 to 60 per cent wage increase. Hours of labor decreased from 55 to 50 per week. Abolition of bonus system in many instances and better sanitary conditions among other improvements secured. Cost of strikes, \$15,000. 75 agreements secured without strike. No wage reductions. Death benefits, \$3,100. Donations to other unions, \$2,500. Higher wages, shorter hours and a general betterment of working conditions are results of organization.
- Tile Layers.**—Charters issued, 2; surrendered, 2, and 2 suspended. Gain in membership, 30. Many members secured increases in wages. All gains reached by agreement. As result of organization the 8-hour workday prevails in all cities and wages increased from \$5.50 to \$6.50 for mechanics, \$3 to \$3.50 for helpers.
- Tip Printers.**—One strike, lost. Number involved, 25; returned to work under old conditions. Cost of strike, \$1,500. Two agreements secured without strike. Before the union started tip printers were getting \$12 to \$14 per week; they are now making as high as \$25 per week. Hours of labor reduced from 52 to 48 hours per week.
- Tobacco Workers.**—Charters issued, 2. Gain in membership, 2,208. Number of strikes won, 1. 1 lockout, lost. Number of persons involved, 4,000; benefited, 4,000. 10 per cent advance in wages. Hours of labor were reduced one per day for 4,000 persons. Material improvement in sanitary conditions of factories. 10 agreements were secured by negotiations through committees and officials of the International Union. Cost of strikes, \$600. No reductions in wages. Death benefits, \$800; sick benefits, \$2,934. Since organization was formed wages have been increased 50 per cent.
- Transferrers, Steel Plate.**—Gain in membership, 5. Agreements were secured without strike, increasing overtime rates affecting 35 and official regulation of apprentices affecting 35.
- Tunnel and Subway Constructors.**—Strikes compromised, 1; pending, 1; number benefited, 500. Number involved in strikes pending, 300. 40 cents per day increase in wages with promise of 75 cents on all new work. Reduction in hours from 9 to 8 per day for 400 men. Sanitary conditions have been improved. No instances of wage reductions. Death benefits, \$1,000. Donations to other unions, \$600. Since organization started wages have been increased \$2.50 a day and hours of labor reduced 2 per day.
- Typographical (June 1, 1917, to April 1, 1918).**—Charters issued, 24; surrendered, 12. Gain in membership, 1,887. Strikes won, 3; pending, 2. Number of persons involved, 43; benefited, 30. Number involved in strikes pending, 13. 294 unions secured new contracts increasing wages without strikes. Gains in wages since June 1, 1917, aggregate \$2,314,446. \$53,304.46 expended from defense fund. Efforts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. Death benefits, \$279,609.76; old age pensions, \$302,210. \$134,498.35 expended for maintenance of the Union Printers' Home at Colorado Springs, for the benefit of aged, infirm and sick members.

- Upholsterers.**—Charters issued, 11; surrendered, 3. Gain in membership, 1,200. Number of strikes won, 7; lost, 7. Persons involved, 418; benefited, 610. Gain in wages of 65 cents per member per day. Cost of strikes, \$6,985. 53 agreements secured without strike. No reductions in wages. When the union was formed wages averaged \$2.25 a day; now \$5 a day.
- Weavers, Elastic Goring.**—Charters issued, 2. No strikes. All differences settled by mutual agreement.
- Weavers, Wire.**—Death benefits, \$500; sick benefits, \$600. Donations to other unions, \$200. Since organization was formed wages have advanced 20 per cent.

LOCAL UNIONS

Improvements in working conditions secured by directly affiliated local unions of the American Federation of Labor are reported as follows:

- Ammonia Workers' Union, No. 15526, St. Louis, Mo.:** 1 agreement secured without strike since September 1, 1917, granting a 9-hour day with a 45-cent per day raise. When organization was started laborers worked 10 hours per day for \$2 and mechanics \$2.75 to \$3 per day. Present scale is \$2.70 for a 9-hour day for laborers and mechanics \$3.50 to \$3.95.
- Asphalt, Plant and Street Repair Foremen, No. 14912, Chicago, Ill.:** When organization was started two years ago wages were \$3 50 and \$4 per day; present wage, \$6 per day.
- Bank Note Engravers' Union, No. 15905, Washington, D. C.:** Time and one-half for overtime in place of the previous straight time for overtime.
- Bath Department Employees' Union, No. 15456, Boston, Mass.:** When organization was started in 1911, wages were \$2 a day; at present \$3 a day.
- Blast Furnace Workers' Union, No. 15359, Punsutawney, Pa.:** Increase of almost 35 per cent secured since September, without strike.
- Bootblacks' Union, No. 15666, Portland, Oregon:** Wages have been raised 30 per cent or better and hours have been shortened.
- Butter, Eggs and Produce Workers' Union, No. 15782, Seattle, Wash.:** One agreement secured without strike since September 1, 1917, reducing hours 2 per day and increasing wages.
- Pearl Button Workers' Union, No. 14615, Union Hill, N. J.:** 2 agreements were secured without strike, providing for shorter hours and increase in wages for members. The wages at present are \$20 to \$25 per week for 48 hours. Recognition of the union has also been secured.
- Brass Bobbin Winders' Union, No. 14659, Philadelphia, Pa.:** Since September 1, 1917, 2 agreements were secured, carrying a 25 per cent increase in wages for 14 members and 10 per cent for 15 members. Since organization has been started wages have been increased 50 per cent. Working conditions good.
- City and County Public Service Employees' Union, No. 15924, Seattle, Wash.:** \$15 per month increase in wages for each employe. Members receive better treatment from heads of department since formation of union.
- City Employees' Union, No. 15501, Concord, N. H.:** Hours of labor have been reduced from 54 to 50 a week with a 20 per cent increase in wages.
- City Employees' Union, No. 15412, Taunton, Mass.:** Wages have been increased from 25 cents per hour to 34 cents per hour.
- City Employees' Union, No. 15494, Spokane, Wash.:** 50 cents per day increase in wages May 1, 1917.
- City Employees' Union, No. 15978, Worcester, Mass.:** Wages have been increased since September 1, 1917, from \$2.25 to \$2.40, and from \$2.72 to \$3.04 for an 8-hour day. When organization was formed in 1903, wages were \$1.85 per day.
- Coal Trimmers' Union, No. 15277, Norfolk, Virginia:** 2½ per cent a ton increase on all classes of vessels.
- Draftsmen's Union, No. 15767, Portsmouth, N. H.:** Overtime pay based on 7½ hours per day instead of 8 hours. About 30 per cent increase in wages.
- Draftsmen's Union (Marine), No. 15388, Philadelphia, Pa.:** All have received an increase of about 20 per cent.
- Draftsmen's Union, No. 15813, Newport, R. I.:** Average pay increased from \$4.59 to \$5.95.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 12552, Utica, N. Y.:** City employes received 50 cents per day increase.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 15679, Willitsville, Ill.:** Since organization was started members have

- obtained 19 34-100 per cent increase in wages, check off system and a reduction in working hours of 8 hours per day. Previous to organizations members worked 17 hours a day.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 14441, Wilkeson, Wash.:** Since organization was started the wage increase averages \$2 per day, per member. Hours of labor have been reduced from 10 and 11 to 9, and in some instances to the 8-hour day.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 14465, Cle Elum, Wash.:** When organization was started in 1913, wages were \$60 per month for a 10 and 12 hour day; at present \$85 for a 9-hour day.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 14696, Centralia, Ill.:** Since organization was started hours of labor have been reduced from 10 and 12 hours per day to 8 hours. Wages have been increased from 17½ to 30¼ cents per hour, and from 20 cents to 34½ cents per hour.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 15034, Streator, Ill.:** When organization was started wages ranged from \$1.80 to \$3.75 for a 9-hour day and 11 hours at night; they now range from \$2.70 to \$4.50 for 8 hours.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 15047, Sault Ste. Marie, Mich.:** When union was formed pay was \$1.50 per day for common labor; present scale for the same grade of work, \$3 to \$3.75 per day.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 15704, Renton, Wash.:** Hours of labor have been reduced from 9 to 8. Wages increased 30 per cent as a result of organization. Recognition of union.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 15495, Little Rock, Arkansas:** 6½ cents per hour increase since March, 1917.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 15284, Rice Lake, Wis.:** Wages were \$1.65 when organized, now \$2.25 per day.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 8217, Malden, Mass.:** When union was formed wage was \$1.75 for 12 to 15 hours a day. The minimum wage is now \$3 for the 8-hour day.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 15295, Fort Wayne, Ind.:** Before organized worked 10 hours a day at 18 and 25 cents per hour. Since organization was formed secured 8½ hour day with 35 and 40 per cent wage increase.
- Federal Labor Union No. 12953, Livermore Falls, Maine:** Wages about one-third higher. Sanitary conditions better.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 14576, Roslyn, Wash.:** 1 agreement secured without strike, shortening hours of labor.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 15308, Fort Wayne, Indiana:** Before organization was formed, wages were 22½ cents an hour for 9 and 10 hours work; at present 33 cents an hour for 8 and 9 hours.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 15321, Ridgway, Pa.:** In October, 1916, wages were \$1.75 a day for a 10-hour day. At present, \$3.50 a day for a 9-hour day.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 15632, Joppa, Ill.:** Wages increased 50 cents a day. Hours of labor reduced from 12 to 10 per day.
- Fish Handlers' Union, No. 15773, Boston, Mass.:** Agreements secured with part of the stores giving 40 cents an hour overtime.
- Flour and Cereal Mill Employees' Union, No. 14229, Oshkosh, Wis.:** Former wages were \$10 and \$12 for 10 hours; at present \$14 and \$15 for 9-hour day.
- Furniture Handlers' Union, No. 12993, San Francisco, Cal.:** In 1903 when union was formed, wages were \$2.50 a day for 9 hours; present scale \$3.50 for 8-hours.
- Gas Appliance and Stove Fitters' Union, No. 12432, San Francisco, Cal.:** 50 cents per day increase.
- Gas Distribution Workers' Union, No. 15268, Boston, Mass.:** When organization was formed, wages were \$3 a day for jobbers, now \$3.76; former wages for street men \$2.25, now \$3.25 per day.
- Gas Workers' Union, No. 15991, Fort Dodge, Iowa:** As a result of organization, hours of labor have been reduced from 12 to 8 per day. Wages increased from 29 cents to 45 cents an hour.
- Gold Beaters' Union, No. 14937, Boston, Mass.:** When organization started members received \$15 per week; present wages \$28 per week and piece rate increased in the same proportion.
- Hair Spinners' Union, No. 12353, Baltimore, Md.:** When organization was started the wages were \$1.50 for a 10-hour day; now \$3.25 for 9 hours.

- Hair Spinners' Union, No. 10399, Chicago, Ill.: When organization was formed in 1902, wages were \$2.50 a day, now \$4.75 a day.
- Helpers and Laborers (General), No. 14838, Portsmouth, Va.: Helpers' wages increased from \$2.64 to \$3.68 per day of 8 hours and for laborers \$1.84 to \$2.80 per day.
- Horse Nail Makers' Union, No. 10953, Seymour, Conn.: Since organization was formed, hours of labor have been reduced from 10 to 8 per day with increase in wages.
- State Hospital Employees' Union, No. 15209, Massillon, Ohio: Scale of wages has been increased \$5 per month.
- State Hospital Employees' No. 15819, Talmage, Cal.: All state hospital employes' receive an extra half-day a week which went into effect November 1, 1917.
- Housing Inspectors' Union, No. 15182, Pittsburgh, Pa.: As a result of organization a definite scale has been established providing for annual promotions instead of increases being left to the judgment of those in charge. The salary of each inspector has been increased \$12.50 per month through legislation. Sunday work discontinued.
- Japanners and Sheet Metal Truckers', No. 15255, Schenectady, N. Y.: Wages have been increased from 26 cents to 37½ cents per hour.
- Laborers' Protective Union, No. 15675, Pana, Ill.: Gain in wages since September 1, 1917, from 31¼ cents to 40 cents per hour and hours of labor reduced 1 per day. At the time organization was formed wages were 25 cents per hour.
- Laborers' Protective Union, No. 15682, Brooklyn, Iowa: When union was formed, scale was 22½ cents per hour. Present scale 24, 24¼ to 25 cents per hour.
- Lace Accessory and Finishers' Union, No. 15393, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.: 1 agreement secured without strike since September 1, 1917, increasing wages 20 per cent and improving working conditions affecting 100. Wages have been increased 35 per cent since organization was started in 1917.
- Ladies' Straw Hat Workers' Union, No. 14996, Boston, Mass.: 50 per cent increase in wages since organization was started.
- Meter Workers' Union, No. 14502, Boston, Mass.: Since September 1, 1917, agreement was secured conceding pay for four more holidays than was previously allowed. When organization was started wages were \$17.50 a week of 55 hours, at present \$24 for 50-hour week.
- Neckwear Cutters' Union, No. 15685, Boston, Mass.: Through organization members have secured a 10 per cent increase in wages.
- Neckwear Makers' Union (United), No. 15200, Boston, Mass.: Through organization members have secured a 25 per cent increase in piece rates on new styles, time and one-half for overtime and pay for holidays.
- Newboys' Union, No. 15834, Seattle, Wash.: Organization was successful in reducing retail price of newspapers from \$1.20 to \$1.
- Newspaper Carriers' Union, No. 15289, Cincinnati, Ohio: Won 2 strikes requiring employers to live up to contract signed December, 1917.
- Oil Field Workers' Union, No. 15505, Oil City, La.: When organization was formed, wages were \$3 per day for 10 and 12 hours, now \$4 for 8 hours; in some branches \$4.25, \$4.75 and \$5 for 12-hour men.
- Oil Field Workers' Union, No. 15387, Goose Creek, Texas: As a result of 1 strike, which was compromised, wages were increased from \$3 to \$4 per day and from \$3.50 to \$4.75 per day. In a few cases hours of labor were reduced from 12 to 8 per day.
- Oil Field Workers' Union, No. 15651, Maricopa, Cal.: Union has secured 8-hour day and \$4 minimum wage.
- Oil Field Workers' Union, No. 15748, Guffey, Texas: As a result of organization conditions have improved as follows: Drillers \$8 a day, 9 hours; Firemen formerly \$3.33½ to \$4 per day, now \$4.75 and \$4.80, 12 hours; Gang Pushers formerly \$3.33½ to \$4, now \$5, 9 hours; Helpers, formerly \$3 to \$3.60, now \$4 to \$4.25, 9 hours.
- Oil Workers' Union, No. 15612, Fellows, Cal.: 25 per cent increase in wages. Hours of labor reduced from 9 and 12, to 8 for all members.
- Paper Bag Workers' Union, No. 11757, Baltimore, Md.: At time of organization prices were 60 to 75 cents per thousand. Present prices range from 80 cents to \$1 a thousand.
- Paving Inspectors' Union, No. 14883, Chicago, Ill.: Wages increased \$32 per month since September, 1917. Old scale \$100, \$110 and \$125 per month, new scale \$132, \$144 and \$156 per month.

- Pharmaco Workers' Union, No. 15742, Wheeling, W. Va.: Wages increased \$1 to \$3 per week and union has benefited members in every way.
- Picture Frame Workers' Union, No. 15557, Camden, N. J.: Union has brought about much better treatment of members.
- Pipe Calkers' and Tappers' Union, No. 7348, Brooklyn, N. Y.: 50 cent increase in wages since September 1, 1917. When union was started wage received was \$1.75 to \$2.25; present rate is \$5 per day and double time for overtime.
- Pipe Calkers' and Repairers' Union, No. 11465, Buffalo, N. Y.: Wages have increased 100 per cent as result of union.
- Railroad Helpers' and Laborers' Union, No. 15841, Florence, S. C.: Hours of labor reduced 2 per day since September 1, 1917.
- Railroad Helpers and Laborers' Union, No. 15899, Hamlet, N. C.: Hours of labor reduced from 10 to 8.
- Railroad Helpers' and Laborers' Union, No. 15840, Heavener, Okla.: Secured 4 cents an hour increase in wages since last September. Union has resulted in making employment more secure.
- Railroad Helpers' and Laborers' Union, No. 15896, Tuscaloosa, Ala.: Wages have been increased 30 to 50 cents per day since September, 1917. Members now work 8 hours formerly 9 hours and sometimes 12 hours. Time and one-half for all time over 8 hours.
- Railroad Laborers' Union, No. 15947, Danville, Ill.: As result of union wages have been increased 7 cents per hour and hours of labor reduced from 10 to 9 per day. Sanitary conditions in shops greatly improved.
- Railroad Helpers' and Laborers' Union, No. 15688, Norfolk, Va.: Wage-scale of \$1.80 and \$2.75 increased to \$2.50 and \$3.30.
- Rubber Workers' Union, No. 14988, Bridgeport, Conn.: Four agreements secured without strike since September 1, 1917, carrying a 10 per cent increase in wages; 100 per cent wage increase since organization was started. Hours of labor reduced 1 per day.
- Sail and Tent Makers' Union, No. 12757, Chicago, Ill.: When organization was started wages were \$18 per week, for 10 hours; now \$25 and \$30 per week, same hours.
- Saw Mill Workers' Union, No. 15622, Morehouse, Mo: Members have secured 50 cents per day increase in wages as result of union.
- Shipyard Laborers' Union, No. 15599, San Francisco, Cal.: When organization was formed wages were \$2.25 per day; present scale, \$3.57 to \$4.30 per day.
- Shipyard Laborers' Union, No. 15492, Orange, Texas: Wage increase of 70 cents per day of 8 hours through wage award of the Labor Adjustment Board of the Shipping Board.
- Shipyard Laborers' Union, No. 15745, Philadelphia, Pa.: When organization was formed last September, members received 22½ cents an hour. Present rate 40 cents an hour. Hours of labor reduced from 10 to 8 per day.
- Shipyard Laborers' Union, No. 14785, Mobile, Ala.: Wages increased from 21 7-8 cents and 25 cents for 9 hours to 30 cents and 40 cents per hour for 8 hours.
- Shipyard Riggers' Union, No. 15678, Alameda, Cal.: When organization was formed there was a sliding scale of \$2.75 to \$4 per day. At present a minimum wage-scale of \$5.50 per day for journeymen has been established. Saturday half-holiday for June, July and August.
- Slate Workers' Union, No. 15178, Poultney, Vt.: Agreements secured with two quarries, advancing wages 27 cents per day. Union has raised wages of members 45 cents per day.
- Steel and Copper Plate Engravers' Union, No. 15858, New York, N. Y.: Piece rate increased about 30 per cent for 49 members, by agreement secured after a lockout.
- Suspender Makers' Union, No. 9560, Bronx, New York, N. Y.: Union has secured 15 per cent gain in wages for members and better sanitary conditions in workshops.
- Theatre Employes' Union, No. 15330, Schoenectady, N. Y.: Since September 1, 1917, secured an advance of \$2 per week and time and one-half for Thanksgiving, Christmas and New Year holidays. Since organization started \$4 per week advance in wages.
- Tin, Steel, Iron and Granite Ware Workers' Local, No. 10943, Granite City, Ill.: 1 agreement secured without strike, carrying a 15 per cent increase in wages affecting about 300 members. Since the organization was formed in 1903, wages have been increased 100 per cent.
- Watchmen's Union, No. 15689, San Francisco, Cal.: When organization was formed in August, 1917, wages were \$90 per month. On January 1, 1918, increased to \$100 per month for 8 hours work.
- Water Pipe Repairmen's Union, No. 10830, Newark, N. J.: When organization started, wages were \$2.50 per day; present wages \$4.25 per day.
- Willow, Reed and Rattan Workers' Union, No. 14565, Cambridge, Mass.: Wages increased from 30 cents to 50 cents an hour.
- Window Glass Snappers' Union, No. 14961, Sapulpa, Okla.: When organization started in 1916, wages were \$2.43 per day. At present wages average \$4 per day for single strength snappers.
- Window Glass Snappers' Union, No. 15025, Shinglehouse, Pa.: 1 agreement secured without strike since September, 1917, increasing wages. Since organization was formed there has been a 50 per cent increase in wages.
- Wire Drawers' Union, No. 12493, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.: 1 agreement secured without strike since September 1, 1917, increasing wages 15 per cent with shorter hours.

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.
Bakers and Confectioners.
Bill Posters and Billers.
Boilermakers.
Blacksmiths.
Bookbinders.
Boot and Shoe Workers.
Brewery Workmen.
Brickmakers.
Broommakers.
Carpenters and Joiners, Brotherhood.
Carvers, Wood
Cigarmakers.
Coopers.
Electrical Workers.
Garment Workers, United.
Garment Workers, Ladies.

Glove Workers.
Grinders and Finishers, Pocket Knife-Blade.
Hatters.
Horseshoers.
Iron and Steel Workers.
Jewelry Workers.
Lathers.
Laundry Workers.
Leather Workers.
Lithographers.
Machine Printers and Color Mixers.
Machinists.
Marble Workers.
Metal Polishers.
Metal Workers, Sheet.
Molders.
Painters.

Papermakers.
Photo-Engravers.
Piano and Organ Workers.
Plate Printers.
Powder Workers.
Pressmen, Printing.
Print Cutters.
Sawsmiths.
Slate Workers.
Stove Mounters.
Tailors.
Textile Workers.
Timber Workers.
Tobacco Workers.
Typographical.
Upholsterers.
Weavers, Wire.

ORGANIZATIONS USING CARDS.

Barbers.
Clerks, Retail.
Engineers, Steam.
Firemen, Stationary.

Hotel and Restaurant Employes.
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen.
Musicians.

Stage Employes, Theatrical.
Teamsters.
White Rats Actors.

The following crafts and callings are using the American Federation of Labor label: Badges Banner, Regalia, Button, Novelty and Lodge Paraphernalia Workers; Bottle Cap, Cork Workers; Coffee, Spice, and Baking Powder Workers; Nail (Horseshoe) Workers; Neckwear Cutters and Makers; Paper Box Makers; Suspendermakers; Garter, Arm Band and Hose Supporter Makers; Flour and Cereal Mill Employes.

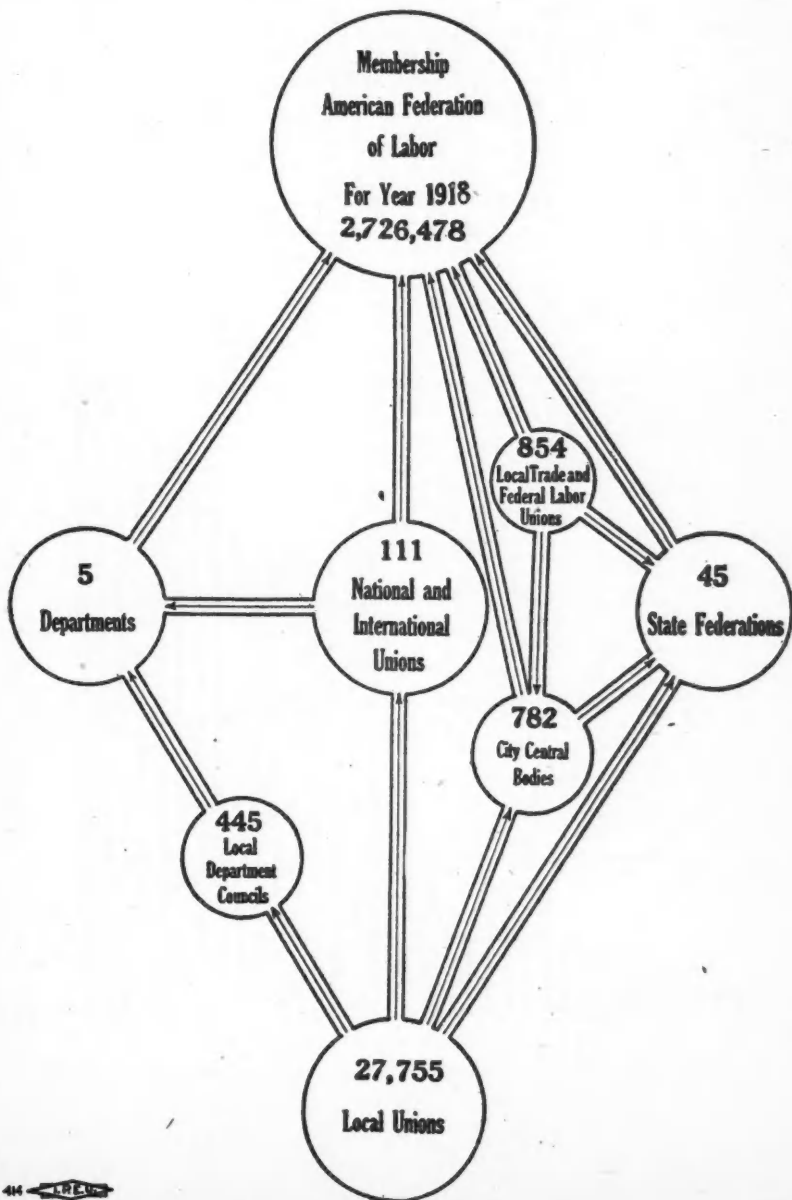
TOTAL MEMBERSHIP OF AFFILIATED UNIONS

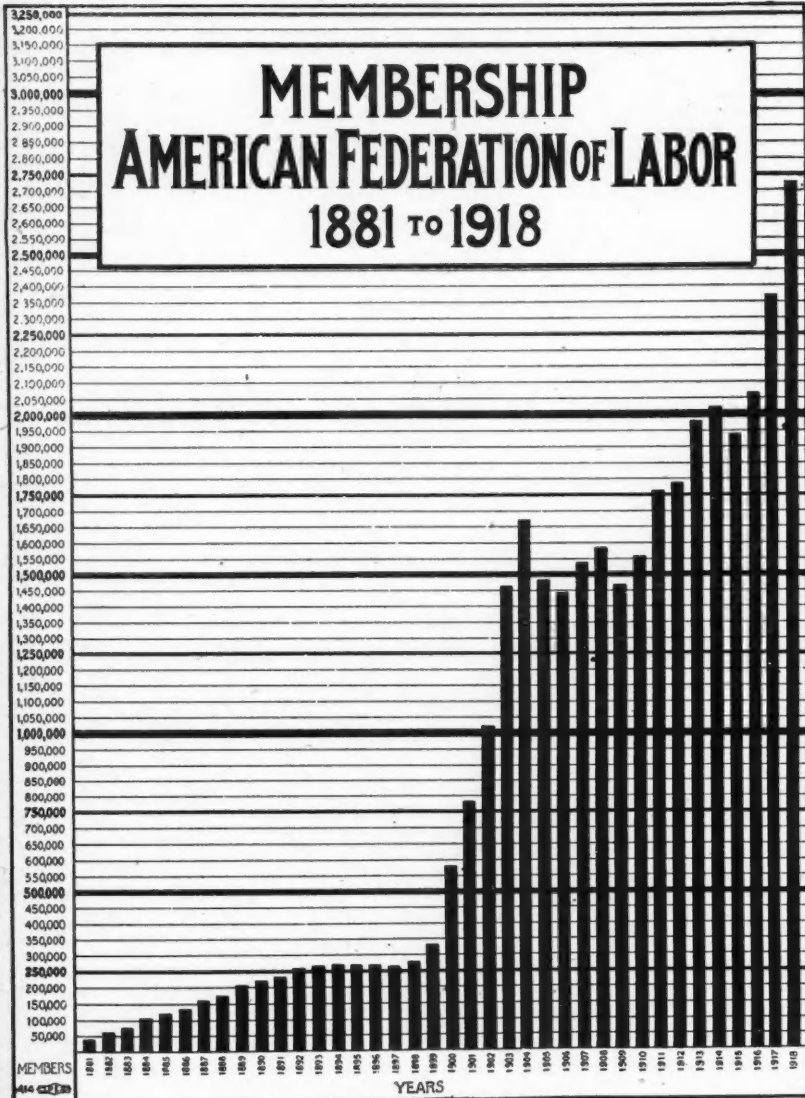
The average paid-up and reported membership for the year is 2,726,478, an average increase of 355,044 members over last year. National and international organizations are required to pay only the per capita tax upon their full paid-up membership, and therefore the membership reported does not include 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-two years:

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

So that the delegates and membership at large may at a glance note the steady growth in the total membership of the organizations affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, a chart will follow on the next page indicating the membership for each year since 1881, up to and including 1918—thirty-eight 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 will show that there are 27,755 local unions in the 111 national and international unions and 854 local trade and federal labor unions directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor with a paid-up and reported average membership of 2,726,478 for the fiscal (seven months) year ending April 30, 1918.





HEADQUARTERS

The following statement shows that during the seven months ending April 30, 1918, there has been issued from headquarters an average of 5,152 letters, circular letters and packages per day, and 514,095 copies of the *American Federationist*, and 158,100 A. F. of L. News Letters, as follows:

	1918.
Packages of supplies forwarded by express and parcel post	5,657
Packages of literature and miscellaneous supplies for organizers and others	19,171
Official and circular letters	133,837
Circulars and circular letters in one-cent envelopes	60,399
American Federation of Labor News Letter	158,100
<i>American Federationist</i>	514,095
Total	891,259

IN CONCLUSION

In conclusion, I desire to express, through the delegates present, my sincere appreciation of the faithful, earnest, and successful efforts put forth by the organizers of the American Federation of Labor and the national and international organizations to organize the unorganized workers, and the substantial assistance and encouragement received from the officers of the national and international unions 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 Thirty-eighth 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 seven months from October 1, 1917, to April 30, 1918. My term of office as Treasurer started with January 1, 1918. On that date all the funds held by former Treasurer Lennon were transferred to me. The financial statement of the seven months from October 1, 1917, to April 30, 1918, is as follows:

INCOME.		EXPENSES.	
Received of Secretary Morrison:		Warrants paid:	
1917.		1917.	
October 31.....	\$39,184 85	October 31.....	\$31,876 03
November 30.....	23,876 51	November 30.....	29,336 68
December 31.....	36,557 15	December 31.....	38,365 97
1918.		1918.	
January 31.....	43,420 71	January 31.....	42,490 61
February 28.....	40,257 22	February 28.....	33,647 15
March 31.....	42,479 63	March 31.....	38,903 51
April 30.....	77,687 64	April 30.....	62,490 62
Total income for 7 months.....	\$303,463 71	Total expenses for 7 months.....	\$277,110 57
Balance in hands of Treasurer, September 30, 1917.....	96,967 84		
Total funds.....	\$400,431 55		

RECAPITULATION.

Total funds (cash balance and income).....	\$400,431 55
Total expenses.....	277,110 57
April 30, 1918—Balance in hands of Treasurer.....	\$123,320 98
April 30, 1918—Balance in hands of Secretary.....	2,000 00
Total cash balance April 30, 1918.....	\$125,320 98
Loan to Trustees A. F. of L. Building Fund from Defense Fund.....	40,000 00
Total balance on hand, April 30, 1918.....	\$165,320 98
Treasurer's balance, where deposited and invested:	
Union Trust Co., Indianapolis, Ind., interest bearing certificates.....	\$65,000 00
Indiana National Bank, Indianapolis, Ind., subject to check.....	18,320 98
Liberty Bonds.....	30,000 00
Canadian Victory Bonds.....	10,000 00
Loan to Trustees A. F. of L. Building Fund from Defense Fund.....	40,000 00
Treasurer's balance April 30, 1918.....	\$163,320 98
Deposits guaranteed by bond.	

Respectfully submitted,

DANIEL J. TOBIN,
Treasurer, American Federation of Labor.

INDIANAPOLIS, IND., April 30, 1918.

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

To the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor:

We submit for your consideration the following report of the receipts and expenses of the A. F. of L. Building Fund for the seven months ending April 30, 1918

The income from all sources for seven months, \$11,931 02; cost of maintenance, \$10,123 81 Income over cost of maintenance, \$1,807 21

The interest paid upon money borrowed was \$5 182 39 which added to the cost of maintenance in excess of income leaves a deficit of \$3 375 18

The total cost of lot and erection of building, \$189,317.68; the total amount borrowed, \$189,240. The indebtedness was reduced \$32,500 this year The total reduction of indebtedness up to April 30, 1918, \$66,740. The total amount of indebtedness upon the building on April 30, 1918, \$122,500.

INCOME

Balance on hand September 30, 1917.....		\$1,247 88
<i>Rents:</i>		
American Federation of Labor.....	\$6,910 00	
Int'l Association of Machinists.....	1,965 00	
Building Trades Department.....	665 00	
Nat'l Federation of Federal Employes.....	455 00	
Metal Trades Department.....	385 00	
Union Label Trades Department.....	385 00	
National Federation of Postal Employes.....	380 00	
Federal Employes' Local No. 2.....	300 00	
Mining Department.....	200 00	
United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners.....	140 00	
War Dept. Board on Correspondence and Filing Systems.....	91 94	
Int'l Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.....	30 00	
		11,906 94
Waste Paper.....		24 08
<i>From General Fund, A. F. of L.:</i>		
February 28, 1918.....	\$2,500 00	
March 30, 1918.....	5,000 00	
March 30, 1918.....	2,000 00	
April 24, 1918.....	5,000 00	
April 30, 1918.....	20,225 00	
		34,725 00
Total.....		\$47,903 90

EXPENSES

<i>Maintenance:</i>		
Pay-roll (building employes).....	\$4,631 50	
Fuel (coal).....	1,883 07	
Electricity.....	1,029 45	
Taxes.....	1,017 72	
Supplies.....	806 16	
Upkeep and repairs.....	385 04	
Ice.....	116 04	
Insurance (liability).....	93 67	
Water rent.....	85 16	
Hauling ashes.....	76 00	
Total.....		\$10,123 81

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

Payments to Riggs National Bank (\$5,000, \$5,000, \$20,000).....	\$30,000.00
Interest on money borrowed.....	5,182.39
Fourth payment to Defense Fund, A. F. of L.....	2,500.00
Legal services.....	32.60
Total expenses, October 1, 1917, to April 30, 1918.....	\$47,838.80
RECAPITULATION	
Receipts.....	\$47,903.90
Expenses.....	47,838.80
Balance on hand April 30, 1918.....	\$65.10

The offices in the American Federation of Labor Building, and particularly the Executive Council room, have been utilized by many labor organizations and representatives of foreign countries and of the public. The prestige and dignity which our building has given to our cause, our country and the cause in which we are all engaged have been of great importance and advantage.

This report of the trustees of the American Federation of Labor Building is submitted to you, the Executive Council, 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.

PURCHASE OF LIBERTY LOAN BONDS

There is no doubt but that the organizations of labor as such, as well as their membership, have purchased millions of dollars' worth of Liberty Bonds and Canadian Bonds. The President of the American Federation of Labor endeavored to secure statistics from the national and international unions as to the subscriptions to the first and second Liberty Loan by the international unions direct, as well as by their local unions. This was done before the third loan issue.

Few of the organizations were able to give accurate information and the information secured in this way did not fully cover the subscriptions of individual members.

We would therefore be unable to report any amount that would be reasonably near the actual subscriptions of the organizations of labor and their membership to the three Liberty Loan issues and the Canadian "Victory" Loan, not to mention the War Savings Stamps, as any figures that we would give from the compilation we have been able to make would be totally misleading.

We can say with exact definiteness, however, that the A. F. of L. as such subscribed ten thousand dollars to the first Liberty Loan issue; ten thousand dollars to the second; ten thousand dollars to the third; and ten thousand dollars to the Canadian Victory Loan, making a total of \$40,000.

There is no question, however, but that the affiliated organizations and their membership have loyally and patriotically responded to the request for subscriptions to the Liberty Loan issues and for the purchase of War Savings Stamps.

INTERNATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS

Since our report to the Buffalo Convention discussion of Labor's international relations has focused around three subjects:

1. Proposals to hold international labor conference in which representatives from enemy countries should participate, and
2. Discussion of "peace terms."
3. Reconstruction.

In continuation of the discussion of matters of mutual interest at several previous Inter-Allied Labor Conferences, British Labor in January sent invitations to the labor movements of the allied countries to attend an Inter-Allied Labor Conference to be held in London commencing February 20, 1918. The following is the invitation:

LONDON, 16th January, 1918.

DEAR GOMPERS: On behalf of the British Trades Union Congress Parliamentary Committee and the National Executive of the Labour Party I have the pleasure to send you herewith particulars as to the conditions under which we are calling an Inter-Allied Conference to commence in London on 20th February, 1918.

We trust it will be possible for the American Federation of Labour to be represented; for in addition to considering the British War Aims and any amendments thereto sent in on behalf of the respective countries, there is to be considered the very important question as to whether the time has arrived when we should hold an International Conference.

A third most important question will be the arrangements to be made for working class representation in connection with any official peace conference. Even if your Federation does not quite agree with the two committees responsible for organizing the Inter-Allied Conference, it would be desirable that your representatives, and especially yourself, were present to put the American point of view.

We have had a request from the American Socialists, but the two committees have decided that your Federation was the only body to be invited to this conference to represent America. I shall esteem it a favour, therefore, if you will give this matter your sympathetic consideration and let me know as early as possible any decision you may reach.

With all good wishes,
Yours sincerely,

ARTHUR HENDERSON.

MR. SAMUEL GOMPERS,
Washington, D. C.

This invitation reached the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor late February 9. The Executive Council was beginning its regular meeting on the following day, it was then too late to send a representative to be in time to attend the London conference, February 20. On February 11, the Council considered the invitation and authorized the President of the American Federation of Labor to send a cablegram expressing regret that owing to lack of time it was impossible to be represented in the Inter-Allied Conference. In accord with that action the following cablegram was sent:

ARTHUR HENDERSON,
London.

WASHINGTON, February 13, 1918.

Your January sixteen letter reached me late Saturday, February nine, and brought to attention Executive Council, American Federation of Labor, in session on eleventh. We regret that circumstances make impossible to be represented in the Inter-Allied Labor Conference, London, February twentieth.

Executive Council in declaration unanimously declared, "We can not meet with representatives of those who are aligned against us in this world war for freedom, but we hope they will sweep away the barriers which they have raised between us."

All should be advised that anyone presuming to represent Labor in America in your conference is simply self-constituted and unrepresentative.

We hope shortly to send delegation of representative workers American labor movement to England and to France.

Please convey our fraternal greetings to the Inter-Allied Labor Conference and assure them that we are pledged and will give our man-power and at least half we have in wealth power in the struggle to secure for the world justice, freedom and democracy.

GOMPERS.

It will be observed that in Mr. Henderson's letter he stated that our Federation was to be the only body to be invited to the conference to represent America. Information had come to us that a group of persons had decided to send one or more representatives to attend the Inter-Allied Labor Conference at London February 20th, and it was for that reason that reference was made in President Gompers' cablegram to the fact that anyone presuming to represent Labor of America would be simply self-constituted and unrepresentative.

In addition, there was included in the cablegram sent to Mr. Henderson a statement that a representative from the A. F. of L. would not participate in any discussion or any conference in which representatives of enemy countries sat in. It was believed that this fact should be emphasized at that particular time by reason of the declarations of the A. F. of L. upon this point and for the further reason that there were some who in our judgment mistakenly or wrongfully urged such participation. When the war is won, the question of participation in a labor conference in which the representatives of *all* countries participate, can be decided.

Upon the day that the cablegram was sent it was given out in Washington for publication. Some representative of the press in New York cabled the message over to British papers. On the day of the opening of the London conference British papers published a garbled cablegram purporting to be sent by the President of the A. F. of L., in which the following sentence had been injected: "American labor believes German influences have inspired the London conference and until this is disproved will avoid the conference."

When the falsehood came to the attention of the Allied Labor Conference in London, the conference directed its Publicity Committee to publish the text of the cablegram as received from President Gompers, and also sent the following cablegram to him:

LONDON, Feb. 25, 1918.

GOMPERS,
American Federation of Labor,
Washington.

Press in this country circulating statement, your alleged authority, that American labour believes German influences inspire the London conference. Nothing appears your telegram to us. We feel sure you will resent gross falsification your message. Apparently part of campaign malicious misrepresentation on part enemies of labour. Trust you will dissociate your federation from statement which is wholly untrue.

ALBERT THOMAS, *President.*
ARTHUR E. HENDERSON, *Secy.*

Owing to important official engagements which necessitated absence from Washington, and to official duties that could not be deferred, reply to the telegram could not be made immediately, and in any event it would not be sent or received during the sessions of the conference, for it had already adjourned. However, the following cable reply was made:

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 13, 1918.

ARTHUR HENDERSON,
London.

Your letter January sixteen inviting delegation American Federation of Labor participate in London conference February twenty, reached me February nine. Authority to designate delegates of the American labor movement vested in convention American Federation of Labor or in Executive Council during interim.

Executive Council in session February eleven with regret found it impossible to send representatives because insufficient time to reach London.

We cabled this fact and fraternal greetings to Inter-Allied Labor Conference and assurance that American people are united in struggle for world justice and freedom.

American Federation of Labor responsible only for cable sent you by its representatives and not for cablegram garbled in press.

American labor glad to meet with representatives labor movements of allied

countries but refuses to meet representatives of the labor movements of enemy countries while they are fighting against democracy and world freedom.

In the gigantic task to destroy autocracy there must be hearty cooperation among workers and we hope nothing will interfere with complete understanding and good-will between workers of America and allied countries.

A delegation representing American labor will shortly visit England and France to encourage, confer and cooperate in furtherance of the cause of labor and world democracy. Am sending identical cablegram to Albert Thomas, France.

SAMUEL GOMPERS.

An identical cablegram was sent to Albert Thomas of France.

The statement was cabled from Great Britain that the Inter-Allied Labor Conference authorized a commission to come to the United States to confer with representatives of the American labor movement in order to clear up misunderstandings and to secure direct information of the views and plans of American labor. According to press reports the commission was to consist of representatives of British, French, Italian and Belgian labor. However, the only official communication received in regard to this commission is the following cablegram from L. Jouhaux, Secretary of the Confederation Generale du Travail:

PARIS, March 21st, 1918.

GOMPERS,

Washington, D. C.

I desire to make on the part of the working class delegation coming to America, to express to you satisfaction at our meeting soon.

JOUHAUX.

In view of the existing situation, for the purpose of holding conferences with workers of allied countries, of ascertaining conditions both in Great Britain and France; to bring home to our movement this information and to convey the information to our fellow workers of the allied countries of what we were doing in the United States; to convey the message of good will; to bring about a greater degree of cooperation and effective service for the toilers and for our common cause in winning the war, we authorized the creation of a commission of representative workers of the United States to visit both England and France. More particulars of this will be submitted later on in this report.

When it became known in Great Britain and France that an American labor mission was going over, information was cabled across that the departure of the Inter-Allied commission would be deferred at least until conferences were had with the American labor representatives. It is suggested that the entire correspondence on International Labor Relations published in the *American Federationist* be read when this subject is considered.

BRITISH AND AMERICAN LABOR COMMISSIONS

It is evident that the close cooperation and good-will essential to the most efficient conduct of the war can be secured only through personal contact and the exchange of ideas and experiences between the citizens of the various warring countries.

In furtherance of that purpose it will be recalled that at the request of President Gompers the British and the Canadian governments last year sent representative labor men to a conference held at the American Federation of Labor offices at Washington. They were, on the part of England, Mr. Charles W. Bowerman and Mr. James H. Thomas; on behalf of Canada, Mr. Giddeon D. Robertson and Mr. J. C. Waters. To further promote these purposes the British government, through its labor member, Mr. George Barnes, sent a labor commission of representative trade unionists to their fellow-workers of the United States. The commission consisted of the following:

W. A. Appleton, Secretary, General Federation of Trade Unions.

Chas. Duncan, Workers' Union.

Joshua Butterworth, Associated Shipwrights' Society.

William Mosses, Patternmakers, Secretary the Advisory Labor Committee, Munitions Ministry.

The commission landed at an Atlantic port and were received by the representatives of labor and escorted to Washington to the headquarters of the A. F. of L. where after a series of conferences, mutual interchange of beneficial information and the manifestations of good will, a plan was formulated by which the four men should make a tour of the United States, two to visit the important cities of the eastern part of the country, and two to visit the important cities of the west. A representative of the American trade union movement accompanied each group. In all of the cities visited the British labor representatives addressed meetings of trade unionists, employers and the general public. They were materially helpful in bringing about a better understanding of the situation in Great Britain and of the way the British labor movement had dealt with war problems.

The British delegates were representatives of the economic organization of British workers. They represented the British workers who are opposed to the "Stockholm scheme." Because of this fact an insidious campaign was conducted to destroy the influence and the efforts of these British labor representatives. The campaign, which was obviously conducted by a group of "intellectuals" who desire to dominate the American labor movement, did not succeed in convincing Americans, or in discounting the work performed by the British commission.

In addition to the appreciation that all must feel, and do feel, of the splendid work performed by the commission, it is interesting to know that the Council of National Defense adopted a resolution of welcome and greeting to them; that they were most cordially received by the President, and other representatives of our government, as well as by the British Ambassador. The Council of National Defense tendered to the labor mission a dinner at which a number of officers of the labor movement located at Washington were also guests. Several communications have since been exchanged between the representatives of the commission and officers of the A. F. of L. since the return of the commission to England.

It will be remembered that urgent invitations have come from the organized labor movement of Great Britain as well as from the government of that country, to have President Gompers and a delegation of American labor men visit that country. Circumstances at the time forbade. By reason of the fact that there was considerable misunderstanding as to the policy which the A. F. of L. has pursued and for the purpose of affording an opportunity for observations, information and the manifestation of good will, and because of the urgent insistence made upon us for a commission representative of American organized labor to visit England and France, we concluded that the best course we could pursue was to send a delegation of such representative workers to Great Britain and to France, and appointed the following as such a commission:

James Wilson, President, Patternmakers' League of North America.
 William H. Johnston, President, International Association of Machinists.
 George L. Berry, President, International Printing Pressmen's and Assistants'

Union.

Martin F. Ryan, President, Brotherhood of Railway Carmen of America.
 John P. Frey, Editor official journal, International Molders' Union.
 Miss Melinda Scott, President, Straw Hat Trimmers' and Operatives' Union.
 Miss Agnes Nestor, Vice-President, Glove Workers' International Union.
 William Short, President, Washington State Federation of Labor.
 Chester M. Wright, Director, Publicity Department, American Alliance for
 Labor and Democracy, member International Typographical Union.

We have had direct communications from the commission but not of such a character suitable for incorporation in this official report, but from these reports, as well as the seemingly authentic cable dispatches published in the American newspapers, we are justified in expressing the conviction that the mission of our representatives has been amply fulfilled. The commission has been requested by cable to have their report completed for submission either as part of this report or as a supplementary report to be submitted to this convention.

PEACE TERMS

Since the beginning of the present European war the American Federation of Labor at each convention has adopted declarations dealing with the peace which shall terminate the present war. It is fitting at the present time to gather the various principles that have been declared by our conventions into one comprehensive statement representing the peace demands of American Labor.

At the Philadelphia (1914) Convention a resolution was adopted which proposed a World Labor Congress to be held at the same time and place as the Peace Congress that would formulate the peace treaty closing the war.

We reported to the San Francisco (1915) Convention a comprehensive plan for the convocation of such a World Labor Congress, which was approved. This plan was transmitted to the labor movements of all countries. Replies were received from many concurring in the suggestion. However, Carl Legien, President of the Federation of Trade Unions of Germany, wrote that in his judgment such a movement would be of doubtful practicality, and the British labor movement withheld endorsement.

For these reasons the Baltimore (1916) Convention adopted as a supplement to the first proposition, that the labor movements of the various countries should prevail upon their national governments to include representatives of Labor in the national delegation which would participate in the World Peace Congress.

These demands are in accord with the fundamental principles of democracy which is the basic issue involved in the war. The labor movement holds that the government should be the agency by which the will of the people is expressed, rather than the agency for controlling them.

The war is requiring tremendous sacrifices of all of the people. Because of their response in defense of principles of freedom, the people have earned the right to wipe out all vestiges of the old idea that the government belongs to or constitutes a "governing class." In determining issues that will vitally affect the lives and welfare of millions of wage-earners, justice requires that they should have direct representation in the agency authorized to make such decisions.

The Buffalo (1917) Convention declared that the following essentially fundamental principles must underlie any peace treaty acceptable to them:

1. A league of the free peoples of the world in a common covenant for genuine and practical cooperation to secure justice and therefore peace in relations between nations.
2. No political or economic restrictions meant to benefit some nations and to cripple or embarrass others.
3. No indemnities or reprisals based upon vindictive purposes or deliberate desire to injure, but to right manifest wrongs.
4. Recognition of the rights of small nations and of the principle, "No people must be forced under sovereignty under which it does not wish to live."
5. No territorial changes or adjustment of power except in furtherance of the welfare of the peoples affected and in furtherance of world peace.

In addition to these basic principles which are based upon declarations of our President of these United States, there should be incorporated in the treaty that shall constitute the guide of nations in the new period and conditions into which we enter at the close of the war the following declarations, fundamental to the best interests of all nations and of vital importance to wage-earners:

1. No article or commodity shall be shipped or delivered in international commerce in the production of which children under the age of 16 have been employed or permitted to work.
2. It shall be declared that the basic workday in industry and commerce shall not exceed eight hours.
3. Involuntary servitude shall not exist except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted.
4. Establishment of trial by jury.

Because we believe that an effort in advance of the Peace Congress to apply these fundamental principles to concrete problems would result only in hindering and possibly imperiling the work of the representatives in the Peace Congress by limiting the scope and the effectiveness of the negotiatory powers of those who may represent the American Government and labor movement, we deem it unwise at this time to formulate concrete declarations in regard to problems that will come before the Peace Congress. In addition, the progress attending the military events will undoubtedly greatly change the problems from time to time.

We are in accord with that program of world peace stated by the President of the United States in his address to Congress on January 8, 1918

The growth of political institutions is always attendant upon the development of closer and more complicated relations between groups of people. Simple, political institutions existing in simple, social organization have always grown into more adequate institutions, necessary to meet the internal needs and problems of a strong commercial people. A corresponding development had been taking place in relations between nations before the outbreak of war. The industrial and commercial lives of all nations had been closely bound together through world organization of markets, finances, systems of communications and exchange, and agencies for the stimulation and dissemination of information, the inadequacy of then existing international agencies for dealing with international affairs, was fully demonstrated.

International anarchy creates the opportunity for aggression on the part of strong resourceful nations seeking an outlet for unemployed energy and excess of production. Where there are no established agencies or methods for dealing with such aggressors, militarism manifests itself and can be eliminated only when the field of international relations is justly organized. This work of organization will clearly devolve upon a league of nations. Although its work will be fraught with far-reaching consequences such a league can be trusted to institute necessary agencies and methods if it is democratic and humane in character and method. We hold that diplomatic relations between nations must be democratic. In a word, where the human side of life is fully recognized and represented.

Diplomatic representatives of nations ought to be responsible to a representative agency in their government and should be received either by the parliament of the country to which they are accredited or by a representative of the people directly responsible to them.

Under the opportunities created by a league of nations adequate agencies could be established for dealing with all justiciable questions. An administrative body composed of representatives of the principal groups constituting national interests should be established to deal with practical problems in a constructive way and thus avert situations that might otherwise result in injustice and war. We have already a more or less indefinite mass of customs known as international law. The present law does not furnish adequate standards to direct international relations. The law could be made more practical and more effective by conferences of representatives of the various peoples to revise, modify, and extend existing regulations.

As the result of experience, particularly as events have been disclosed since the beginning of the war, there has been demonstrated a total lack of effective organization of the forces among the peoples of all the countries to make for the maintenance of international peace and at the same time secure international justice. As an outgrowth of the war, new understandings and conceptions have developed to the causes of war and particularly of the present war; new conceptions of right and of justice and an increased determination to secure and thereafter maintain the peace of the world founded upon a higher morale of the peoples of the world. There can be no question as to the final outcome of this world struggle. Autocracy, militarism, and its most dangerous supporting weapon, irresponsible diplomacy, must perish. Democracy, justice, freedom and absolute confidence between governments and peoples must be established and triumph. There is no doubt but out of the present war the morals and the conduct of the governments of the world must be upon a higher moral plane, and that this fact will make toward the establishment and maintenance of international relations which shall safeguard the peoples of the world in the enjoyment of a much desired permanent peace.

CANADIAN RELATIONS

After the United States declared war against the German government and we became one of the Allies fighting for the common cause of freedom, the ties became even stronger that bound us to our northern neighbor, Canada. Common needs and common purposes have made it plain that there must be such an understanding between the governments and the people of Canada and the United States that national policies must conform to a general continental policy formulated for best interests. The boundary line between the two countries has become little more than a geographical convenience. The close relationships necessary for war purposes have bound our countries even more closely.

The unity necessary for the continental policy was reflected long before the war in the relations between the workers of Canada and the workers of the United States. The Canadian labor movement was identified with the labor movement of the United States in an organization embracing the workers of the continent. In the initial conferences which the American labor movement held when it was inaugurating its war policies, representatives of the Canadian movement were present. In continuation of this friendly helpful relationship the President of the American Federation of Labor was urged by the Canadian workers and government to participate in the Victory Loan Campaign which the Canadian government was conducting during and immediately after the Buffalo Convention. In addition to the purchase of Victory Bonds amounting to \$10,000, which was authorized during the Buffalo Convention, President Gompers delivered an address in Toronto on November 28, 1917, in furtherance of the same cause.

Early in this year urgent invitations were extended President Gompers by the labor and civic organizations of Ottawa and Montreal to deliver addresses in those two cities. The invitations came at the time when the new war government was assuming responsibility. It was particularly necessary that the labor policy of the new government should be constructive and of such a character as to insure cordial relationships between the government and the workers. In order to accomplish this purpose it was necessary that the workers of Canada should have representation and voice in matters concerning their interests and that they should cooperate with government officials in a spirit of confidence and mutual responsibility.

Upon learning that President Gompers was coming to Ottawa the government extended to him an invitation to address both Houses of Parliament meeting in joint session. This was an honor that has been accorded to only two other men—Mr. Arthur Balfour, who was in Canada as the head of the British Mission sent to this country, and M. Rene Viviani, the head of the French Commission sent for a similar purpose at the same time that the British Commission was here. Mr. Gompers accepted the invitation and addressed Parliament on April 26.

PAN-AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

Since our report to the Buffalo Convention, Cardenio Gonzales presented credentials from various labor organizations of Chile to the Pan-American Federation of Labor Conference Committee. Mr. Gonzales was authorized to bring fraternal greetings from the organized workers of Chile to the workers of the United States. He is here in this country studying the organization of American trade unions and also his trade as a machinist in order that he may carry back information to fellow-workers of Chile.

In May we sent a labor commission to the labor organizations of Mexico to strengthen fraternal relations already established between Mexico and the United States by previous conferences, and to prepare the way for definite plans for the holding of the Pan-American conference. In addition, it is our hope that resulting conferences will bring about a better understanding between the peoples of Mexico and the United States and will thus frustrate the activities of vested interests that are employing powerful publicity agencies and diplomatic influences to bring about a misunderstanding between the governments of our two countries. The commission sent to Mexico consists of James Lord, President of the Mining Department of the American Federation of Labor, John Murray, Secretary of the Pan-American Federation of Labor Conference Committee, and Santiago Iglesias, Porto Rican Free Federation of Workers. It is probable that the commission will be in position to make a report upon its work to this convention.

LABOR AND THE WAR

The Executive Council reported to the Buffalo Convention a number of agreements between various organizations and the government. The agreements covered particular industries in war work of which the government was in imperative need. The Shipping Board Emergency Fleet Corporation and the War Department had to meet the first big war problems quickly and effectively. These two divisions of the government entered into the first agreements with labor organizations.

Shortly after the Buffalo Convention, a conference was held in Washington between the representatives of the labor organizations concerned in shipbuilding whose names are attached thereto, and representatives of the Shipping Board Emergency Fleet Corporation and the Navy Department. As a result of that conference the following revision of the then existing agreement was adopted:

Memorandum for the Adjustment of Wages, Hours and Conditions of Labor in Shipbuilding Plants

When disputes arise concerning wages, hours and conditions of labor in the construction or repair of shipbuilding plants, or of ships in shipyards, under the United States Shipping Board Emergency Fleet Corporation, or under said Shipping Board, or under contract with said corporation, or with said board, or if questions coming under the jurisdiction of the board arise with reference to such construction in a private plant in which construction is also being carried on for the Navy Department, and attempts at mediation or conciliation between employers and employes have failed, the adjustment of such disputes shall be referred to an adjustment board of three persons, hereinafter called the "board," one to be appointed jointly by the said corporation and the Navy Department, one to represent the public and to be appointed by the President of the United States, and one to represent Labor, to be appointed by Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor. It is understood, however, that this memorandum shall in nowise serve as a precedent for procedure in government plants under the War or Navy Departments, except as may be authorized by such departments.

The plant where such construction is being carried on shall be geographically districted by the board. In each district, the contractors in whose plants such construction is being carried on, and the representatives of such international labor organizations as have members engaged in such production or construction in such plants, and as are selected for the purpose, by the labor member of the board, shall be called upon, under conditions to be laid down by it, to agree upon a person or persons who shall act under the direction of the board as examiner or examiners in such district. If the board deems it advisable itself to name an examiner or examiners, or if the representatives of the contractors and of the labor organization do not agree, then the board shall by unanimous action select a person or persons for such position. The examiner shall be subject to removal by the board at any time by a majority vote. It shall be the duty of the district officer of the United States Shipping Board Emergency Fleet Corporation to report promptly to the board, and to the examiner of the district, if such examiner shall have been appointed, any dispute with reference to wages, hours or conditions of labor which he is unable to adjust satisfactorily to the principals concerned.

As basic standards where such construction is being carried on, the board shall use the wage rate prevailing in the district in which such plant or plants are located, provided such wage rates have been established through agreements between employer and employes and are admitted to be equitable. Consideration shall be given by the board to any circumstances arising after such wages, hours or conditions were established, and which may seem to call for changes in wages, hours or conditions. Where no such agreements exist, and where as in the case of new industrial districts a proper basis of wages and conditions is difficult to determine, the board shall have the right to put into effect the rates which were awarded after due investigation and determination in other districts in which living conditions and cost of living are substantially the same. The board shall keep itself fully informed as to the relation between living costs in the several

districts and their comparison between progressive periods of time. The decisions of the board shall, under proper conditions, be retroactive, and it shall be the duty of the board to make the decision effective. At any time after six months have elapsed following such ratified agreement or any such final decision by the Adjustment Board on any question as to wages, hours or conditions in any plant or district, such questions may be reopened by the Adjustment Board for adjustment upon request of the majority of the craft or crafts at such plant affected by such agreement or decision, provided it can be shown that there has been a general and material increase in the cost of living. The decisions of the board will, in so far as this memorandum may be capable of achieving such result, be final and binding on all parties. Provided, however, that either the employers or employes in any district may have the right to appeal from the decision rendered by the Adjustment Board to a Board of Review and Appeal to be made up as follows: Three members to be named jointly by the United States Shipping Board Emergency Fleet Corporation and the United States Navy Department, and three to be named by the President of the American Federation of Labor.

It is hereby stipulated and agreed that this memorandum shall supersede and stand in place of the "Memorandum for the Adjustment of Wages, Hours and Conditions of Labor in Shipbuilding Plants," signed August 20, 1917, and that it shall become effective this 8th day of December, 1917.

Franklin D. Roosevelt, Acting Secretary of the Navy.
 Charles Piez, Vice-President, United States Shipping Board Emergency Fleet Corporation.
 William Blackman, Assistant to General Manager.
 James O'Connell, President, Metal Trades Department.
 John I. Nolan, International Molders' Union of North America.
 J. A. Franklin, International President of Boilermakers and Iron Shipbuilders of America.
 James Wilson, President, Pattern Makers' League of North America.
 Milton Snellings, General President, International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers.
 G. C. VanDornes, General Vice-President, International Brotherhood of Boilermakers and Helpers.
 F. J. McNulty, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.
 John J. Hynes, President, Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers of America.
 William H. Johnston, International Association of Machinists, per P. Flaherty.
 W. W. Britton, President, International Union of Metal Polishers.

War Labor Policy

The establishment of agencies and policies for the general field of production of munitions and war supplies has been considered as a whole. The thought was that there ought to be a national war labor-policy and the agency charged with the administration of that policy ought to be in close cooperation with the persons or agencies responsible for production. The outstanding problems with which the national labor policy would have to deal were housing, distribution and allocation of workers, standards of work and agencies for adjusting industrial disputes. After many conferences the matter was taken up with the Advisory Commission and with the Council of National Defense, which body made recommendations to the President of the United States. This program was approved by the President who requested the Secretary of Labor to undertake its administration and to provide for this purpose the following agencies:

1. A means of furnishing an adequate and stable supply of labor to war industries. This will include:
 - (a) A satisfactory system of labor exchanges.
 - (b) A satisfactory method and administration of training of workers.

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- (c) An agency for determining priorities of labor demand.
- (d) Agencies for dilution of skilled labor as and when needed.
2. Machinery which will provide for the immediate and equitable adjustment of disputes in accordance with principles to be agreed upon between labor and capital and without stoppage of work. Such machinery would deal with demands concerning wages, hours, shop conditions, etc.
3. Machinery for safeguarding conditions of labor in the production of war essentials. This is to include industrial hygiene, safety, women and child labor, etc.
4. Machinery for safeguarding conditions of living, including housing, transportation, etc.
5. Fact-gathering body to assemble and present data, collected through various existing governmental agencies or by independent research, to furnish the information necessary for effective executive action.
6. Information and Education Division which has the functions of developing sound public sentiment, securing an exchange of information between departments of labor administration and promotion in industrial plants of local machinery helpful in carrying out the national labor program.

Secretary Wilson then appointed an Advisory Commission to assist him to plan the machinery that would make the program effective. The Advisory Commission consisted of the following persons:

John Lind, ex-Governor of Minnesota, and President Wilson's personal representative to Mexico in 1913.

Waddill Catchings, President of the Platt Iron Works, Dayton, Ohio; Chairman War Committee of the Chamber of Commerce, United States Army.

A. A. Landon, General Manager of the American Radiator Company; Vice-Chairman Aircraft Board; President Chamber of Commerce, Buffalo, New York.

John B. Lennon, Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor for twenty-eight years; member and former Secretary of the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America; member Industrial Relations Commission, 1912.

John J. Casey, former member of Congress from Pennsylvania, and member of the United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters of the United States and Canada.

Dr. L. C. Marshall, Professor Political Economy, and Dean of College of Commerce and Administration, University of Chicago.

Agnes Nestor, member and Vice-president of International Glove Workers' Union of America; member Committee on Women's Defense Work, Council of National Defense.

After this commission made its report to Secretary Wilson, he submitted to the Secretary of the Treasury estimates of funds necessary to carry out the work with which the Labor Department had been charged. The necessary appropriation requested was about three and one-half millions. Although the need for a central labor policy and proper administrative agencies was imperative, Congress has been very slow in appreciating the need for appropriating the necessary money.

In order to formulate economic principles as the basis of relations between employers and employes a National War Labor Conference Board was created. This board consisted of five members chosen by the A. F. of L. and five by the National Industrial Conference Board (employers' associations). Each of these groups selected a representative of the public who also served as chairman on alternate days. The employers' representatives chose ex-President Wm. H. Taft; the workers' representatives selected Honorable Frank P. Walsh. The ten other members of the Conference Board were:

Loyal A. Osborne, New York, Vice-President of the Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company; Chairman of the Executive Committee of the National Industrial Conference Board.

Charles F. Brooker, Ansonia, Conn., President of the American Brass Company.

W. H. Van Dervoort, East Moline, Ill., President of the Root & Van Dervoort Engineering Company.

L. F. Loree, New York, President of the Delaware and Hudson Company; Chairman of the board and Executive Committee of Kansas City Southern Railway Company; President Hudson Coal Company, Northern Iron and Coal Company, Schuylkill Coal and Iron Company, etc.

C. Edwin Michael, Roanoke, Va., President of the Virginia Bridge and Iron Company.

Frank J. Hayes, President of the United Mine Workers of America, Merchants Bank, Indianapolis, Ind.

William L. Hutcheson, President of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, Carpenters Building, Indianapolis, Ind.

Wm. H. Johnston, President International Association of Machinists, Washington, D. C.

Victor Olander, Representative International Seamen's Union of America, Chicago.

T. A. Rickert, President United Garment Workers of America, Chicago.

This board after several weeks of conference made the following report to Secretary Wilson:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *March 29, 1918.*

Honorable WILLIAM B. WILSON,
Secretary of Labor.

SIR: The commission of representatives of employers and workers, selected in accord with the suggestion of your letter of January 28, 1918, to aid in the formulation, in the present emergency, of a national labor program, present to you, as a result of their conferences, the following:

(a) That there be created, for the period of the war, a National War Labor Board of the same number and to be selected in the same manner and by the same agencies as the commission making this recommendation:

(b) That the functions and powers of the National Board shall be as follows:

1. To bring about a settlement, by mediation and conciliation of every controversy arising between employers and workers in the field of production necessary for the effective conduct of the war.

2. To do the same thing in similar controversies in other fields of national activity, delays and obstructions in which may, in the opinion of the National Board, affect detrimentally such production.

3. To provide such machinery by direct appointment, or otherwise, for selection of committees or boards to sit in various parts of the country where controversies arise, to secure settlement by local mediation and conciliation.

4. To summon the parties to the controversy for hearing and action by the National Board in case of failure to secure settlement by local mediation and conciliation.

(c) If the sincere and determined effort of the National Board shall fail to bring about a voluntary settlement, and the members of the board shall be unable unanimously to agree upon a decision, then and in that case and only as a last resort, an umpire appointed in the manner provided in the next paragraph shall hear and finally decide the controversy under simple rules of procedure prescribed by the National Board.

(d) The members of the National Board shall choose the umpire by unanimous vote. Failing such choice, the name of the umpire shall be drawn by lot from a list of ten suitable and disinterested persons to be nominated for the purpose by the President of the United States.

(e) The National Board shall hold its regular meetings in the city of Washington, with power to meet at any other place convenient for the board and the occasion.

(f) The National Board may alter its methods and practice in settlement of controversies hereunder from time to time as experience may suggest.

(g) The National Board shall refuse to take cognizance of a controversy between employer and workers in any field of industrial or other activity where there is by agreement or federal law a means of settlement which has not been invoked.

(h) The place of each member of the National Board unavoidably detained from attending one or more of its sessions may be filled by a substitute to be named by such member as his regular substitute. The substitute shall have the same representative character as his principal.

(i) The National Board shall have power to appoint a Secretary, and to create such other clerical organization under it as may be in its judgment necessary for the discharge of its duties.

(j) The National Board may apply to the Secretary of Labor for authority to use the machinery of the department in its work of conciliation and mediation.

(k) The action of the National Board may be invoked in respect to controversies within its jurisdiction, by the Secretary of Labor or by either side in a controversy or its duly authorized representative. The board, after summary consideration, may refuse further hearing if the case is not of such character or importance to justify it.

(l) In the appointment of committees of its own members to act for the board in general or local matters, and in the creation of local committees, the employers and the workers shall be equally represented.

(m) The representatives of the public in the board shall preside alternately at successive sessions of the board or as agreed upon.

(n) The board in its mediating and conciliatory action, and the umpire in his consideration of a controversy, shall be governed by the following principles:

Principles and Policies to Govern Relations Between Workers and Employes in War Industries for the Duration of the War

THERE SHOULD BE NO STRIKES OR LOCKOUTS DURING THE WAR.

Right to Organize

1. The right of workers to organize in trade unions and to bargain collectively, through chosen representatives, is recognized and affirmed. This right shall not be denied, abridged or interfered with by the employers in any manner whatsoever.

2. The right of employers to organize in associations of groups and to bargain collectively, through chosen representatives, is recognized and affirmed. This right shall not be denied, abridged or interfered with by the workers in any manner whatsoever.

3. Employers should not discharge workers for membership in trade unions, nor for legitimate trade union activities.

4. The workers, in the exercise of their right to organize, shall not use coercive measures of any kind to induce persons to join their organizations, nor to induce employers to bargain or deal therewith.

Existing Conditions

1. In establishments where the union shop exists the same shall continue and the union standards as to wages, hours of labor and other conditions of employment shall be maintained.

2. In establishments where union and non-union men and women now work together, and the employer meets only with employes or representatives engaged in said establishments, the continuance of such conditions shall not be deemed a grievance. This declaration, however, is not intended in any manner to deny the right, or discourage the practice of the formation of labor unions, or the

joining of the same by the workers in said establishments, as guaranteed in the last paragraph, nor to prevent the War Labor Board from urging, or any umpire from granting, under the machinery herein provided, improvement of their situation in the matter of wages, hours of labor, or other conditions, as shall be found desirable from time to time.

3. Established safeguards and regulations for the protection of the health and safety of workers shall not be relaxed.

Women in Industry

If it shall become necessary to employ women on work ordinarily performed by men, they must be allowed equal pay for equal work and must not be allotted tasks disproportionate to their strength.

Hours of Labor

The basic eight-hour day is recognized as applying in all cases in which existing law requires it. In all other cases the question of hours of labor shall be settled with due regard to governmental necessities and the welfare, health and proper comfort of the workers.

Maximum Production

The maximum production of all war industries should be maintained and methods of work and operation on the part of employers or workers which operate to delay or limit production, or which have a tendency to artificially increase the cost thereof, should be discouraged.

Mobilization of Labor

For the purpose of mobilizing the labor supply with a view to its rapid and effective distribution, a permanent list of the number of skilled and other workers available in different parts of the nation shall be kept on file by the Department of Labor, the information to be constantly furnished:

1. By the trade unions;
2. By state employment bureaus and federal agencies of like character;
3. By the managers and operators of industrial establishments throughout the country.

These agencies should be given opportunity to aid in the distribution of labor, as necessity demands.

Custom of Localities

In fixing wages, hours and conditions of labor regard should always be had to the labor standards, wage-scales, and other conditions, prevailing in the localities affected.

The Living Wage

1. The right of all workers, including common laborers, to a living wage is hereby declared. ¶

2. In fixing wages, minimum rates of pay shall be established which will insure the subsistence of the worker and his family in health and reasonable comfort.

(Signed)

LOYALL A. OSBORNE.
L. F. LOREE.
W. H. VANDERVOORT.
C. E. MICHAEL.
B. L. WORDEN.
WM. H. TAFT.

FRANK J. HAYES.
WM. L. HUTCHINSON.
THOMAS J. SAVAGE.*
VICTOR A. OLANDER.
T. A. RICKERT.
FRANK P. WALSH.

*Acting in the absence of Wm. H. Johnston.

This report was submitted to the President of the United States with the suggestion that the President make it effective through executive proclamation. In the meanwhile Secretary Wilson communicated with the American Federation of Labor and the National Industrial Conference Board as to the personnel of the National War Labor Board. It was agreed that those constituting the Conference Board should become the permanent board. On April 8 the President issued the following proclamation:

(ESTABLISHMENT OF A NATIONAL WAR LABOR BOARD)
BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

A Proclamation

WHEREAS, in January nineteen hundred and eighteen, the Secretary of Labor, upon the nomination of the President of the American Federation of Labor and the President of the National Industrial Conference Board, appointed a War Labor Conference Board for the purpose of devising for the period of the war a method of labor adjustment which would be acceptable to employers and employees; and

WHEREAS, said Board has made a report recommending the creation for the period of the war of a National War Labor Board with the same number of members as and to be selected by the same agencies that created, the War Labor Conference Board, whose duty it shall be to adjust Labor disputes in the manner specified, and in accordance with certain conditions set forth in the said report; and

WHEREAS, the Secretary of Labor has, in accordance with the recommendation contained in the report of said War Labor Conference Board dated March 29, 1918, appointed as members of the National War Labor Board Hon. William Howard Taft and Hon. Frank P. Walsh, representatives of the General Public of the United States; Messrs. Loyall A. Osborne, L. F. Loree, W. H. Van Dervoort, C. E. Michael and B. L. Worden, representatives of the employers of the United States; and Messrs. Frank J. Hayes, William L. Hutcheson, William H. Johnston, Victor A. Olander and T. A. Rickert, representatives of the employees of the United States:

NOW, THEREFORE, I, WOODROW WILSON, President of the United States of America, do hereby approve and affirm the said appointments and make due proclamation thereof and of the following for the information and guidance of all concerned:

The powers, functions, and duties of the National War Labor Board shall be: To settle by mediation and conciliation controversies arising between employers and workers in fields of production necessary for the effective conduct of the war, or in other fields of national activity, delays and obstructions in which might, in the opinion of the National Board, affect detrimentally such production; to provide, by direct appointment, or otherwise, for committees or boards to sit in various parts of the country where controversies arise and secure settlement by local mediation and conciliation; and to summon the parties to controversies for hearing and action by the National Board in event of failure to secure settlement by mediation and conciliation.

The principles to be observed and the methods to be followed by the National Board in exercising such powers and functions and performing such duties shall be those specified in the said report of the War Labor Conference Board dated March 29, 1918, a complete copy of which is hereunto appended.

The National Board shall refuse to take cognizance of a controversy between employer and workers in any field of industrial or other activity where there is by agreement or Federal law a means of settlement which has not been invoked.

And I do hereby urge upon all employers and employees within the United States the necessity of utilizing the means and methods thus provided for the adjustment of all industrial disputes, and request that during the pendency of mediation or arbitration through the said means and methods, there shall be no

discontinuance of industrial operations which would result in curtailment of the production of war necessities.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

DONE in the District of Columbia, this eighth day of April, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and eighteen, and of the independence of the United States the one hundred and forty-second.

[SEAL.]

WOODROW WILSON.

By the President:

ROBERT LANSING,
Secretary of State.

Industrial Service Sections

Many government departments dealing with war work have appointed either representatives of labor organizations to cooperate in the general work or have established industrial departments.

Some departments have combined both methods which, of course, is the most desirable method. Industrial service sections, though managed for the best interests of workers and furthering their welfare, fail in the essential principles of democracy for which the labor movement contends. In addition to the humanitarian labor administration, there must be presentation of the views and demands of workers by the representatives of workers. Industrial service sections ought to round out their program by agreements with organizations of workers affected and by according to representatives of those organizations adequate representation whenever decisions and policies are determined.

In the War Department the following industrial service sections have been organized:

Industrial Service Sections: Ordnance Bureau, in charge of Dean Herman Schneider; Quartermaster Department, in charge of Dr. E. M. Hopkins; Signal Corps, in charge of Dr. Charles P. Neal; Construction Division, Maj. J. H. Alexander.

The Ordnance Department has arranged with several institutions to give courses in employment management. Men from the Ordnance Department as well as from the management staffs of munition producers will benefit from this instruction. Another evidence of the humanitarian and enlightened attitude of the Ordnance Department is General Orders No. 13. This order, although not having a mandatory effect, contributes to the elimination of the commodity theory of labor. It is published in the June issue of the *American Federationist*. A very similar order was issued by the Quartermaster's Department as Circular No. 18.

In the Quartermaster's Department an administrator of labor standards in the manufacture of army clothing has been appointed.

The Shipping Board Emergency Fleet Corporation has an industrial section which deals with the administrative side of labor problems. This section dealt with emergency problems before other war labor agencies were created to deal with the general field. The board therefore has dealt separately with its problems in vocational training, housing, employment, labor management, etc. The board has arranged for the training of workers in allied trades who are free to come into shipbuilding work. Those who thus far have been trained have served principally as instructors for groups of other untrained workers coming in as the industry expanded to meet the war needs.

Fully appreciative of the fact that workers must be dealt with as human beings, the Shipping Board reached the conclusion that labor managers must deal with the shipping employes in an intelligent manner and thereby reduce the turnover and the causes of discontent and friction. Under the agreement between the Seamen's Union and the Shipping Board, schools of training for men who wish to become seamen have been established. However, this plan has met with difficulty as certain shipping companies have refused to employ these men even after they have been trained, although the members of the Seamen's Union have asked that places be made for these men. Even though some of the seamen may have difficulty in finding employment, the Seamen's Union is looking to the future when numbers of additional seamen will be required to man the boats that are being built.

The government has shown its appreciation of the function of organized labor.

The Right to Organize

Labor organizations have furnished the machinery that has made it possible to mobilize the labor power of this country. Instead of finding it necessary to deal with an undisciplined mob of workers or with millions of individuals separately, the government has had the advantage of machinery that either directly or indirectly extends to workers of every trade and calling. The government has entered into contracts and agreements with labor organizations as the responsible representatives of workers and has in two important declarations recognized the right of workers to belong to the organization of their trade.

The Director General of Railroads issued on February 21, 1918, Order No. 8, which contained the following section: "No discrimination will be made in the employment, retention or condition of employment of employes because of membership or non-membership in labor organizations." This order has made it possible for the employes of the great transportation agencies of the country to unite for mutual benefit and for the better advancement of work.

The War Labor Conference Board appointed by the Secretary of Labor, acting as the administrator of war labor policies, made the following recommendation:

THERE SHOULD BE NO STRIKES OR LOCKOUTS DURING THE WAR*Right to Organize*

1. The right of workers to organize in trade unions and to bargain collectively, through chosen representatives, is recognized and affirmed. This right shall not be denied, abridged or interfered with by the employers in any manner whatsoever.
2. The right of employers to organize in associations of groups and to bargain collectively, through chosen representatives, is recognized and affirmed. This right shall not be denied, abridged or interfered with by the workers in any manner whatsoever.
3. Employers should not discharge workers for membership in trade unions, nor for legitimate trade union activities.
4. The workers, in the exercise of their right to organize, shall not use coercive measures of any kind to induce persons to join their organizations, nor to induce employers to bargain or deal therewith.

This declaration became effective through the executive proclamation of the President of the United States authorizing the drafters of the declaration to become a National War Labor Board to carry out the policies they had formulated.

The declarations make a new era for Labor in which there shall be untrammelled right to form economic organizations. Already advantage has been taken of this opportunity. Labor organizations have grown in numbers and there has been constituted a stabilizing element able and competent to deal with industrial matters which might, if not adjusted, develop into discontent resulting in interruption of necessary war production.

The capital issues committee of the Federal Reserve Board acts upon requests for issues of securities during the war. That committee has made the following declaration of policy:

The solution of the problem of making available to the government to the greatest possible degree capital, labor, material, and transportation means creating a surplus of each of these elements so vital to our national needs at this time. The creation of a surplus of labor necessarily involves the creation of a short period of temporary unemployment, during which labor disengaged from unessential industry may be diverted to essential industry.

To Minimize Hardship

To minimize any hardship upon labor arising from the creation of this unavoidable hiatus is the chief concern of all. The capital issues committee is closely studying the problem from this point of view, as it is anxious that its operations should not create idleness any faster than the demand for labor can counteract.



For this purpose a conference took place this week between the capital issues committee; Mr. John B. Densmore, Director General of the United States Employment Service, and Mr. Frank Morrison, of the American Federation of Labor. A plan was adopted under which the committee, before acting upon any application for the issue of securities the approval or disapproval of which would affect seriously labor conditions, will seek the advice of the United States Employment Service, whose successful efforts to secure a scientific distribution of labor fitted to prevailing conditions are heartily supported by the A. F. of L.

RAILROAD WAGE COMMISSION

On January 18th, 1918, pursuant to the authority vested in the Director General of Railroads by the President of the United States in his proclamation of December 26th, 1917, a Railroad Wage Commission was appointed.

The members of the commission were Franklin Lane, Secretary of the Interior; Charles C. McChord, member of the Interstate Commerce Commission; J. Harry Covington, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia, and William R. Wilcox of New York.

The commission was appointed for the purpose of making a general investigation of the compensation of persons in the railroad service; the relation of railroad wages to wages in other industries; the conditions respecting wages in the different parts of the country, and the special emergency respecting wages which exist owing to the war relation between different classes of railroad labor.

The commission commenced a series of hearings in the Interior Building, in Washington, D. C., on January 28th, 1918, with representatives of the Order of Railroad Telegraphers as the initial part of the proceedings. All classes of railroad labor were eventually heard, and the hearings occupied a period of more than two months.

The commission made a report to the Director General of Railroads on April 30th, 1918, and on May 25, 1918, Director General McAdoo issued General Order, No. 27, fixing the wages of railroad employees. The order applies to the employees of 164 railroads named in the order, and, in addition to such roads, "all terminal, union station, and switching companies, all or a majority of whose stock is owned by railroads named." The order states further that such other railroads as may be retained in federal control on July 1, 1918, will be added to the list, and that the Pullman Co., whose status is now being considered, will also be added if decision shall be reached to retain the Pullman Co. under federal control.

The wage increases are included in article 2 and are subdivided as follows:

- a. Rates of wages of railroad employes paid upon monthly basis.
- b. Rates of wages of railroad employes paid upon daily basis.
- c. Rates of wages of railroad employes paid upon hourly basis.
- d. Rates of wages of railroad employes paid upon piecework basis.
- e. Rates of wages of railroad employes paid upon mileage basis.

The additional articles which deal with general principles of policy and administration are:

Article III.—Rules Governing Conditions of Employment.

SECTION (a).—THE BASIC EIGHT-HOUR DAY.

The principle of the basic eight-hour day is hereby recognized. Where employes are paid upon a daily or monthly basis, the new compensation herein established will apply to the number of hours which have heretofore constituted the actual day's work. For example, where an actual day's work has been 10 hours, the new compensation will cover the 8 basic hours and 2 hours overtime. Additional overtime will be paid pro rata.

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

SECTION (b).—RATES OF PAY FOR OVERTIME.

This order shall not affect any existing agreements or practices for the payment of higher rates of pay for time worked in excess of any standard day. Time worked in excess of the basic eight-hour day hereby established will, when there is no existing agreement or practice more favorable to the employe, be paid on a pro rata basis, as indicated in section (a) of this article.

SECTION (c).—NO REDUCTION IN TOTAL INCREASE.

Pending consideration by the Board of Railroad Wages and Working Conditions hereinafter provided for, no reduction in the actual hours constituting a day's work shall operate to deprive any employe, paid by the day or month, of the total increase in pay granted him by this order.

Article IV.—Payments For Back Time.

Each railroad will, in payments made to employes on and after June 1, 1918, include these increases therein.

As promptly as possible, the amount due in back pay from January 1, 1918, in accordance with the provision of this order, will be computed and payment made to employes separately from the regular monthly payments, so that employes will know the exact amount of these back payments.

Recognizing the clerical work necessary to make these computations for back pay and the probable delay before the entire period can be covered, each month, beginning with January, shall be computed as soon as practicable and, as soon as completed, payment shall be made.

Article V.—Employment of Women.

When women are employed, their working conditions must be healthful and fitted to their needs. The laws enacted for the government of their employment must be observed and their pay, when they do the same class of work as men, shall be the same as that of men.

Article VI.—Colored Firemen, Trainmen and Switchmen.

Effective June 1, 1918, colored men employed as firemen, trainmen and switchmen shall be paid the same rates of wages as are paid white men in the same capacities.

Back pay for period January 1, 1918, to May 31, 1918, will be based only upon the increases provided in Article II of this order for such positions. Back payments will not apply to the further increased rate made effective by this Article.

Article VII.—Board of Railroad Wages and Working Conditions.

There is hereby created a Board of Railroad Wages and Working Conditions which shall consist of the following members: J. J. Dermody, F. F. Gaines, C. E. Lindsey, W. E. Morse, G. H. Sinea, A. O. Wharton.

This Board shall at once establish an office at Washington, D. C., and meet for organization and elect a Chairman and Vice-Chairman, one of whom shall preside at meetings of the Board.

It shall be the duty of the Board to hear and investigate matters presented by railroad employes or their representatives affecting

- (1) Inequalities as to wages and working conditions whether as to individual employes or classes of employes.
- (2) Conditions arising from competition with employes in other industries.
- (3) Rules and working conditions for the several classes of employes, either for the country as a whole or for different parts of the country.

The Board shall also hear and investigate other matters affecting wages and conditions of employment referred to it by the Director General.

This Board shall be solely an advisory body and shall submit its recommendations to the Director General for his determination.

Article VIII.—Interpretations of This Order.

Railway Board of Adjustment No. 1 is authorized by Article 9 of General Order No. 13 to perform the following duty:

"Wages and hours, when fixed by the Director General, shall be incorporated into existing agreements on the several railroads, and should differences arise between the management and the employes of any of the railroads as to such incorporation, such questions of difference shall be decided by the Railway Board of Adjustment No. 1, when properly presented, subject always to review by the Director General."

In addition to the foregoing, other questions arising as to the intent or application of this order in respect to the classes of employes within the scope of Railway Board of Adjustment No. 1, shall be submitted to such Board, which Board shall investigate and report its recommendations to the Director General.

Similar authority may be conferred on any additional Railway Board of Adjustment hereafter created.

Decisions shall not be rendered by such Boards until after approval by the Director General.

Prior to the creation of additional Railway Boards of Adjustment to deal with questions as to the intent or application of this order as it affects any other class of employes, such questions, with respect to such employes, shall be presented to the Director of the Division of Labor, United States Railroad Administration, Washington, D. C.

One of the most important and far-reaching orders issued by the Director General of Railroads is Order No. 8, dated February 21st, 1918. Section five of that order reads as follows:

"No discrimination will be made in the employment, retention, or conditions of employment of employes because of membership or non-membership in labor organizations"

"The government now being in control of the railroads, the officers and employes of the various companies no longer serve a private interest. All now serve the government and the public interest only. I want the officers and employes to get the spirit of this new era. Supreme devotion to country, an invincible determination to perform the imperative duties of the hour while the life of the nation is imperilled by war, must obliterate old enmities and make friends and comrades of us all. There must be cooperation not antagonism; confidence, not suspicion; mutual helpfulness, not grudging performance; just consideration, not arbitrary disregard of each other's rights and feelings; a fine discipline based on mutual respect and sympathy; and an earnest desire to serve the great public faithfully and efficiently. This is the new spirit and purpose that must pervade every part and branch of the national railroad service.

"America's safety, America's ideals, America's rights are at stake. Democracy and liberty throughout the world depend upon America's valor, America's strength, America's fighting power. We can win and save the world from despotism and bondage only if we pull together. We can not pull apart without ditching the train. Let us go forward with unshakable purpose to do our part superlatively. Then we shall save America, restore peace to a distracted world and gain for ourselves the coveted distinction and just reward of patriotic service nobly done."

W. G. McADOO,
Director General of Railroads.

Boards of Adjustment

For the purpose of adjusting disputes between employes and railroads not directly connected with wage rates and hours of service, Boards of Adjustment are being formed, and an agreement was reached between Messrs. A. H. Smith, C. H. Markham, and R. H. Aishton, regional directors, representing the railroads in their respective regions, and Mr. W. S. Stone, Grand Chief Engineer, Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers; Mr. A. B. Garretson, President Order of Railway Conductors; Mr. W. G. Lee, President Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen; Mr. Timothy Shea, Acting President Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, and this will be known as Board of Adjustment No. 1.

The officers and members of the board are as follows: Chas. P. Neill, Chairman; L. E. Sheppard, Vice-Chairman; F. A. Burgess, W. N. Doak, J. W. Higgins, Albert Phillips, John G. Walber, and E. T. Whiter.

Adjustment Board No. 2 is now in process of formation, and it is expected that this board will adjust matters concerning the railroad shop trades, including electrical workers.

Adjustment Board No. 3 is in the process of formation, and this board will have representatives from the Telegraphers, Clerks, Maintenance of Way Employes, Switchmen, and Signal Maintainers.

The three boards of adjustment will cover all the regular labor organizations connected with the railroad service.

The Railroad Wage Commission, mentioned in the foregoing, after filing its report with the Director General had completed its labors.

COMMITTEE ON LABOR

The President of the American Federation of Labor, Samuel Gompers, as Chairman of the Committee on Labor of the Advisory Commission to the Council of National Defense, has continued the development of the work of that committee, which was reported upon at the last convention by the Executive Council as to its inception, outline of work, form of organization and several achievements. Notably among them were the drafting of the amendment to the War Risk Insurance Act, providing various compensations for soldiers and sailors and their dependents; the investigation of congestion in centers where war production is being carried on, which indicated the need of houses for the workers in such places; the visit of the British labor delegates to America, and the adoption of a declaration to the effect that economic and legislative standards should not be lowered unless the Council of National Defense should indicate that such a departure is essential for the effective pursuit of the national defense, and then only temporarily to meet any great emergency.

In January, of this year, the Council of National Defense authorized the Committee on Labor to promote its advisory work directly through the United States Department of Labor, securing its authorization for new activities from the Secretary, Hon. William B. Wilson, who is also a member of the Council of National Defense. The Secretary by reason of the fact of lack of means and the recognition that the various committees of the Committee on Labor have to a large degree perfected their organizations, advised that these various committees continue to function until the department is prepared to take them over.

Coöperation with the Food Administration has been one of the large endeavors of the Committee on Labor, J. W. Sullivan being head of its Division on Labor. He and W. N. Doak, Vice-President, Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, were members of the Committee on Fixing the Price of Wheat for the Crop of 1917, Dr. H. A. Garfield, Chairman; he also has served on the Food Administration's Committees on Milk, Clyde H. King, Chairman; on Meat, J. A. Cotton, Chairmaa; and was Chairman of a Sub-committee on Bread. Mr. Sullivan's world-wide experience in the study of markets has made his cooperative work in this connection invaluable to the government.

National Committee on Welfare Work

The directing motive of the Committee on Welfare Work, of which L. A. Coolidge is Chairman, has been that indispensable service under war conditions must be organized in furtherance of two purposes: conservation of the humans and productivity. The work of the committee has been so divided as to take into account the needs of the workers

during and after working hours. It has taken into consideration the fact that to secure the best service in peace or in war, there must be insured the existence of good will and initiative on the part of the workers and that good will can exist only under equitable conditions. This committee planned to safeguard the health of workers chiefly through a campaign of education and in cooperation with existing agencies, the means to be employed being illustrated lectures, moving pictures, illustrated literature for employers, workers, lecturers, and preachers, and the agencies to be used being trade unions, fraternity lodges, churches, chambers of commerce, employers' associations, miscellaneous conventions, etc.

The committee proposed to undertake to bring home to employers in the most forceful way the necessity of establishing correct standards to the end that the government shall receive from the industries engaged in the production of war materials the best possible results and at the same time conserve the health and efficiency of the most important machine which the government has at its disposal—the human machine.

The definition of welfare work adopted by the Committee on Labor is: Maintaining and improving working and living conditions of employes; especially applicable to mines, railroads, factories, stores, and public institutions.

The types of employes considered are: (a) Industrial; (b) Public; (c) Soldiers and Sailors and their dependents; (d) Field Mechanics in active service.

The most notable efforts of the Committee on Welfare Work and the most beneficial to the government in relation to the successful prosecution of the war, are the Sections on Compensation for Enlisted Men and their Dependents, and on Housing, and on Industrial Training for the War Emergency. The achievements of all three, to date, have clearly demonstrated the invaluable services which the Committee on Labor may render to the government with regard to national defense.

The principles upon which these features of Welfare Work, in the committee's assigned task are based, are the health, welfare, and efficiency of the workers in the vital industries upon which all else depends. Only these matters that relate to the successful prosecution of the war have been included in the program of work.

On the theory that the industrial army which will supply the fighting forces of the country with arms, clothing and food, is second in importance only to the military establishment of the government, the committee has been working industriously on plans for the conservation and welfare of the workers throughout the nation. Industrial, scientific and health experts at great personal sacrifice have been working for months on special reports. Three have been issued which should aid employers in conserving the health of the workers in their plants. They form a part of the Welfare Work series and are:

1. Industrial Fatigue (which indicates how to reduce industrial fatigue);
2. Manufacture and Loading of High Explosives (providing, among other things, standards for adequate sanitary devices), and
3. Code of Lighting (which will be especially useful in undertaking to secure state legislation).

Other important reports have been submitted by committees upon "Ventilation," "Abnormal Atmospheric Pressures," "Diagnostic Clinics," "Medical Supervision," and "Village and Public Sanitation," which it is hoped may be published by the government, since those which have been issued, by the use of voluntary funds, have been proven of value.

The Divisional Committee on Industrial Fatigue has conducted investigations in factories manufacturing war supplies for the purpose of determining whether unnecessary fatigue is present and discovering the safe conditions under which a maximum continuous output may be obtained. Its preliminary report is intended chiefly for manufacturers. It deals not only with the means of detecting fatigue but the introduction of rest periods, providing adjustable seats, omitting unnecessary motions, proper ventilation of work-rooms, adjusting the hours of work, avoiding overtime, omitting Sunday work and sanitary conditions outside of factories.

The Divisional Committee on Industrial Diseases, Poisons and Explosives, in its report on the Manufacture and Loading of High Explosives, covers 30 topics, among the most important being washing and eating facilities with reference to the prevention of poisoning. The Chairman of the Section on Sanitation, Dr. William A. Evans, under

which this committee operates, inaugurated conferences with employers in the industry before the adoption of the report. The manufacturers' representatives agreed without exception to adopt the rules and regulations in the report as the practice for their establishments and they have circulated large numbers of copies in their plants to that end. These reports were submitted to the employers after they had been approved by Chairman Gompers.

The Chairman of the Committee on Labor appointed upon the Divisional Committee on Lighting in each state a member of the Illuminating Engineering Society, nominated by its president. The "Code of Lighting" has been sent to the head of each state bureau of labor who will be consulted by that state member of the Lighting Committee with reference to the best means of enlisting the interest of employers voluntarily to adopt this means of protection for the workers.

All three reports have been sought by manufacturers, educators and officials of labor organizations. Powder companies are asking for them in large quantities. The Sheffield Scientific School at Yale, was provided with a supply adequate for the senior mechanical engineers, and the Division of Education at Harvard University was furnished with a similar quantity to use in its war emergency course for employment managers, now in session.

The Section on Housing

As reported at the last convention, the Chairman of the Committee on Labor instituted last June, through one of the subdivisions of his Committee on Welfare Work, an investigation of housing conditions in munitions making and shipbuilding centers throughout the country. Mr. Philip Hiss, the chairman, conducted the investigation at his own expense. It was made apparent that neither ships nor supplies for our boys in Europe could be adequately forthcoming without shelter for the workers and that there must be government financial aid in many instances as local capital had practically been exhausted in providing operating expenses where enormous contracts had been placed by the government.

Much has been said about slackers among the workers but very little about the exposure of those workers during rigorous weather which made it almost impossible for continuous labor. Little has been said about the long trips with inadequate transportation, to and from the workplaces. The revelations of conditions through the committee on Labor, which resulted in the appointment of a committee by the Council of National Defense, with Otto M. Fidlitz as Chairman and Labor represented by Wm. J. Spencer, ultimately developed legislation under which the Shipping Board was authorized to use \$50,000,000 of its appropriations for housing its employees, and the President of the United States to use \$60,000,000; \$10,000,000 for housing government employees in the District of Columbia, and \$50,000,000 for housing munition workers. In each instance the plans outlined by the Committee on Labor were incorporated in the legislation.

Section on Industrial Training for the War Emergency

This section of the Welfare Division of the Committee on Labor is composed of one-third labor, one-third employers and one-third practical educators. State committees similarly organized have been developed where war products are being made.

Vestibule schools, so-called because the workers are introduced to the shop through them, have been organized in aeroplane plants and essential war trades.

Great care has been taken to advocate that unemployed men be adapted and trained in new trades for the period of the war and that unskilled men be trained wherever possible before resorting to dilution or the employment of women. In spite of this persistent effort, it appears the women have been taken largely into various trades and their adaptability and readiness in taking training has developed a problem, the solution of which will require much earnest consideration.

Every vestibule school, because of the thorough training given, has yielded approximately 25 per cent increase in production, both for men and women. The labor turnover has been reduced materially by the training thus given.

Among the investigations made by the section on Industrial Training, because of the enormous demand for skilled machinists and toolmakers, there was one in the state of Massachusetts where the unemployed numbered 10,866 men had in that number only

227 machinists. In this world war of machines, it is clear, the report continues, that training must be directed toward those special trades to a large degree and the effort is to train *skilled men from dull trades to war production*. Unskilled and inexperienced workers are being trained to become efficient operators on machine tools, either in regular machine work or tool work by subdividing the processes and training the recruits upon the work under exact shop conditions. This makes operators in one or more processes capable of getting production but not skilled tradesmen and they will not therefore flood the trade after the war.

One interesting result of training resident unemployed is the practical elimination of the housing problem in certain instances.

The chairman has addressed the leading metal, machine, tool and other employers' associations in the endeavor to induce them to adopt the methods of training recommended by this section of the Committee on Labor. It should be added that John Golden is one of the three members of its executive committee closely in touch with all its activities. The interests of labor are being guarded in every possible way in this connection.

Accident Prevention

Special effort has been made by the Division on Industrial Accident Prevention to have included standard safety devices in the equipment of all machinery at the time of its manufacture or before its installation, by appeal to the Supply and Machinery Manufacturers of the country to take suitable action in connection with specifications for all contracts for machinery.

Home Nursing

The Division on Home Nursing of the Committee on Welfare Work, organized to furnish information concerning industrial nursing service and to make it available, has issued a circular which has been sent by the Chairman of the Committee on Labor to trade unions, urging them to request the employment of nurses in industrial plants and that the members of their families make greater use of public health nurses in their communities; also that the trade union influence be exerted for the extension of nursing service in rural districts. The purpose of this appeal is to guard the physical condition of our men and women in industry and their families in their homes as a national obligation to safeguard our body of citizens at this crucial time.

Section on Recreation

This section, which is in process of organization, will confine its efforts to shipbuilding, aeroplane making and munition making centers. It has made preliminary surveys of conditions indicating the necessity of providing requisite recreation outside munition making plants to give complete change and relief from the tension under which many are working.

State Welfare Committees

State welfare committees are in process of appointment, to cooperate with state, health and labor boards and to make the national Committee on Welfare Work more readily accessible in the various sections of the country. These state committees are to consist of five members, two to be named by employers, two as representatives of labor already nominated by State Federations of Labor, and one other who is recognized from his standing in the community as acceptable both to employers and labor, preferably to be selected by these four. These state welfare committees are to be understood as operating in the jurisdiction of the State Councils of Defense.

National Committee on Women in Industry

Its purpose contains the following:

The Committee on Women in Industry was appointed to advise on women's employment in such ways as to bring about the maximum effectiveness of the woman power of the country.

To save wastage of woman strength is even more essential than to avoid waste of materials. Wage earning women must be assured such hours and re-

muneration and such conditions of work as will promote their fullest working capacity. Only by preserving health and general welfare can this be attained. Woman's labor must reach its highest efficiency. By her service in the second line of defense the war must be won.

The committee has a membership of eighty-four women, thirty-five of whom are representatives of labor. The remainder are experts on labor problems and representatives of the employers and the general public. The official status of the Committee makes it necessary to secure representation of all the interests of the community.

The work of its State Committee in 23 states is supervised by the National Committee. It cooperates with them by drawing attention to problems of national importance which may arise in their various territories. It coordinates the work of its State Committees by keeping an oversight of the entire field and serves as a channel of communication in reporting to the government.

An important part of the state work is to secure enforcement of labor laws. This means close cooperation with state factory inspectors, a concerted effort to stimulate their activities and, where necessary, to create public sentiment that demands efficient work on the part of the inspectors.

A most important economic change confronting the country is the employment of women on work customarily done by men. Wherever this change is contemplated or is taking place in any industry or occupation, the committee believes that inquiries should be made immediately. The health of the women should be especially considered, whether the work is suitable to them. Wherever, for instance, it requires them to carry heavy loads, to work on heavy machines or to stand for long periods it will be necessary to modify the processes.

The committee's attitude is that:

Women are entitled to be paid the same rates as men receive for identical work. If the processes are not identical, wages must be adjusted according to the skill and output of the worker. There is a real danger that war needs will be used as a pretext for cutting down wages. Every effort must be made to combat this tendency and the consequent lowering of the standard of living.

The work of the Committee on Women in Industry has been carried on through three channels: (1) Through its executive committee directly; (2) Through its standing committees; (3) Through its state representatives.

The most important activity of the executive committee has been securing information concerning the employment of women in the United States arsenals and Quartermasters' depots. Detailed reports of the conditions of work in these places and recommendations for changes have been made to the departments concerned. The reports were received with appreciation and made the basis of action by the departments.

One of the early studies was made of the Brooklyn Navy Yard. The report resulted in many recommendations being put into effect. Other studies and reports were made on women workers at the Frankford arsenal at Frankford, Pennsylvania; at the Picatinny arsenal at Dover, New Jersey; at the Schuylkill arsenal in Philadelphia; on the work given out from the Quartermaster's depot at Jeffersonville and the substations of that depot, where more than 21,000 women receive work to be done in their homes; on work at the Navy Yard in Philadelphia and in the factories at the Charleston Navy Yard.

The committee has been helpful in making suggestions and protecting women engaged in war work on railroads. It suggested to Director General McAdoo the appointment of a board of experts, including a physician, a safety expert, and an expert in industrial fatigue, to study all occupations on which women are engaged and to determine proper conditions of employment.

The committee adopted standards for the employment of women on work for war supplies. These standards deal with tenement house work, child labor, protection of mothers, wages, hours of work, seats, extra heavy and hazardous occupations, dangerous trades, lifting and exposure to heat and cold.

The various subcommittees of the Committee on Women in Industry report the following:

The Committee on Foreign-Born Women in addition to a general oversight of the problems which are peculiar to the non-English speaking woman in war industries has rendered a valuable service in issuing to the foreign and labor press a series of bulletins in foreign languages. Subjects dealt with in these bulletins are accident, fatigue, industrial standards, sweat-shop work, and working mothers of small children.

The Committee on Colored Women has a trained colored worker in the field and a program for dealing with the special difficulties which colored women at work have to face.

The Committee on Living Conditions has held conferences with government officials and other agencies with regard to housing and general living conditions in the new industrial war centers.

In addition to the interest which must necessarily be aroused in recounting what has been done and attempted to be done by conserving the lives and the health of the workers, the men and women of industry during the war, the further fact is of additional interest—that when the war shall have come to a victorious end, the standards adopted and the committees formed, having functioned to bring about a better condition of life and work will not abandon that course for the old laissez faire policy that it was not the concern of society to protect its people against the exploitation of employers whose only concern has been profit. Governmental and voluntary civil activities supplementing and aiding the work of the organized labor movement will make for greater safety and conservation of human life, body and health.

LABOR REPRESENTATION

In addition to the appointments reported to the Buffalo Convention and indicated in this report, the following labor representatives have been appointed on government agencies.

F. A. Burgess, Vice-President of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, and A. O. Wharton, President of the Railroad Employees Department, served as interpreters of labor standards and conditions to the Railroad Wage Commission appointed by the Director General of Railroads to make recommendations upon the request of railroad employes for increased wages.

The following were nominated by the President of the American Federation of Labor and appointed by the Secretary of Labor to serve on the National War Labor Conference Board. Later, they were nominated by the same agency and their names submitted by the Secretary of Labor to the President of the United States to constitute the National War Labor Board:

Frank J. Hayes, President, United Mine Workers.
Wm. L. Hutcheson, President, Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners.
Wm. H. Johnston, President, International Association of Machinists.
T. A. Rickert, President, United Garment Workers.
Victor Olander, Vice-President, Seamen's International Union.

T. W. McCullough, member of the International Typographical Union, was, upon recommendation of President Gompers, appointed by the Secretary of the Treasury to serve on a Committee on Taxation of War Profits.

Charles H. Winslow, of the Federal Board on Vocational Education, and member of the Sawsmiths' Union, was a representative of Labor on the committee appointed by the Surgeon General of the United States to draw up a bill for the rehabilitation of soldiers.

W. S. Carter, President of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, is the Director of the Division on Labor. J. A. Franklin, President of the Brotherhood of Boilermakers and Iron Ship Builders of America, is his assistant.

J. W. Sullivan, member of the International Typographical Union, represents Labor on the Committee on Meat of the Food Administration.

Wm. J. Spencer, Secretary-Treasurer of the Building Trades Department, represents Labor in the Bureau of Industrial Housing and Transportation of the Department of Labor.

John Casey, member of the Plumbers' International; Agnes Nestor, of the Glove Workers, and John B. Lennon, of the Tailors, were appointed on the Advisory Commission which assisted Secretary of Labor W. B. Wilson in organizing the labor activities of the Department of Labor when the Department was given charge of labor war administration.

Hugh Frayne is chairman of the Labor Division of the War Industries Board. In this capacity he has organized a War Prison Labor and National Waste Reclamation Section. The other representative of Labor on this committee is John J. Manning, Secretary-Treasurer of the Union Label Trades Department.

Messrs. James O'Connell, President of the Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.; John I. Nolan, Chairman of the Executive Board of the International Molders' Union, and Louis Weyand, President of the International Brotherhood of Boilermakers and Iron Ship Builders of America, have been appointed as the labor members that constitute the Appeal Board of six of the United States Shipping Board Emergency Fleet Corporation.

WAGE QUESTIONS PROPOUNDED

We have received a letter from the Shipbuilding Labor Adjustment Board in which an expression of opinion of the American Federation of Labor is requested upon a number of questions submitted. In view of this fact we submit the communication in its entirety and recommend that it be referred to a special committee to be appointed by President Gompers to take under consideration the subjects-matter and to recommend to this convention the course of action which may be deemed most advisable, practical and satisfactory. The communication is as follows:

SHIPBUILDING LABOR ADJUSTMENT BOARD

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 16, 1918.

MR. SAMUEL GOMPERS, *President,*
American Federation of Labor,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. GOMPERS: The increasing abnormal labor turn-over is a grave menace to our maximum national production for war purposes. The Shipbuilding Labor Adjustment Board will be greatly aided in its task if it could receive an expression of opinion from the American Federation of Labor on the following points:

1. Can minimum wage rates prevent the continued serious labor turn-over, or must there be standard rates for the period of the war?
2. Should government departments or boards in establishing wage scales and conditions of employment deal directly with local organizations, or only through the international presidents of various craft organizations?
3. Should the country be divided into districts in which uniform wages and conditions should prevail, or should there be one uniform wage rate for the entire country? If in districts, how are the limitations of such districts to be determined.
4. Should uniform wages and conditions prevail in a given craft within a district regardless of the industry in which the individual is employed, or should uniform wages and conditions for all crafts prevail within the same district?
5. Are there any basic crafts that should receive the same rate, and if so, what are they?
6. How can important government work obtain priority in labor supply over less important or private work?
7. Assuming the establishment of wage-scales on government work, for how long a period should such scales remain in force—if for the period of war, should provision be made for periodic rehearings in case an increased cost of living be shown, or should the wages be increased automatically whenever government statistics show an average of ten per cent (10%) increase in a given district?

Until the above questions are determined, little satisfaction or stability will be obtained, and we therefore count on the continued cooperation of the American Federation of Labor in seeking a solution of these problems.

Very truly yours,

SHIPBUILDING LABOR ADJUSTMENT BOARD,
V. EVERIT MACY, *Chairman.*

THE EIGHT-HOUR LAW

As might easily have been predicted, the most important industrial issue in war production has been the application of the eight-hour law.

The attitude of Congress toward the principle of the eight-hour or shorter workday is shown in their action in adding to the Naval Appropriations Act of March 4, 1917, the following proviso:

That in case of national emergency the President is authorized to suspend provisions of law prohibiting more than eight hours labor in any one day of persons engaged upon work covered by contracts with the United States: *Provided further*, That the wages of persons employed upon such contracts shall be computed on a basic day rate of eight hours work, with overtime rates to be paid for at not less than time and one-half for all hours work in excess of eight.

The Eight-Hour Act of 1912 gives the President authority to waive the law in time of war or a time when war is imminent. However, the action of Congress established restrictions that would avert unnecessary suspensions of the eight-hour day, as well as adequate compensation for those who work longer than the accepted standard.

The attitude of the President toward the eight-hour or shorter workday has been very definitely shown by the fact that in every executive order he has issued waiving the eight-hour law he has based his action upon the authority granted him by the proviso provided by Congress in the Naval Appropriations Act, or else has specifically stipulated that compensation shall be not less than time and one-half for overtime in excess of eight hours. President Wilson's course has been in conformity with the position he took in regard to eight hours for railroad workers when he stated that society has sanctioned the eight-hour workday.

Among those unfamiliar with legal technicalities the federal eight-hour law meant an eight-hour day on work for the government. With the declaration of war, government work and employment assumed much larger comparative proportions in the industrial world. With this growth the limitations of the federal eight-hour law became increasingly apparent. All workers employed for war production expected the basic eight-hour workday established in all instances where the eight-hour law was suspended for the war emergency. Protests from workers all over the country, who thought they had a legal right to the basic eight-hour day, were sent to the American Federation of Labor, the War Department, and the Navy Department.

The first liberal and fair interpretation of the federal eight-hour law of 1912 is that of Attorney General Gregory in the case of the members of the Stone Cutters' Union employed in preparing stone for the Lincoln Memorial.

From the Attorney General's opinion it was evident that the application of the federal law would depend in a very great degree upon the mental attitude of the heads of departments concerned with the letting of contracts. Those who were convinced of the economy and the justice of the eight-hour workday would naturally give the law widest possible application. Those with little industrial experience or vision would find all the technical limitations of the law.

Various cases have been taken up with the government in which workers on government work considered themselves entitled to the basic eight-hour day. The following are typical of decisions that have been rendered by the government in these cases:

4th Ind.
War Department, J. A. G. O., December 29, 1916, to the Secretary of War

1. The views of this office are desired with reference to complaint of C. H. Moore, Salem, Mass., Business Agent, North Shore District Council, United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, that the Burgess Company, of Marblehead, Mass., in the execution of their contract with the United States Government for flying machines, required of their mechanics and laborers more than eight hours labor per day. He says that from information received he understands that "they do not intend to place their plant on the eight (8) hour day;" and that he believes that this is a violation of the U. S. eight-hour law.

2. The Chief Signal Officer expresses the view that although the specifications for the flying machines to be furnished the government require the machines to conform in certain particulars to Signal Corps specifications, "a contract governing their purchase is an agreement to deliver completed articles of manufacturer's make, rather than an agreement for their construction;" and that, "therefore, it is believed that the Burgess Company could not legally be required to accomplish contract containing eight-hour provision."

3. The Eight-Hour Act of June 19, 1912 (37 Stat., 137), expressly exempts from the operation of the Act "contracts . . . for such materials or articles as may usually be bought in open market, except armor and armor plate, *whether made to conform to particular specifications or not,*" etc. This office, in an opinion dated December 10, 1912, on the question whether the eight-hour law applies to contract for "furnishing material for constructing certain cheese wagons, tool wagons and ponton wagons for ponton trains for the Army, specifications for which are in due course of preparation in the office of the chief of engineers," said:

"In the opinion of this office the eight-hour law does not apply to contracts covering the class of articles under consideration. This class of articles is purchasable in open market, although, as stated above, the particular variety or character of articles is not made for the general trade and is not to be obtained in the open market. It is believed, however, that they fall within the general class of articles covered by the exception; and I do not think that the fact that the government specifications make them unsuitable for general use for other than military purposes should be regarded as bringing them within the operation of the statute. It is believed that such a variation is contemplated by the language '*whether made to conform to particular specifications or not.*'"

4. I think it is a matter of public knowledge that flying machines are articles which are manufactured for sale and may be purchased in open market; and it follows therefore that a contract for such machines, although requiring the particular machines to conform in certain particulars to Signal Corps specifications, is not within the operation of the eight-hour law. I concur, therefore, in the view of the Chief Signal Officer that the Burgess Company could not legally be required to accomplish a contract containing an eight-hour provision.

(Signed) E. H. CROWDER,
Judge Advocate General.

Opinion by Samuel J. Rosensohn, Assistant to the Secretary of War

By the Naval Appropriations Act, approved March 4, 1917, the President was authorized to suspend "the provisions of law prohibiting more than eight hours of labor in any one day of persons engaged upon work covered by contracts with the United States." That act contained a provision requiring the wages of persons employed upon such contracts to be computed upon a basic day rate of eight hours of work with overtime to be paid for at not less than time and one-half for all hours of work in excess of eight hours. On March 24, 1917, pursuant to this provision the President issued an executive order suspending the "provisions of the act approved June 19, 1912, limiting the hours of daily services of mechanics and laborers on work under contracts to which the United States is a party."

The provisions of the eight-hour law are, therefore, not now in force with respect to all contracts for ordnance and ordnance stores, other military supplies and material, contracts for buildings under construction or to be constructed at the arsenals, and contracts for fortification work.

The payment of overtime, however, is not required in all cases but only in respect to those contracts included within the executive order which prior to the issuance of the order were subject to the eight-hour law of June 19, 1912.

The eight-hour law of June 19, 1912, provided that a stipulation be inserted in every contract prohibiting the employment of any laborer or mechanic for more than eight hours in any one day upon work covered by the contract. This law makes no distinction between individual contractors and corporations. Nor is any such distinction made in the Naval Appropriations Act or in the Executive Order of the President.

The eight-hour law, however, makes exception "of contracts for the purchase of supplies for the government or for such material or articles as may usually be bought in open market whether made to conform to particular specifications or not." For example, contracts for the manufacture of paper, ink, shoes, and leather are deemed not to be within the provisions of the eight hour law and on such articles there is no restriction as to the hours of labor, and no requirement for overtime payment. The law of 1912 further provided that it shall apply to contracts for such material or articles as may usually be bought in the open market, if such articles have been manufactured by the government in its own plant. This is an exception to the exception and on these contracts the eight-hour law and the Executive Order of March 24th, 1917, are applicable.

Before we can determine whether the executive order of the President, making eight hours a basic day for work and providing for time and one-half for overtime is applicable to any specific contract we must have the following information:

1. The nature of the articles to be manufactured under the contract with the government.
2. Whether such articles are usually bought in the open market.
3. Whether the class of work is of such a character as the government has been or is now performing, and the extent to which such work has been or is now being done.

The Naval Appropriations Act and the Executive Order of the President make eight hours a basis for computing a day's work. This can not be changed to a provision permitting 48 hours work per week. (29 Opinion of the Attorney General 371.) It may well be that in view of the custom of working only one-half day on Saturday an eight-hour basic day will be a 44-hour week. Overtime, however, must be paid for all hours worked in excess of eight hours in any one day. The day and not the week is the unit for determining whether overtime should be paid.

March 16, 1918.

MEMORANDUM for the Secretary of War.

Subject: Application of eight-hour law of 1912 to contracts for balloons.

1. The opinion of this office is requested with reference to the application of the eight-hour law of 1912 and of the Executive Order of the President, dated March 24, 1917, suspending the operation of the eight-hour statute, subject to the provisions therein contained as to increased pay for overtime work, to contracts of the Aviation Section, Signal Corps, for balloons.

2. The eight-hour statute, above cited, and, therefore, the provisions of the Executive Order, applies to every contract to which the United States is a party that does not come within the exceptions contained in Section 2 of the statute, which exceptions include—

"Contracts . . . for the purchase of supplies by the government whether manufactured to conform to particular specifications or for such materials or articles as may usually be bought in open market . . . whether made to conform to particular specifications or not."

The fact that the statute qualifies these exceptions by the language "whether made to conform to particular specifications or not" indicates that the test laid down by the statute is not whether in the particular instances the contract is for the purchase of ready-made goods or for goods to be manufactured to special orders; but that the test is whether or not the articles contracted for fall within the class that *may usually be bought in the open market*, although in the particular case they are to be manufactured to order. In the absence of a showing that balloons of the character covered by the contracts under consideration are usually manufactured and held in stock for sale in open market, it is the opinion of this office that it should be held that the eight-hour statute applies thereto; and that conformably to the provisions of the Executive Order of March 24, 1917, suspending the operation of the eight-hour statute during the existing emergency, the contractors

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

for supplying balloons to the government should pay time and one-half for overtime work in excess of eight hours in any one calendar day.

(Signed) S. T. ANSELL,
Acting Judge Advocate General.

May 23, 1917.

MEMORANDUM for the Secretary of War.

Subject: Complaint respecting violation of the eight-hour law.

1. The views of this office are desired with reference to the complaint by Mr. Frank Morrison, Secretary of the A. F. of L., respecting violations of the eight-hour law, on the question whether the law is "correctly interpreted" in the attached papers.

2. The attached extract from the "Manual for Quartermaster Corps" has reference to the Eight-Hour Act of August 1, 1892, which, as stated in said extract, applies to laborers and mechanics employed by the Government directly, and to those employed by contractors for the construction or repair of public works. It embodies the administrative construction which has been given to that statute. The complaint of Mr. Morrison, however, is understood to relate to the Eight-Hour Act of June 19, 1912 (37 Stat., 137). He complains that contracts "going out from the Rock Island Arsenal" for the manufacture of "artillery harness" and "ambulance harness" contain no requirement respecting the eight-hour law, or make no mention that those working on such contracts in excess of eight hours, shall receive time and a half for overtime work.

3. The Eight-Hour Act of June 19, 1912 (37 Stat., 137) requires contracts within its provisions to contain a stipulation for penalties to be withheld from payments due the contractor for work in excess of eight hours in any calendar day in the performance of the contracts. The statute expressly provides that "nothing in this act shall apply to contracts . . . for the purchase of supplies by the government, whether made to conform to particular specifications or not. . . ." It is probable that the omission of any mention of the eight-hour law in the contracts referred to by Mr. Morrison is due to the fact that the contracts in question were regarded as coming under this exception to the Act of June 19, 1912. That act has been construed not to apply to contracts for articles falling within classes of articles which "may usually be bought in open market" even though the particular articles are manufactured, as the statute specifies, "to conform to particular specifications." It seems clear that harness is a class of articles which may be usually purchased in open market and that under the statute, as heretofore construed, contracts for "artillery harness" and "ambulance harness" would fall within the exception to the act of June 19, 1912, and are not required, therefore, to make any reference to the statute.

4. The remarks of Mr. Morrison as to the omission of mention of "time and a half for overtime" are understood to have reference to the Executive Order of March 24, 1917, suspending the operations of the Eight-Hour Act of June 19, 1912, in view to the pending emergency, as authorized by the Naval Appropriations Act of March 4, 1917, which act provides that the "wages of persons employed upon such contracts shall be computed on a basic day rate of eight hours work, with overtime rates to be paid for at not less than time and one-half for all hours work in excess of eight hours." As the particular contracts do not come under the operation of any eight-hour statute, for the reasons explained above, the Executive Order has no application thereto.*

BLANTON WINSHIP,
Acting Judge Advocate General.

*The developments in this case illustrate very clearly how the mental bias of the person administering the law has counted in the application of the eight-hour law. After further exchange of correspondence in which the viewpoint of labor was advocated by the American Federation of Labor and by the United Brotherhood of Leather Workers on Horse Goods, Acting Judge Advocate General Winship wrote another memorandum for the Secretary of War in which he reaffirmed his first position. The Secretary of War, after investigating the question as to whether or not Army supplies could be bought in the open market, approved recommendations of the Quartermaster General that the eight-hour provisions should be in all contracts for harness for the Quartermaster's Corps.—E. C.

No one issue is the cause of greater discontent and feeling of injustice than the disparity of the application of the eight-hour law to war production. While the technical distinctions observed by lawyers in interpreting the application of this law may satisfy their sense of justice, they in no way satisfy the workers engaged in doing the actual work. For instance, the employes of the United States Steel Corporation at Sparrows Point, who are engaged in assembling the parts of the ships in the final acts of construction have the basic eight-hour day, but other employes of the same company, separated only by a fence barrier, who are employed in making the parts which are used by the shipbuilders, do not have the eight-hour day. The legal distinction does not satisfy them.

No one policy which this government could inaugurate would do more to convince the masses of people of this country that the purposes of the war in which our government is engaged are genuinely humanitarian and democratic than the establishment of the basic eight-hour day for all government work and war production. Such a policy would be incontrovertible evidence that our government had gotten far away from the old commodity theory of labor and was genuinely and practically trying to establish the paramount claims of human beings.

The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor at its meeting in May, decided that the resident members of the E. C. endeavor to secure conference with the officers of the government of the United States, in order that the basic eight-hour day with time and one-half be established in accordance with the declaration of Congress and proclamation of the President and that if possible the President be urged to issue a proclamation establishing the eight-hour day with time and one-half for overtime for all the industries in the country; the same to be issued as a war measure.

PROGRESS IN SECURING THE EIGHT-HOUR WORKDAY

Resolution No. 39 directed the American Federation of Labor to continue its fullest possible support to the efforts of the Timber Workers to secure the establishment of the eight-hour workday in their trade.

The demand of the Timber Workers in the Northwest for the basic eight-hour workday was refused by their employers, the lumbermen of that region. A strike ensued which lasted during the summer but which was not effective in securing the demand. This industrial situation became of governmental importance because the War Department was dependent upon production in the forests of the Pacific Coast to supply the spruce necessary in the construction of aeroplanes. In order to deal with the existing situation and secure the production of spruce necessary, the War Department appointed Colonel Bryce P. Disque, of the Signal Corps, as chief of the Division on Spruce Production. Several conferences were held between Colonel Disque and other representatives of the War Department, representatives employing lumbermen of the Northwest and South, and of the A. F. of L. to consider the industrial situation. An understanding was reached that the introduction of the basic eight-hour workday was necessary in order to secure spruce production.

Colonel Disque took charge of the situation in the lumber district; held conferences with representatives of the workers, A. F. of L. organizers and with the employing lumbermen and secured the consent of both parties to make an award. His award provided for the establishment of the basic eight-hour workday, and in addition provided for such organization of the workers as it is necessary to mobilize labor power, and also for standards of life and work more in accord with the needs of the men. As a result of this award a feeling has been created in the Northwest that has enabled the government to have the necessary spruce production for the aircraft war program.

Another great gain for the eight-hour movement was the establishment of the eight-hour workday for the employes in the packing houses of Chicago. When it became evident that industrial unrest had reached such a degree in this industry in Chicago that either the demands of the workers for justice must be heeded or production of meat supplies for the Army would be interrupted by a strike, the matter was brought to the attention of governmental authorities at Washington. Representatives of the packing house employes came to Washington where a conference with the President of the United States was secured them by the A. F. of L. As a result of that conference, the whole matter was put in the hands of the Secretary of Labor who called a conference between the employers and the employes of the packing houses at which conference an agreement was reached upon some of the demands

of the workers. The six other demands upon which agreement was not reached were to be referred to an arbiter selected by the Secretary of Labor. Judge Samuel Alschuler was appointed who made an award granting five of the six demands of the workers. Of basic importance in his award he placed the eight-hour workday for the workers.

Another contention which has also been adjusted favorably to the contentions of the workers is the demand of the women employed by the Bureau of Engraving and Printing for the basic eight-hour day with time and one-half for overtime for Sunday and holiday work. The Secretary of the Treasury investigated the matter and decided to grant time and one-half for overtime for Sunday and holiday work.

FEDERAL EMPLOYMENT BUREAU

When our nation began changing from a peace to a war basis of organization, it became evident that the supply of labor power was of fundamental importance in order to insure the necessary number of workers to maintain continuous production. Because of cessation of immigration and the draft, the situation had changed so that only through efficient distribution of workers could we make such use of our labor power as to insure necessary war production.

For years there had been in this country such numbers of workers to be employed in any trade or calling that the new condition resulted in a persistent and general cry of scarcity of workers. Even the most casual investigation disclosed the fact that there was no real scarcity of workers; that in some localities there existed an insufficient number of employes for a particular trade, but almost invariably there were workers out of employment and seeking a chance to earn a living. It was evident that the trouble was not scarcity of workers but the absence of proper employment agencies and ways and means for effective allocation of workers.

Many conferences between representatives of wage-earners and representatives of the government, who had to do with employment and production, helped to focus attention upon the necessary remedy.

There existed in the Department of Labor, under the Immigration Bureau, an employment bureau. The Department had asked Congress for an appropriation of \$750,000 to enable this division to meet the existing problem. Congress refused to vote the appropriation asked and set aside \$250,000 for this work. The conferences held and the arguments presented by those vitally concerned, convinced the President of the United States that there was an immediate need for permitting this government agency to operate on an adequate scale. He therefore turned over to the Department from the war fund, in his keeping, a sum of \$825,000. The employment division was then taken from under the Immigration Bureau and made a separate bureau. Secretary Wilson appointed John B. Densmore chief of the bureau and Charles T. Clayton and Robert Watson as assistants.

The operation of the national labor distribution machinery will be under eight divisions. The names of these divisions and their chiefs are as follows:

- Division of Information, T. V. Powderly, of Pennsylvania, chief.
- Woman's Division, Mrs. Hilda M. Richards, of Ohio, chief.
- Division of Reserves, William E. Hall, of New York, national director of the United States Public Service Reserve and the United States Boys' Working Reserve, chief.
- Farm Service Division, A. L. Barkman, of Missouri, chief.
- Division of Investigation, Alexander D. Chiquoine, Jr., of Pennsylvania, chief.
- Division of Service Offices, in charge of Mr. Clayton, assistant director of field work and quasi-official bodies.
- Statistical Division, in charge of the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the Department of Labor.

The administrative organization of the service is as follows:

- (1) Secretary of Labor.
- (2) Director General of Employment.
- (3) Thirteen District Superintendents, each having charge of the operations within several states.

- (4) Federal Directors of Employment within each state. In some cases these officers are on nominal salaries and in others regular employes of the service. Where the officers are nominally paid there is generally a paid superintendent of state offices on the federal rolls.
- (5) Examiners in charge of each local office.

The administrative organization of the service is described by the Department of Labor as follows:

In addition to these regular officers, newspapers in towns of 25,000 population and larger, have been requested to nominate a farm labor agent each, and 100 of these newspapers have complied. Under this arrangement the newspapers appointed farm labor agencies are using portions of their own publication space in efforts to obtain farm labor to meet their local needs, and report to the nearest office of the U. S. Employment Service. By agreement with the Post Office Department, all third and fourth class postmasters are authorized also to act as farm labor agents and report to the nearest offices of the U. S. Employment Service.

Excepting the offices last described—newspaper and postal farm labor agencies—the services of the offices of the employment service are at the disposal of all employers, whether engaged in war work or ordinary and "non-essential" industries. Because of the war needs, however, the offices generally have been rather driven to specialize upon a supply of labor for such needs.

In addition to the employment offices there is the Public Service Reserve, which is engaged in obtaining enrollments of men in advance of war labor needs, in each enrollment the kind of need and the sort of occupation wanted being stated in advance. The Reserve has so far conducted three enrollments: one of the engineers and technical men for Army needs, one of ship workers, and the last for men to work on farms. In all these special enrollments the assistance of organizations of workers has been solicited and freely given. More than 2,000 agents selected by labor unions throughout the country worked with the Reserve under commission as its enrolling agents and supplied a very large number of skilled workers, who were enrolled, classified, and made available to the shipyards. The Reserve does not place men directly in employment and it is not intended that it shall do so. It is the purpose to first place men seeking employment through the employment offices, and such employment offices have been authorized whenever they have a call for war industries for a kind of worker not applying for work, to thereafter call upon the Public Service Reserve registration to supply from its files the necessary worker. The reason for this arrangement is that those registered in the Public Service Reserve files are men already having employment and if they were called on first, it would remove them from possible employment while other men of the same occupations might be seeking work through the employment offices but thus might be prevented from finding it.

The policy of the Department as carried out by the Employment Service embraces these points of particular interest to labor organizations:

(1) Men are not directed to a strike of their craft. Nor are they directed to a plant in which there is a strike affecting allied crafts.

(2) Particular emphasis is laid upon analysis of applicants' qualifications. It is felt that men should not be sent to an employer unless there is good reason to believe that they can "make good." The policy of the Employment Service is to encourage efficient workers. It is hoped that the Employment Service may prove another element in inciting men towards a thorough understanding of the technique of their crafts.

(3) It is the policy of the Department to make no distinction between union and non-union in services. If an employer is running a closed shop, non-union workers will not be directed to that employer. If the employer is running an open shop, union and non-union workers will be directed to him without any discrimination.

It is proper to state that in supplying the heavy calls, which, with increasing frequency, are being submitted to the Employment Service, the assistance of the various Internationals has regularly been requested and cheerfully given. Very large numbers of workers to be sent to distant points upon transportation furnished by Government Departments are supplied by the unions upon requests through the Employment Service. This patriotic cooperation is very helpful indeed.

In order to develop and maintain this Employment Service in the most effective manner, the Department of Labor has asked Congress to appropriate for the work of the coming year, \$2,000,000.

COMPULSORY LABOR LAWS

Soon after war was declared a campaign was begun to create an impression that voluntary institutions and methods would not be effective in war work. A primary problem that has come up in relation to many different situations is the most efficient use of man power. This has taken the form of compulsory labor laws for the avowed purpose of preventing idleness and vagrancy during the period of the war, in West Virginia, Maryland, New Jersey, New York, Rhode Island, and North Dakota.

The first measure of this character was enacted by the West Virginia Legislature, May 19, 1917, in extraordinary session. The law applies to able-bodied male residents of the state between the ages of 16 and 60. Such residents, and any male persons found in the state shall be deemed a resident under this law, must be regularly and steadily engaged for at least thirty-six hours per week in some lawful and recognized business, profession, occupation or employment. Penalties for non-compliance with the act are fines, and also work upon public roads or streets or any public work not to exceed sixty days. Justices of the peace, mayors, and police judges within the state are given jurisdiction to try and punish offenders under the act.

The Maryland Legislature passed a similar law which was approved June 28, 1917. This act applies to able-bodied male persons between the ages of 18 and 50 years, and is to come into effect whenever the governor of the state determines that it is necessary, because of the existence of a state of war, for the protection and welfare of the state that all persons described in the act "be employed in occupations carried on by the state, the counties or the city of Baltimore, or any of their agencies, or be employed in occupations carried on by private persons, firms or corporations, whether agricultural, industrial, or otherwise." The occupations referred to are to be such as the governor shall designate as essential and requiring resort to this act for their successful conduct. On proclamation of the act every able-bodied male between the ages fixed, "not then or thereafter regularly or continuously employed or engaged in any useful business, trade, or profession of any kind," must register with the clerk of the court for his county or city. The lists thus procured are to be furnished to the governor, who shall then assign or cause to be assigned such persons to the occupations and employments indicated, the term of any single assignment not to exceed six continuous months. Necessary reassignments are authorized, and all assignments must have regard to the physical capacity of the persons to do the work contemplated. The governor is to declare and publish necessary rules and regulations, and "persons similarly circumstanced shall, as far as it is possible to do so, be treated alike." Persons able to support themselves by reason of ownership of property or income, and those supported by others, are required to register under the act. Students and all persons fitting themselves to engage in trade or industrial pursuits are exempt.

The wages to be paid shall not be less than the wage or salary paid to others engaged in the same nature of work. Public employment shall be paid for out of the appropriation made for the undertaking; while private employers are required to execute a bond to the State to guarantee the payment of earnings as they fall due. If the employer fails to make payment, the workman shall be paid by the state, the latter then to proceed to recover on the bond of the defaulting employer. The hours of work are limited to the number that lawfully constitutes a day's work in the occupation.

Enforcement is placed in the hands of the sheriffs of the counties, the police department of Baltimore City, and in general of officers, city, county, or municipal, charged with enforcing law. Penalties are provided for failure to register and for failing or refusing to do the work assigned. The law does not apply to persons temporarily unemployed by reason of differences with their employers, nor to persons engaged or employed in seasonal occupations carried on in Baltimore City or Allegany County.

Legislation of like character is now pending in the Legislature of Massachusetts. The Massachusetts bill contains sections similar to those in the New York, New Jersey, Rhode Island and Maryland laws specifically providing that temporary unemployment

resulting because of differences between employers and their employes shall not be deemed idleness under the legislation.

While we do not consider it advisable to advocate legislation of this nature, yet when it is proposed and pending as war emergency measures with due guarantees for the protection of the rights of workers, we do not feel that we would be justified in opposing a measure primarily intended to increase the man-power of the nation and to bring home to all citizens the necessity of doing their part in the war.

The guarantees which such legislation must contain in order that it may not be diverted from desirable purposes and used to further undemocratic interests are specific provisions that the law shall apply to all able-bodied male citizens of all walks of life and that the act shall not apply to persons temporarily unemployed by reason of differences with employers. Although wage-earners know full well that legislation of this character without these safeguards has in the past been used to defeat their efforts at self-betterment, as a war emergency they are not interposing obstruction if the proper guarantees are provided. Employers, we urge that you demonstrate your loyalty to the cause of this Republic, by not attempting to obstruct by the spirit of patriotism and appreciation of the national need that has induced workers not to oppose the legislation.

We urge that the workers of every state see to it that legislation of this character contains the proper guarantees and that the organized labor movement of West Virginia work for the amendment of the Compulsory Labor Law of that state in conformity with the suggestions presented here.

CONSTRUCTIVE DEMANDS

In looking toward the future, both the immediate and after the war, we feel keenly that the nature of social development will depend largely upon the principles which workers shall demand as the basis for relationships.

We are each day building Labor's house of tomorrow. If that structure is to endure the tests it must be founded upon bed rock principles of equity and democracy in relations between men.

The present war is an extraordinary opportunity to determine those principles. This life and death struggle between the nations of the world is a laboratory which is disclosing the strength or weakness of every social relationship and institution.

War is forcing us back to the essentials of life. War is fundamentally cooperative action of organic society. The present war is on such a gigantic scale that every part of national life is involved.

The whole nation is in the war. The spirit of war activity and organization is essentially social—the national organism is at stake. As a war necessity we are seeking the principles which will assure most efficient cooperation. This cooperation must come from the two primary forces of society—the possessors of creative labor power and controllers of capital.

As the authorized representatives of one of these forces necessary to cooperation, we feel it our duty to formulate certain fundamental principles that ought to underlie relations between controllers of capital and possessors of labor power.

It is fundamental that labor power be considered as inseparable from the human being exercising it. Labor is a human attribute; it is the outward manifestation of the informing consciousness within that coordinates the sources of physical power. The commodity theory of labor was officially repudiated by our nation when Congress enacted the following declaration which was approved by President Wilson October 15, 1914: "The labor of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce."

It follows that since labor is not a commodity, workers are human beings contributing to production certain personal abilities and skill, and therefore have the right to participate in control of industry. The management provides materials, plans, equipment, and assembles the necessary workers. Workers furnish the human ability necessary to secure desired products. Since workers perform a function even more indispensable than that of employers, they have at least an equal right to representation and equal voice on all agencies determining matters affecting their interests and welfare, whether in private or government employment.

The necessity for equal representation is incontrovertibly demonstrated by experience

with war boards, committees and commissions. Such agencies as pass upon questions concerning labor should be composed equally of representatives of employes and employers. This method is part of the larger problem of labor administration.

In war production the government clearly occupies the relationship of employer and hence does not constitute a "third party" in interest. This principle was followed in establishing the National War Labor Board, the Railroad Board of Adjustment to settle all provisions of wage schedule or agreements not otherwise promptly adjusted, and in the Appeal Board provided under the shipbuilding agreement between the men in the shipbuilding trades and the Shipping Board Emergency Fleet Corporation.

In some boards dealing with matters of fundamental consequence to labor the workers have been given no representation or else representation numerically totally out of keeping with their interest involved. This situation is due to failure to grasp the meaning of democratic principles, as well as failure to see that the interests of labor represented the interests of human beings, their lives, welfare and the future of the race. With the present war (despite the human sacrifice) there has come a new appreciation of the importance of man power and the value of human life. This new concept requires adequate representation of workers in the control of their destinies. The demand of labor for equal representation in determining that part of production which concerns them is fundamental.

One of the constructive results of dealing with war problems has been to disclose the importance of labor management. Man power has become a pivotal element. We can not afford to waste man power through maladjustment or through failure to elicit the full ability of any individual. Man power has hitherto been treated as one of the least valuable elements contributing to production and hence labor management is practically a new thought.

Commercial and industrial companies have sought high-powered men to place in charge of all departments dealing with the material side—materials, equipment. Sales have a bearing on profits. But even the most practical efficient managers have failed until recently to see that a high turnover means unnecessarily high production costs. Long time experience of workers has a money value to industry as well as a social value. Those things which prevent frequent changes in employes must determine the principles of labor administration. That principle can be determined only through intelligent and sympathetic understanding of the needs of workers and of what constitutes fair dealing.

There is always a best way of doing everything—the best way of administering labor problems of production can be determined only through the information and experience of employers and employes. Since workers know a phase of production which is usually totally outside the experience of employers, the principles of labor administration must be formulated after considering the supplementary information of representatives of both parties. Labor administration must be cooperative in method and in principle.

There ought to be in charge of all labor problems of production, a high-powered trained labor man. Just as the chief engineer is responsible for determining and removing the cause when generated power fails, so the labor manager should seek the cause and remedy when labor power fails. The most satisfying custom would give opportunity to wage-earners of ability to qualify for such administrative positions—thus giving the workingman a chance for a career without depriving production of those of greatest ability.

There has been some progress toward this end since the war began through the efforts of the Shipping Board and the Ordnance Department. This indicates what must become an accepted custom in all production.

The following fundamentals must be the basis for all just labor policies:

Those contributing to production should have a part in its control.

A low turnover which is advantageous to industry has an equal if not greater value to workers—to them it means continuous employment, a stable income.

Every worker has a right to be freed from all avoidable uncertainties of employment—both from those arising through poor labor administration and from mismanagement in production and the effects of speculation in raw materials or finished products.

The American Federation of Labor has consistently stood for justice to all workers, skilled and so-called unskilled. We have maintained that there are no workers wholly unskilled and the distinction between wage-earners is one of degree only. The so-called unskilled or common laborers are the backbone of industry. Low economic standards can not

prevail among these workers without injury to all. We maintain, therefore, increased efforts must be made to organize these and all workers in order that there may be established machinery for self-betterment and that the workers may take their rightful place in determining questions of life and work. Every worker has a full right to a just portion of the wealth which he helps to create, a full right to earn out of his toil an opportunity for his children equal with that of any citizen, a full right that every just safeguard shall be afforded him for his physical safety, for his health and comfort while at work. Every worker has the right to compensation for physical injury or disease occasioned in the course of production. Every worker who has been injured or disabled in industry has the additional right to opportunities for rehabilitation in order that he may receive the necessary assistance or training to enable him to be self-sustaining.

Betterment for wage-earners under all circumstances depends upon the control they exercise through economic organization. Control brings with it responsibility. The right of workers to a share in the results of increasing production which makes possible their advancement and reproduction under proper conditions, means greater interest in increasing output.

The Executive Council believes that in all large permanent shops, a regular arrangement should be provided whereby:

First, a committee of the workers would regularly meet with the shop management to confer over matters of production; and whereby:

Second, such committee could carry, beyond the foreman and the superintendent, to the general manager or to the president, any important grievance which the workers may have with references to wages, hours and conditions.

It is fundamental for efficiency in production that the essentials of team work be understood and followed by all. There must be opportunity for intercourse and exchange of viewpoints between workers and managers. It is this machinery for solving industrial problems that is fundamental.

The constructive demands outlined above are predicated upon the basic principle of the right and opportunity of workers to organize and make collective agreements. There is no other way to bring about cooperation for production except by organization of workers. Organization is the orderly system for dealing with questions which concern Labor in order that decisions and adjustments may be reached that further the best interests of all concerned. Employers and workers must talk over matters of mutual interests and reach understandings. In present large scale industry this can be done only by use of the representative system or what is commonly called collective bargaining which is the foundation of all effective, just labor administration.

AVOID INTERRUPTIONS OF WAR PRODUCTION

A crisis in world affairs has been reached. The battle lines of our allies in France are menaced by the forces that represent autocratic government. Each day and hour of the coming months will hold in a fateful balance the destiny of the governments and the peoples representing the ideals which bring into being and maintain governments directed by the peoples themselves.

America was drawn into this world war by the challenge of those autocratic forces which enthrone might as their chief aim. With the growth of achievements of our Republic, this nation has stood as a beacon light to all the oppressed peoples of the earth. Our institutions have radiated to the remotest parts of the globe concepts of a government guided and maintained by the will of its people. It is a staggering thought to contemplate world dominion of autocracy and the destruction of opportunities we now enjoy and for which we have so valiantly contended. As a people imbued with the highest ideals of justice, the fact that the allied armies have their backs to the wall fighting the minions of autocracy, makes the present moment assume a ragged and dangerous front and moves us to the solemn duty of self-examination, to determine whether we are doing our full part.

That grievous industrial wrongs still exist no one can deny. The agency that has fought wrong, that has lifted men and women up to higher planes of life and work, that has stood between the oppressed and the oppressors, is the organized labor movement. It has accomplished this constructive remedial work through organized economic power.

Use of our economic power has been tempered with such warmth of idealism that we

have won the respect and confidence of those in places of responsibility and authority. The present administration, under the leadership of President Wilson, who has interpreted by word and act the spirit of democracy and humanity in a way that has made him the spokesman for world democracy, has recognized that only through labor has it been possible to fight this world war. The government has entered into contracts with organized labor and has provided agencies for dealing with problems that arise in production in which the government and workers are partners.

Continuous, full-power production depends upon the morale of the workers; that, in turn, is dependent upon a sense of justice.

The workers in war production are practically a part of the fighting force, the Army and Navy. They can not stop work without interfering with the whole program. The whole campaign from production to where munitions are used in the field must be so precise, so well articulated, that nothing shall interfere with any forward movement if we are to check and defeat the best organized war machine the world has ever seen. No action should be taken in the shops or on the field not in harmony with the purposes of the war.

Organized labor, susceptible to every impulse and stimulus of right, must recognize in its impartial and exacting judgment that the hour has struck for it to emphasize and declare its purpose and attitude anew and to help meet the overpowering force of circumstances and necessities which confront our nation.

Organized labor, true to its traditions, has proffered its full and comprehensive support to the Commander-in-Chief, and it will not now be paralyzed by infirmity of purpose or action.

The pressing need at this moment of imminent peril is that ships be provided whereby American soldiers, food, and munitions can be transported to reinforce the American Army already fighting with the soldiers of France and England. In order that this may be accomplished there must be full cooperation and earnestness of the people of our country. We advise the organized labor movement that in this crisis it must prove its loyalty to our Republic and to our fellow-men, and demonstrate its capacity to deal with big problems and big needs in a constructive manner.

Deeply impressed by the events upon the western battle fronts, we are constrained to place before our fellow-workmen a definite course of action. Yielding to no one in our determination to maintain for the working people of this country the right to work or not, to work for a reason or no reason, yet at a time when the destiny of the democratic institutions of the world are trembling in the balance (and still holding sacred the principles of the rights enunciated) we can well afford to waive their exercise in a patriotic desire that the issues of this war may result in a successful termination.

In several departments charged with war production, agencies have already been established to adjust labor difficulties as they arise. These agencies have been supplemented by a larger program, national in scope, which has just been made effective by executive order. In accord with this plan, agencies will be established in all war production which will maintain the rights of workers and at the same time make possible continuous production. Workers, reserving the right to strike, should submit all differences to these agencies and in every way seek to adjust difficulties without cessation of work. No strike should be inaugurated which can not be justified to the man risking his life on the firing line in France.

An equal responsibility and duty devolves on employers to do everything within their power to maintain continuous production. As the best surety for this purpose: we urge all employers to endeavor to adjust all grievance of employes, to establish and maintain equitable, humanitarian conditions of work. The workers of America wish to cooperate in winning this war. They can do so with unreserved ability and spirit if they go to their work with the sense of justice and rights respected. Employers, inaugurate no industry policy which can not be justified to the man risking his life on the firing line.

The American soldiers on the battle line must pay in large numbers the supreme sacrifice, which must exercise a dominating and inspiring influence upon the people of this nation. Let it not be said that the organized American workmen engaged in the production of the necessary accoutrements of war shall be found unwilling to make the sacrifice demanded of them in this hour. Conscious that unfair and unjust criticism has been leveled at our movement, we can not escape the thought that unless we do our full duty and make a

sacrifice commensurate with the exigencies of the situation, these criticisms may be pregnant with a lesson of deepest import. We must either voluntarily meet this great world need and crisis with a full appreciation of the far-reaching consequences of every industrial decision and action, or else we shall be deemed unworthy of the opportunities of free men, and a strong force will interpose to compel us to render the necessary service. If we voluntarily waive our rights to strike in this hour of dire necessity, there will be no opportunity to stigmatize our movement as unresponsive in the hour of need, and our appeal for justice will take on redoubled force when the terrific conflict shall have been brought to a close.

Unsparring industry and attention, unswerving and unselfish fidelity is the talisman for an immense capacity for ceaseless progress, and we are sure that in acting upon the suggestions herein offered, the American labor movement will embody a prudence and discernment that will meet the approbation of the people of our own country, as well as the profound gratitude of the workmen of other countries engaged in this terrific struggle.

We urge that our movement respond to the call, (conscious that the future is involved in profound uncertainty), so that when the history of this great contest is written, the service performed by the workmen of America will comprise its most conspicuous feature.

INJUNCTION CASE—UNITED MINE WORKERS

The decision rendered by the United States Supreme Court in the case of Hitchman Coal and Coke Company vs. United Mine Workers of America is of vital importance to organized labor.

This case began October 24, 1907. The Hitchman Coal and Coke Company, coal operators in West Virginia, inaugurated an anti-union policy and campaign. The company secured from Judge Dayton an injunction forbidding organizers of the United Mine Workers from even asking employees of the company if they wished to become members of the union. The company then imposed upon all employees that each enter into a "contract" as a condition of employment not to become members of the United Mine Workers of America.

This "contract" was the only condition under which miners could obtain employment, and it was offered them after they had been defeated in a strike for better conditions. The condition of these men who had contracted away their right to appeal to the only organization that could render them effective aid became worse and worse.

The United Mine Workers responded to an appeal for help and attempted to assist the men in organizing. The work, of course, had to be done secretly. The company then brought suit in the United States District Court for the Northern District of West Virginia to enjoin the efforts of the organizers. Judge Dayton granted a restraining order which was later made a permanent injunction. An appeal was taken to the Circuit Court of Appeals, which court reversed the lower court in the following opinion:

"The growth and development of a common law occurred when property rights were recognized as paramount to personal rights. At that time there was little, if any, concert of action on the part of the laboring people owing to their helpless condition due in the main to their ignorance. Their dominion by the landowner and capitalist was absolute in most respects and as a result they were as helpless as those held in slavery before our great war. Under such circumstances it is no wonder that we have many decisions in the past at common law, as well as the enactment of statutory laws, by virtue of which it was almost a physical impossibility for those who earned their living by honest toil to accomplish, by organized effort, those things necessary to elevate them to a plane where they could assert those rights so essential to their welfare.

"The industrial development of the world within the last half century has been such as to render it necessary for the courts to take a broader and more comprehensive view than formerly of questions pertaining to the relation that capital sustains to labor.

"It is now recognized by all civilized countries that labor is the basis of all wealth and without which it is utterly impossible to accomplish anything in the industrial world, and such being the case, the laboring man is entitled to the fullest protection in the assertion of his right to demand adequate pay for any labor that he may perform.

"However, in this instance the plaintiff has adopted a policy by which only non-union men may be employed. If the plaintiff may, for the purpose of protecting its interests, adopt a policy by which only non-union men can secure employment in its mines, and such conduct be sanctioned by the law, by what process of reasoning can it be held that the defendants may not adopt the same method in order to protect their interests? If the plaintiff is to be protected in the use of such methods, and the defendants are to be restrained from using lawful methods for the purpose of successfully meeting the issues thus raised by the plaintiff, then, indeed, it may be truthfully said that capital receives greater protection at the hands of the court than those through whose efforts capital in the first place was created. But such is not the law.

"Surely we have not reached the point when capital, with its strong arm, may adopt a plan like this for protecting its interests while, on the other hand, the laboring class are to be denied the protection of the law when they are attempting to assert rights that are just as important to their well-being as are the rights of those who have been more fortunate in accumulating wealth. 'He who seeks equity must do equity.' In other words, he must 'come into court with clean hands.' If the courts in this country should, by injunctive relief, protect the mine owner in the enjoyment of his property rights and restrain the laboring people from organizing their forces by declaring such organizations unlawful, would not the mine owner then be in a position to control the situation so that he who has to toil for his daily bread would be placed in a position where, if he exists at all, he must do so at such wages and upon such terms as organized capital may see fit to dictate.

"This is an age of cooperation through organization. In fact, organization is the only means by which united effort can be secured in any plane of human endeavor. The doctor, dentist, school teachers, wholesale and retail manufacturers, bankers and manufacturers, and, in fact, every branch of industry in this country, are organizing for the purpose of the mutual protection of the respective parties interested. Such being the case, it is just as essential, and perhaps more important, that the laboring people should organize for their advancement and protection than it is for any of the vocations we have mentioned.

"In the first place, it should be understood once and for all that so long as capital employs legitimate means for the protection of property rights, it is to be secured the protection of the law, but this does not mean that capital may, by improper methods, form combinations for the purpose of preventing labor from organizing for mutual protection. Likewise, it should be definitely understood that the laboring men have the right to use peaceable and lawful methods to unite their forces in order to improve their condition, as respects their ability to earn a decent living, give their children moral and intellectual training, and to secure the enactment of legislation requiring mine owners to adopt such methods as may be necessary to keep their mines in a sanitary condition, and above all, to adopt methods to minimize, as much as possible, the occurrence of the awful catastrophes by which so many human lives have been lost.

"The relative rights of the parties are entitled to equal consideration and we feel sure that when such controversy arises that it will be dealt with in the same spirit that actuated the courts in adjusting the difference between individuals wherein questions are involved affecting the ordinary transactions of life."

However, a stay was granted pending application to the Supreme Court for a writ of certiorari. The writ was granted March 13, 1916, and the case was argued before the Supreme Court. On December 10, 1917, the court rendered its decision, six Justices concurring in the opinion of the court delivered by Justice Pitney. Justice Brandeis wrote a dissenting opinion in which Justices Holmes and Clark concurred.

The decision of the court did not sustain the District Court in declaring that the United Mine Workers of America and its branches constituted an illegal organization, which was a common law conspiracy in restraint of trade and also a conspiracy against the rights of non-union miners, but the Supreme Court did take the amazing position that an employer may require employes to enter into contracts foregoing constitutional right to

membership in their trade organizations and then secure the assistance of courts in carrying out such an anti-union policy through an injunction restraining the only persons who could render assistance to these employes from taking any action for their protection. The majority opinion of the court states:

"If there be any practical distinction between organizing the miners and organizing the mine, it has no application to this case. Unionizing the miners is but a step in the process of unionizing the mine, followed by the latter almost as a matter of course. Plaintiff is as much entitled to prevent the first step as the second, so far as its own employes are concerned, and to be protected against irreparable injury resulting from either. Besides, the evidence shows, without any dispute, that defendants contemplated no half-way measures, but were bent on organizing the mine, the 'consent' of plaintiff to be procured through such a control of its employes as would render any further independent operation of the mine out of the question.

"That the plaintiff was acting within its lawful rights in employing its men only upon terms of continuing non-membership in the United Mine Workers of America is not open to question. . . . The same liberty which enables men to form unions, and through the union to enter into agreements with employers willing to agree, entitles other men to remain independent of the union and other employers to agree with them to employ no man who owes any allegiance or obligation to the union. In the latter case, as in the former, the parties are entitled to be protected by the law in the enjoyment of the benefits of any lawful agreement they may make. This court repeatedly has held that the employer is as free to make non-membership in a union a condition of employment as the working man is free to join the union, and that this is a part of the constitutional rights of personal liberty and private property, not to be taken away even by legislation, unless through some proper exercise of the paramount police power.

"That the employment was 'at will,' and terminable by either party at any time, is of no consequence. . . . The fact that the employment is at the will of the parties, respectively, does not make it one at the will of others.

"In short, plaintiff was and is entitled to the good will of its employes, precisely as a merchant is entitled to the good will of his customers, although they are under no obligation to continue to deal with him. The value of the relation lies in the reasonable probability that by properly treating its employes, and paying them fair wages, and avoiding reasonable grounds of complaint, it will be able to retain them in its employ, and to fill vacancies occurring from time to time by the employment of other men on the same terms. The pecuniary value of such reasonable probabilities is incalculably great, and is recognized by the law in a variety of relations.

"The right of action for persuading an employe to leave his employer is universally recognized—nowhere more clearly than in West Virginia—and it rests upon fundamental principles of general application, not upon the English statute of laborers.

"It is suggested as a ground of criticism that plaintiff endeavored to secure a closed non-union mine through individual agreements with its employes, as if this furnished some sort of excuse for the employment of coercive measures to secure a closed union shop through a collective agreement with the union. It is a sufficient answer, in law, to repeat that plaintiff had a legal and constitutional right to exclude union men from its employ. But it may be worth while to say, in addition: First, that there was no middle ground open to plaintiff; no option to have an 'open shop' employing union men and non-union men indifferently; it was the union that insisted upon closed-shop agreements, requiring even carpenters employed about a mine to be members of the union, and making the employment of any non-union man a ground for a strike; and, secondly, plaintiff was in the reasonable exercise of its rights in excluding all union men from its employ, having learned, from a previous experience, that unless this were done union organizers might gain access to its mine in the guise of laborers.

The minority opinion is based upon a fundamentally different philosophy. It submits the following reasoning as the basis for holding that the decree of the District Court should be reversed and the bill dismissed:

The fundamental prohibition of the injunction is against acts done "for the purpose of unionizing plaintiff's mine without plaintiff's consent." Unionizing a shop does not mean inducing the employes to become members of the union. It means inducing the employer to enter into a collective agreement with the union governing the relations of the employer to the employes. Unionizing implies, therefore, at least *formal* consent of the employer. Both plaintiff and defendants insisted upon exercising the right to secure contracts for a closed shop. The plaintiff sought to secure the *closed non-union shop* through individual agreements with employes. The defendants sought to secure the *closed union shop* through a collective agreement with the union. Since collective bargaining is legal, the fact that the workingmen's agreement is made not by individuals directly with the employer, but by the employes with the union and by it, on their behalf, with the employer is of no significance in this connection. The end being *lawful* defendant's efforts to unionize the mine can be illegal, only if the methods or means pursued were unlawful; unless indeed there is some special significance in the expression "unionizing without plaintiff's consent."

It is urged that a union agreement curtails the liberty of the operator. Every agreement curtails the liberty of those who enter into it. The test of legality is not whether an agreement curtails liberty, but whether the parties have agreed upon some thing which the law prohibits or declares otherwise to be inconsistent with the public welfare. The operator by the union agreement binds himself: (1) to employ only members of the union; (2) to negotiate with union officers instead of with employes individually the scale of wages and the hours of work; (3) to treat with the duly constituted representatives of the union to settle disputes concerning the discharge of men and other controversies arising out of the employment. These are the chief features of a "unionizing," by which the employer's liberty is curtailed. Each of them is legal. To obtain any of them or all of them, men may lawfully strive and even strike. And if the union may legally strike to obtain each of the things for which the agreement provides, why may it not strike or use equivalent economic pressure to secure an agreement to provide them?

It is also urged that defendants are seeking to "coerce" plaintiff to "unionize" its mine. But coercion, in a legal sense, is not exerted when a union merely endeavors to induce employes to join a union with the intention thereafter to order a strike unless the employer consents to unionize the shop. Such pressure is not coercion in a legal sense. The employer is free either to accept the agreement or the disadvantage. Indeed, the plaintiff's whole case is rested upon agreements secured under similar pressure of economic necessity or disadvantage. If it is coercion to threaten to strike unless plaintiff consents to a closed union shop, it is coercion also to threaten not to give one employment unless the applicant will consent to a closed non-union shop. The employer may sign the union agreement for fear that *labor* may not be otherwise obtainable; the workman may sign the individual agreement, for fear that *employment* may not be otherwise obtainable. But such fear does not imply coercion in a legal sense.

In other words an employer, in order to effectuate the closing of his shop to *union labor*, may exact an agreement to that effect from his employes. The agreement itself being a lawful one, the employer may withhold from the men an economic need—employment—until they assent to make it. Likewise an agreement closing a shop to *non-union labor* being lawful, the union may withhold from an employer an economic need—*labor*—until he assents to make it. In a legal sense an agreement entered into, under such circumstances, is voluntarily entered into; and as the agreement is in itself legal, no reason appears why the general rule that a legal end may be pursued by legal means, should not be applied.

Or, putting it in other words, there is nothing in the character of the agreement which should make *unlawful* means used to attain it, which in other connections are recognized as *lawful*.

On January 14, the United States Supreme Court ordered the officers of the United Mine Workers and of District No. 6 of that organization to appear before the court on March 4 to show cause why they should not be judged guilty of contempt of court and punished accordingly. The officers of the United Mine Workers and the President of the A. F. of L. co-operated in securing a lawyer of high standing and ability to assist in presenting their case to the Supreme Court. Judge Alton B. Parker thereupon became the counsel for the United Mine Workers in the pending case. President Gompers also participated in a conference held in New York City to consider the briefs that were to be submitted in the case.

In April, on motion of the attorneys for the Hitchman Coal and Coke Company, the contempt proceedings instituted against the officers of the United Mine Workers were withdrawn. Although this action puts an end to the contempt proceedings against the officers of the United Mine Workers, still the decision of the Supreme Court on the Dayton injunction remains as a precedent. Under the principle upon which that opinion is based the right of labor organizations to perform their necessary and constructive functions has been seriously impaired.

A practically identical case was decided by the Supreme Court at the same time that it handed down its decision upon the Hitchman Coal and Coke Company. In its opinion in this case (*Eagle Glass and Manufacturing Company vs. Rowe*) the court reaffirmed the reasoning in the *Miners'* case, dissolved the injunction and dismissed the case upon a technicality.

Employers hostile to organized labor have lost no time in taking advantage of the decision of the Supreme Court in the Hitchman Coal and Coke Company *vs.* United Mine Workers. An example of the manner with which the court's decision has been and can be used in undermining the high purposes of organized labor, is the following order of the—

Kennecott Copper Corporation
Kennecott Plant Kennecott, Alaska

STATEMENT CONCERNING LABOR UNION

To the end that the attitude of the Kennecott Copper Corporation concerning labor unions may be made clear and emphatic, and that misunderstandings as to such attitude may be avoided, the following statement is made to all employees:

1. This company does not recognize any union or unions or organized and active bodies of workmen at or in the vicinity of Kennecott. Any employee who at the present time belongs to any union which is now active at or in the vicinity of Kennecott, or which is seeking membership among the employes of this company is requested promptly to sever his relations with either the union or the company.

2. The company has not the slightest objection to retention of membership in any labor union or organized body of workmen which is not active at or in the vicinity of Kennecott, or is not seeking membership among the employes of this company.

3. This position is taken by the company in order to protect those of its employes who do not care to join any union, and who would be forced out of camp should any union get a foothold, as well as to preserve a friendly relationship between the company and its employes. It is believed that relations between the Kennecott Copper Corporation and the union which is at present seeking membership among the employes could not and would not be cordial.

4. In order that every employee may understand that this company is fully within its rights in assuming the attitude expressed above, attention is called to the following excerpts quoted from the syllabus to the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of *Hitchman Coal & Coke Company vs. United Mine Workers of America*:

"An employer who has made membership in a labor union a condition of

obtaining or continuing employment is entitled to be protected in the enjoyment of the resulting status, although the employment is terminable by either party at any time.

"Any grievance which employes may have against their employer will not justify or excuse the conduct of officers and agents of a labor union, of which such employes are not members, in instigating a strike.

"The right of workingmen to organize for legitimate objects and to enlarge their organization by inviting other workingmen to join is not so absolute that it may be exercised under any circumstances and without qualification, but it must be always exercised with reasonable regard for the conflicting rights of others.

"The conduct of officers and members of a labor union in seeking by persuasion, accompanied by intimidation of a possible reduction of wages and deceptive statements as to the attitude of the employer, to induce employes whose employment is conditioned on their membership in any labor organization to agree to join the union and at the same time to continue in their employers' service for the purpose, when the support of a sufficient number of employes should be obtained, of coercing the employer, through a strike or the threat of one, to enter into a closed shop agreement, is unlawful, and the acts done in pursuance of such purpose may be enjoined."

The above case was decided on the tenth day of last December and is the latest and most controlling statement of the law. The case is printed in the Advance Opinions of the Supreme Court of January 1st, 1918, and a full copy of the decision may be inspected at the General Offices at Kennecott.

5. It is assumed that all employes who shall not have severed their connection with the company by 6 p. m., March 5th, 1918, pledge themselves to accept the terms of employment as outlined in the foregoing articles. As a matter of record, such men are asked to call upon their respective foreman and to sign a statement to that effect.

(Signed)

E. T. STANNARD,
Manager.

This statement issued by the Copper Company discloses the principles involved in the Hitchman Coal and Coke Company case far better than do the legal phraseology in the various opinions expressed by judges. The court's decision ignores the meaning of the trade union movement. The trade union movement represents the desire of workers for better conditions of work and life.

The history of the trade union movement is the history of higher wages and better shop conditions, shorter hours, wider opportunities for the children of workers. The struggles of the trade union movement are the processes by which industrial betterment is achieved. The right of workers to organize in economic organizations and to conduct the affairs of unions through representatives is an economic and a moral question and can not be decided by legal precedent.

In the industrial world society has recognized the necessity of the trade union movement and the beneficent function it performs. Legal reasoning has not yet caught up with progress in the affairs of life and work. It is highly necessary, therefore, to guard against reactionary influences. The immediate duty that lies ahead of the organized labor movement is to protect workers against judicial decrees that have no application to present day conditions and problems.

If judicial decisions are to be in harmony with justice they must take into consideration conditions and forces that are determining the affairs of today. The relief from such decisions as that rendered by the Supreme Court in the case of Hitchman Coal and Coke Company lies not only in legislation but in educating public opinion and in changing the personnel of the judiciary so as to secure judges who understand economic problems and forces.

CORONADA COAL COMPANY VS. UNITED MINE WORKERS OF AMERICA

A. S. Dowd, receiver for nine coal corporations brought action against the United Mine Workers of America, July 25, 1914, charging that the organizations since 1898 had been in a gigantic conspiracy with union orerators to interfere with the production and commerce of the corporations that followed a non-union policy by means of strikes and attendant violence.

The case grew out of a local strike of the Arkansas miners. The Bache-Denman Coal Company alleged that they were damaged by reason of the strike and that the officers and members of the United Mine Workers of America conspired to prevent the operation of their mines and the shipment of their coal in interstate commerce. A demurrer was sustained to this complaint by the federal judge of the district court. An appeal was made to the Circuit Court of Appeals but that court held that the complaint was good and remanded it for trial. In its opinion, the Circuit Court of Appeals took the position that a labor union although un'incorporated, could be sued in its union name. This opinion of the judge is without precedent. We reported this decision to the 1916 Convention.

The trial took place before Judge Elliott. After the jury had been out about forty-eight hours they were called before the court and instructed by the Judge:

"Now, gentlemen of the jury, this is a pretty serious situation and I want to say to you that the court has no thought at all of discharging you. You were sworn upon your oaths to do your duty as jurors. In the opinion of the court there is no reason on earth why reasonable men with due regard for right, and each having due respect and consideration for the other's opinion, should not arrive at a conclusion in this case. What would be a fortune to either of you or I has already been spent and a failure to render justice in this and others is what brings the courts into contempt. I say this to you that you may understand the seriousness of your situation. The facts in this case have got to be found by a jury. Another jury will have no better opportunity of knowing what these facts are or be in any better position to determine these facts than you, and it is your duty as jurors under your oaths to get together and return a verdict.

"Now the Federal Courts recognize the right of this court under these circumstances to say what this court believes in relation to the facts in this case, and you are advised that this court is of the opinion that the facts in this case justify you in the conclusion, overwhelmingly, that it was the policy and therefore the agreement for years of this national organization to prevent mining of non-union coal for the unlawful purposes named in this complaint that it might not come into competition with union mined coal; that there is no question in this court's mind but that that strike was ordered down there for that purpose to prevent the mining of non-union coal in these plaintiff's mines; that the strike was called by those who were the instrumentality of the greater organization, the general organization, the defendants, and their act was its act, and that they put into motion the force that destroyed this property, and that that force was put into motion for the purpose of preventing the mining of that coal, the shipping of that coal, the running of these mines. Why, this court has not a thought that there would ever have been any trouble there if it had not been for the prevention of the mining of non-union coal. Now, that is the judgment of this court and if it were my duty to decide it I would decide it here. Now you are not bound by my opinion. I have a right to give you my judgment, however, you are the sole and exclusive judges of the facts and it is for you to determine these issues of fact independent of my judgment and this court believes you ought to determine it and under your oaths as jurors agree upon a verdict

"If there is any question about the law on the responsibility for this, responsibility of the greater organization, that is for the higher court to say, but you can not reach it until you have done your duty—you are the stumbling block in the way and this whole time is wasted. Now after I have said what I have, I am going to say that *I have no thought of discharging you, you must return a verdict in this case.* You are amply qualified to do the right thing as you see it, and as it should be done and the thought of the court is that no other jury will ever be better prepared to render a verdict than you and to separate without a verdict

will be to have rendered all this expense of all this trial for naught—make it necessary to go all over the ground again with no better opportunity on the part of the jury in the box when it has all been done, to do the right thing than you have now, no advantage, none in the world. You see the importance of the situation and I now urge you with the idea of doing the right thing and putting this matter in that condition that a trial of the case with a legitimate end, in which a verdict of the jury will place. And with a knowledge and feeling of responsibility and that that responsibility is with you, that you now return to your jury rooms and bring in a verdict."

The jury of the Federal District Court at Fort Smith, Arkansas, rendered a verdict of \$200,000 damages against the United Mine Workers of America. Under the provisions of the Sherman Anti-Trust law this amount was automatically trebled.

The United Mine Workers' officers appealed to the Federal Circuit Court of Appeals from the verdict of the District Court. The court required an appeal bond amounting to \$800,000. This requirement has been met, and the organization's appeal awaits the decision by the higher court.

We have been advised by the counsel that judges in Federal courts have sometimes assumed the power as exercised by the judge in the case in point, and it will be observed that the judge used all the power and influence of his position to not only coerce the jury in finding a verdict for the plaintiff, but practically threatened the jury with imprisonment until they reached a verdict and of course a verdict as he desired they should reach.

It is earnestly hoped that the higher court reverses the decision and award reached. It should be borne in mind that the case was brought under the provisions of the Sherman Anti-trust law, and not as modified by the labor provisions of the Clayton Anti-trust law.

HEALTH INSURANCE

The enactment of workmen's compensation laws by a number of state legislatures is now being followed by the development of a favorable sentiment for the enactment of health insurance laws. Already legislation of this kind has been considered by a number of state legislatures and in addition, commissions have been created for the purpose of making an exhaustive study of the subject and a report to their respective legislative branches thereon.

Central bodies and state federations of labor in several places have been studying the question. Some of them have approved the principle, while others are supporting laws providing for universal health insurance.

The organized labor movement approved the enactment of workmen's compensation legislation. Their approval of that legislation was based upon the theory that when the earning power of a worker was impaired by reason of an industrial accident, that he or his dependents should be compensated during the time he was suffering from said injury. The same rule holds good when the worker becomes incapacitated through illness—particularly illness due to trade or occupation. He and his family suffer through the impairment of his earning power just the same when he is ill as when he sustains an injury. The organized labor movement of America ought to formulate a program upon this subject.

We therefore recommend to this convention that it authorize the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to make an investigation into the subject of Health Insurance, particularly as it applies to trade or occupational disease. If approved a model bill be formulated and reported to the A. F. of L. for approval. We urge that as part of such legislation there should be embodied fundamental principles of democratic administration and guarantee to the workers of an equal voice and equal authority in the administration of all its features.

It was decided that the E. C. recommend to the convention that it authorize the E. C. to appoint a committee to make a study and report on the desirability of enacting laws providing for the payment of sick benefits during time of illness.

The investigation and recommendations should extend to methods and agencies for the prevention of industrial accidents and diseases. Efforts to establish a preventive policy should precede and supplement efforts to establish remedial agencies.

EDUCATION

It is a well-known and generally accepted fact that the public school system of the United States was created because of the insistent demands of our pioneer trade unionists in the early part of last century. Since the public school system has become completely established and thoroughly ingrained in the hearts and brains of our people, it has been with the greatest pride that our membership in every local community of our country, assume it to be a paramount duty to protect and advance the interest of education through the public schools and to do whatever is permissible and possible to protect and advance the interests of the teachers.

Compulsory Education

Organized labor can justly claim another credit. Compulsory educational laws have been enacted in all of the states of the union, but one—Mississippi being the only laggard. Our organizations have also persistently and insistently advocated the free text-book system. In many states and independent school districts, success has been achieved. We hope that our activities will not be relaxed in any community where the interests of the children and the teachers in the public schools may be practically advanced.

Federal Vocational Education Law

Three distinctive features of the act under which the federal government furthers vocational education are:

It contains a practical scheme of cooperation in behalf of practical education by the federal government and the several states, leaving each state free to accept or reject the federal financial aid, and at the same time leaving the states, which accept the law, free to develop and expand their own system or systems without dictation from federal authorities, the only control in this direction being that state plans must meet the approval of the federal administration.

The second conspicuous feature and which is preeminently original with us in the United States is the form of administration of this great public educational trust. The Federal Board for Vocational Education is a composite board of all the active elements in society, and is independent of other government departments. The statute prescribes that a representative of agriculture, of education, of industry, and of labor shall be selected to administer the Vocational Law.

In the third place, is the fact that certain members of the President's Cabinet and representing the specific elements in society of agriculture, labor, commerce and education are also designated as members of the Federal Board. This third feature, therefore, links up representative civilians with representative cabinet administrators. We are proud and justly so, of the part we played in cooperation with progressive citizens in other walks of life to secure this legislation of so much potential value to the youth of our nation. We are glad to report that within six months after the appointment of the Board, every one of the forty-eight states had accepted the provisions of the Smith-Hughes Vocational Education law, either by act of the legislature or by permissive acceptance by the Governor pending the next session of the state legislature. This ready acceptance has convinced us all that the measure is popular, and that the people as a whole were eagerly waiting for its enactment.

Representative Control Needed in States

It is our duty to now call the attention of our members, within the states, and especially the responsible officers of the state federations of labor and the city central bodies, to see to it that their state law authorizing the appointment or election of a State Board of Education shall also require that such state boards shall be representative in character and be consistent with the federal act.

At this writing we are able to report that the following states have adopted a representative form of school administration, including a representative of labor: Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Oregon, Vermont and Wisconsin.

The following states have a partial representative board, but we regret to report a

representative of labor has not yet been included: Massachusetts, Maryland, Montana, New Jersey, Ohio and Tennessee.

We herewith offer a desirable section to be included in a state law so as to insure a well balanced representative state board. We urge that immediate steps be taken by our State Federations to secure this necessary and essential legislation.

I. Proposed amendment to state education laws:

"That a State Board of Education is hereby created, to consist of five members to be appointed from the state at large: two members to be representative of education, one to be a representative of the manufacturing and commercial interests, one a representative of the agricultural interests, and one a representative of labor. The Governor shall appoint the members of the board for a term of five years. In the first instance, one member shall be appointed for one year, one for two years, one for three years, one for four years, and one for five years. The Governor shall fill all vacancies of the board for the unexpired term, and each member shall serve until a successor shall have been appointed and qualified."

Salaries and duties of Board members to be prescribed as local conditions warrant.

II. Legislation to require local Boards of Education conducting vocational education to appoint advisory committees composed of representatives of trades.

"Boards of Education or township trustees administering approved vocational schools and departments for industry, agriculture, or domestic science education shall, under a scheme to be approved by the State Board for Vocational Education, appoint an Advisory Committee composed of members representing local trades, industries, and occupations.

"It shall be the duty of the Advisory Committee to counsel with and advise the board and other school officials having the management and supervision of such schools or departments."

We are also glad to report that the Federal Board for Vocational Education will, no doubt, have charge of the rehabilitation and vocational reeducation of our wounded soldiers and sailors. More detailed reference to this subject will be found in another section of our report.

Caution Urged on New Educational Proposals

The unqualified success and general popularity of this great law has inspired others to draft legislation, specifying federal aid on what is known as the fifty-fifty financial basis and calling for a separate, independent Federal Board for administration of such laws. We think it well that this convention should take cognizance of these proposals and instruct the Executive Council as to what course shall be taken upon them.

Two definite proposals are now under consideration. The first proposition is to authorize or enable public school authorities to bring about a better type of physical education and better physical care of children of school age while such children are attending school. Mr. John Voll, President of the Glass Bottle Blowers' Association, has represented the A. F. of L. at several conferences which have been called by the National Committee on Physical Education to consider this subject. The function of this committee is to organize a plan of action to promote physical education of such purpose and scope in the several states through initial federal legislation providing for federal aid, federal cooperation and federal leadership. There is a disposition on the part of some to extend the jurisdiction of the Federal Board for Vocational Education to assume these added duties.

Another proposition is under consideration which emanates from the National Child Labor Committee, the proposal being to extend federal aid to elementary school education both in urban and in rural schools, and a disposition is expressed by some to add these duties also to the Federal Board for Vocational Education.



Federal Board for Vocational Education Must Not Be Overweighted

We trust our membership will take these proposals under the most careful consideration before coming to a definite conclusion. It seems to us with the light we have at present that it would be unwise and unsafe to saddle the additional duties of elementary education and physical education in elementary schools upon the Federal Board for Vocational Education. We championed vocational education for a specific purpose, and we recommend that our convention take definite and positive action that the Federal Board shall be left free to develop the duties for which it was especially created.

Shall a New Department of Education be Created?

If additional educational legislation is necessary and we believe that it is, then it may be advisable to give earnest consideration to the creation of a Department of Education or Public Instruction with a secretary at its head to be a member of the President's Cabinet, so that such a department could deal with all of the functions the general public school system is expected to conserve, such as elementary and academic education, physical care, text books, etc.

Part Time Education

We must now, however, call your attention to the need of a new adjustment in school life and junior employments. Our country stands badly in need of judicious, practical part time education and part time employment state legislation, and the organized labor movement must take the initial and original step in this direction. Some of our states, such as, Pennsylvania, New York, Indiana, and Wisconsin, have already upon their statute books some form of legislation intended or expected to help or control children who have reached certain ages or certain school grades, and who contemplate undertaking some employment. It is our belief that a model state part-time law should be prepared and urged for enactment by the several state legislatures at the earliest possible date. We urge this legislation so that the children leaving school may not be deprived of all their opportunities to improve their education and secure more knowledge. The longer we can keep the children of the nation in contact with our public schools and our public school teachers the safer our civilization will be. If labor men will undertake campaigns in their communities and work in active cooperation with representative school people, representative merchants, representative employers and, wherever possible, representative agriculturists, temporary voluntary systems and methods may be adopted and put into practice pending authorized statutory legislation by the state legislatures. We call attention to this need because of another situation which confronts us. The Federal Child Labor Law very wisely prohibits the transportation of goods in interstate commerce if children between the ages of fourteen and sixteen are employed longer than eight hours per day. It is not always possible, especially during the present war times, for employers to conform to this requirement for which our organizations were mainly responsible. If, therefore, the part-time education and part-time employment system could be introduced in our schools, generally, the children between the ages of fourteen and sixteen could follow an employment for a part of the day and continue their studies for a part of the day thus keeping such children in contact with the schools for a longer period. Where children above fourteen years of age are as yet under the laws permitted to be employed in intrastate occupations, the schools and the employers might adjust their programs so that children could alternately attend school or follow their employment either week by week, bi-weekly or bi-monthly, as the best and most practical arrangements could be made.

The chief feature which we emphasize here is to spread the representative idea of school control in all communities so that our school people will feel a more intimate touch with the activities of the trade unionists of their community as well as with representative employers and merchants. The more diligently we press this method, the better off every community will be, and the better understandings will be reached by all the active elements of society in the study and solution of weighty social and economic problems that will press upon us in the future.

The following is suggested as a Model-Part-Time Education Law for State Use:

Part-Time Compulsory Attendance School Law

"Any city, town, or district establishing vocational, trade and industrial schools, departments, or classes shall provide as a part thereof part-time classes for the education of minors over fourteen years of age who are engaged in regular employment; and the Board of Education or trustees or other like body of such city, town, or district school shall require all minors between the ages of fourteen and sixteen years employed within such city, town, or district, or minors between the ages of fourteen and sixteen years residing within such city, town, or district and employed elsewhere, who are not otherwise receiving instruction approved by the State Board for Vocational Education, to attend such part-time classes not less than four hours per week, between the hours of eight A. M. and five P. M., during the school term. The time spent by any such minor in a vocational school or class as provided herein shall be reckoned as a part of the time or number of hours that minors are permitted by law to work. Any minor attending a vocational school or class in the city, town, or district of his residence in preference to attending such school or class in the city, town, or district of his employment shall file, or cause to be filed regularly, at least once a month, with the superintendent of the city, town, or district at which such minor is employed a report of attendance, certified by the superintendent of the city, town, or district in which such minor is attending school.

"The employer of any minor between fourteen and sixteen years of age who is compelled, by the provisions of this act, to attend vocational schools or classes, shall cease forthwith to employ any minor when notified, in writing, by the superintendent having jurisdiction over such minor's school attendance that such minor is not attending school in accordance with the provisions of this act. Any employer who fails to comply with the provisions of this section shall, upon conviction, be punished by a fine of not less than ten dollars nor more than one hundred dollars for each offense."

CHARGES AGAINST ARTHUR YAGER, GOVERNOR OF PORTO RICO

Since Arthur Yager was appointed Governor of Porto Rico it has been necessary for the President of the American Federation of Labor to present to the administration many situations of injustice to workers which resulted at least in part from the failure of the Governor to understand the lives and problems of the workers of Porto Rico as well as his failure as an administrative officer to accord to them legal protection and their rights as free citizens to activities necessary for their industrial and social betterment. The situation in Porto Rico became acute as the result of a strike of thousands of agricultural workers.

Early in December the strikers formulated their demands and presented them to their employers on the sugar plantations. The sugar growers paid no attention to the petitions of the laborers. The workers kept on pressing their demands. They could do nothing else for they were receiving less than a living wage and the cost of living in Porto Rico is practically the same as that in the United States. This situation means that Porto Rican workers for years have been underfed and have lived in miserable huts and houses. As the situation in Porto Rico became increasingly acute, the Department of Labor sent a representative to the Island. The President of the A. F. of L. sent cablegrams to the Governor of the Island and to the President of the Free Federation of Workmen of Porto Rico suggesting and urging that a conference be brought about between the sugar employers and their employes that a strike might not occur in the harvest time.

We realize that sugar is an essential food and has become a war industry. Despite all efforts on the part of organized labor and the Department of Labor, the strike took place in March. There followed a period when the usual practices were employed to compel the workers to give up their strike and their demands for better conditions. The workers were not given necessary and rightful protection by the governmental agents of the Island. The situation in Porto Rico was such as to induce and lead the working people to the verge

of a revolution. Accounts of what was taking place in Porto Rico and the denial of justice to the Spanish speaking workers, who were under the jurisdiction of the United States, were carried into other Spanish speaking countries of the American continent, and even to Europe. The conditions existing there were so completely at variance with the ideals and institutions of our free Republic and for the avowed purposes for which our country was at war, that the situation was deemed injurious to our country and to our cause and that of our Allies.

When it seemed that there was no other recourse and no hope of bringing about a fair adjustment under existing conditions, President Gompers brought the whole matter to the attention of the President of the United States in the form of specific charges against Governor Yager with the request that an official investigation be made.

The charges against Governor Yager refer not only to his unsympathetic, unwise attitude and policy toward industrial affairs, but also to his dilatory tactics and failure to support necessary war activities, particularly his failure to give timely and necessary assistance to the Red Cross Society and in the organization of a local Council of National Defense. The Governor's failure to take decisive constructive action in connection with the strike of the sugar workers assumes a still more serious character when it is known that several of the sugar plantations were owned by German capital.

During the course of the strike Governor Yager denied the workers the right of free assemblage and discussion and permitted the insular police to be used in furtherance of strike-breaking plans of the sugar growers and thus followed an unwise trouble provoking policy that resulted in a very serious situation in Porto Rico.

With the view of investigating the charges against Governor Yager, the President of the United States has taken them up with the Secretary of War. The A. F. of L. and the workers of Porto Rico only ask that a fair investigation be made in order to establish facts that are necessary for remedial action. Secretary of Labor W. B. Wilson has referred the strike of the agricultural workers of Porto Rico to the National War Labor Board to investigate labor conditions on the Island.

RESOLUTION NO. 80

Resolution No. 80 which dealt with the question of citizenship and membership in trade unions, was referred by the Buffalo Convention to the Executive Council for amendment. The Council adopted the following:

WHEREAS, The protection of our national institutions and the defense of democracy are as essential to real and earned citizenship as is enjoyment of the social, economic, political and industrial benefits and blessings of our great countries; and

WHEREAS, True democracy requires that all should bear equal responsibilities in the defense of our respective countries; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor recommend to all affiliated organizations that they consider the advisability of incorporating in their constitution the following proviso: "That men coming from abroad to the United States and to Canada, or are born here of foreign parents, and before they make application for membership, or are admitted to membership in the respective organizations, they shall either be citizens of the United States, or of Canada, or shall have officially and in accordance with the law declared their intentions of becoming citizens."

REPORT ON LABOR LEGISLATION

Summary of Legislation Enacted Second Session, Sixty-Fourth Congress, and First Session and Portion of Second Session, Sixty-Fifth Congress, of Interest to Labor.

1. Enactment of the Immigration law containing the literacy test, applicable to adult aliens over sixteen years of age. The test consists of the ability to read at least forty words in some language, dialect or tongue. An adult male able to pass the reading test may, however, bring with him his illiterate children under sixteen years of age, his wife, if unable to read, his father and mother or grandfather and grandmother, if unable to read, and otherwise admissible over the age of fifty-five.

The passage of this Immigration law also comprises a co-ordination and compilation of former laws dealing with the subject. A reference to our former reports on efforts to obtain immigration legislation reveal the fact that during the twenty years of struggle, the literacy test provision was vetoed four times, (1) in 1897, (2) in 1912, (3) in 1915 and (4) in 1917. On the last occasion it was passed over the President's veto by an overwhelming vote of Congress. (Public No. 301, 2d Sess., 64th Cong.)

2. Enactment of new organic law for Porto Rico, granting citizenship rights to the people of that island. The act also contains many essential humanitarian features. (Public, No. 368, 2d Sess., 64th Cong.)

3. Federal eight-hour law, applicable to contractors doing work for the United States Government, greatly strengthened, particularly in reference to the basic wage for an eight-hour standard day and minimum overtime rates for employes of such government contractors. (Public, No. 391, 64th Cong., 2d Sess.)

4. Incorporation of provisions in all of the appropriation bills, excepting that for the Post Office Department, by which wages and salaries of Federal employes were increased; five per cent to those receiving from \$1,800 a year to \$1,200 per year, and ten per cent for those receiving less than \$1,200 per year. (Public, Nos. 309, 369, 378, 381 and 391, 64th Cong., 2d Sess.; Public, Nos. 11, 21, 64, 65th Cong., 1st Sess.)

5. Re-enactment of the original proviso in the Sundry Civil Appropriation Act, known as the Hughes amendment, prohibiting the Department of Justice from using funds provided in the appropriation for prosecuting the members of labor and farmers' organizations in their efforts to increase wages, reduce hours or improve working conditions as violations of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act. This proviso is an additional safeguard and is in harmony with the labor provisions of the Clayton law (Public 21, 65th Congress).

6. Re-enactment of the Tavenner amendment forbidding officials to use the stopwatch or other offensive time measuring devices in government arsenals, gun factories, navy yards, naval stations and other producing establishments of the government, wherein schemes for speeding up workers beyond human endurance are likely to be encouraged or devised by officers in charge. The payment of bonus or premiums for excessive production is also prohibited. This amendment was incorporated in the four large appropriation bills for the Army, the Navy, the Fortifications, and the Sundry Civil measures. (Public, Nos. 381 and 391, 64th Cong., 2d Sess.; Public, Nos. 11 and 21, 65th Cong., 1st Sess.)

7. Passage of the Vocational Trade Training law. (Public, No. 347, 64th Cong., 2d Sess.)

8. Passage of Food Control law. (Public, N. 41, 65th Cong., 1st Sess.)

9. Passage of Food Survey law. (Public, No. 40, 65th Cong., 1st Sess.)

10. Enactment of legislation amending the Judicial Code enabling longshoremen and other maritime workers to obtain compensation for injuries under the state compensation laws, better known as the Longshoremen's Compensation law. (Public, No. 82, 65th Cong., 1st Sess.)

11. Amendment to Urgent Deficiency bill providing appropriations for the Department of Labor to enable it to render better service in its Public Employment Service Bureau. (Public, 64, 65th Cong., 1st Sess.)

12. Enactment of liberal, comprehensive Compensation for Injuries law for the benefit of enlisted soldiers and sailors, and their dependents, better known as the War Risk Insurance law. (Public, No. 90, 65th Cong., 1st Sess.)
13. Enactment of War Risk Insurance law for the relief of seamen employed in the merchant marine. (Public, No. 20, 65th Cong., 1st Sess.)
14. Allowing dependents to receive pay while absent abroad in Military and Naval service. (Public No. 66, 65th Cong., 1st Sess.)
15. Providing for reimbursement to officers and seamen for property lost. (Public No. 70, 65th Cong., 1st Sess.)
16. Providing six months' gratuity to dependents of deceased sailors in the navy. (Public No. 74, 65th Cong., 1st Sess.)
17. Establishing new ratings for enginemen and blacksmiths, etc., in navy. (Public No. 88, 65th Cong., 1st Sess.)
18. Providing for housing and lands for shipyard and munition workers. (Public No. 102, 65th Cong., 2d Sess.)
19. Housing for war workers. (Public No. 149, 65th Cong., 2d Sess.)
20. Civil rights law for sailors and soldiers while in military service. (Public No. 103, 65th Cong., 2d Sess.)
21. Daylight saving law. Setting the clock one hour back the last Sunday in March and setting it up one hour the last Sunday in October thereby giving one more hour of daylight. (Public No. 106, 65th Cong., 2d Sess.)
22. Government taking over the railroads and just compensation to their owners. (Public No. 107, 65th Cong., 2d Sess.)
23. Sabotage law, preventing destruction of war material and punishment for same. (Public No. 135, 65th Cong., 2d Sess.)
24. Transportation of shipyard employes—amending the Emergency Shipping Funds provision of the Urgent Deficiency Appropriation Act empowering the President to take over such transportation as necessary to accommodate the workers. (Public No. 138, 65th Cong., 2d Sess.)
25. Amending the Naturalization laws providing that aliens in the Military and Naval Service be granted compensatory consideration under the naturalization laws. (Public No. 144, 65th Cong., 2d Sess.)
26. Draft quota—re classification of those registered. (Public Resolution No. 29, 65th Cong., 2d Sess.)
27. Registration of those becoming 21 years of age since June 5, 1917. (Public Resolution No. 30 65th Cong., 2d Sess.)
28. Granting furloughs to enlisted men to engage in industrial activities. (Public No. 105, 65th Cong., 2d Sess.)
29. Amending Espionage Act regarding punishment for disloyal utterances. (Public No. 150, 65th Cong., 2d Sess.)
30. Amending War Risk Insurance Act granting insurance to others than those to be insured. (Public Resolution No. 27, 65th Cong., 2d Sess.)
31. Amending War Risk Insurance law, Section 13, regarding regulation of compensation of claim agents. (Public No. 151, 65th Cong., 2d Sess.)
(Summary covers period up to May 18, 1918.)

Government Railroad Control Law

Under authority conferred by Congress in the statute creating the Council of National Defense, the President of the United States issued a proclamation on December 26, 1917, formally extending governmental control over all transportation systems including both land and water, excepting lines engaged in intrastate and interstate traffic devoted exclusively to transportation of passengers. While December 28, 1917, was designated as the date upon which the government would assume control of these transportation systems, yet the actual passing from private to governmental control occurred at midnight December 31, 1917. Secretary of the Treasury, McAdoo, was designated as the Director General of Railroads with full authority to conduct the operations of these vast enterprises, the control of the Director under the proclamation being practically absolute. Immediately subsequent to the government assuming control, practically all regulatory Federal laws

relating to the operation of railway and water transportation were suspended by an order of the Director General.

A recital of the occurrences from the date of the declaration of war, April 6, 1917, to the date upon which government assumed control of these transportation systems, is exceedingly interesting and emphasizes the difference between legislative theory and economic law. Prior to governmental control, there had been constituted a Railroad War Board comprising the leading railroad officials of the country. This Board devoted itself to the problem of relieving freight congestion and expediting government and private shipments. This Board was not clothed with any authority to waive the operation of any law or set aside regulations promulgated by the Interstate Commerce Commission.

Because of the magnitude of the undertaking in which we had engaged by the declaration of war, nearly every Department of Government having to do with the preparation and conduct of the war issued direct and specific orders to transportation agencies, and much confusion resulted therefrom. In endeavoring to relieve congestion and expedite the shipment of commodities designed for government use, as well as serving private interests, the Railroad War Board was confronted with a lack of motive power. Locomotives were drafted from railroad lines in the west and hurried to congested eastern territory. Approximately one hundred locomotives built for Russia were commandeered into service, as were also a large number of locomotives built for the government to equip the railroads being built in France to supply our overseas army. Even with these efforts, congestion continued, aggravated by weather conditions which added a still heavier burden on the railroads.

During the period prior to the assumption of governmental control, Congress exercised its prerogative in only one instance to waive the operation of regulative railroad law, and it is doubted whether this instance is generally known except to those who are intimate with transportation affairs. The Clayton law, the same statute in which the now famous labor provisions are carried, is known as the interlocking directorate statute, although it treats a number of other subjects. Section 10 of this law forbids railroad corporations from purchasing supplies or equipment from concerns whose boards of directors in whole or in part are likewise members of boards of directors of the purchasing corporations. Congress has waived the operation of this provision twice by the passage of a joint resolution, the last action having been taken on January 8, 1918. The operation of this section according to the context of the resolution has been suspended until January 1, 1919. This action by Congress is of no particular consequence since the government assumed control of all railroad and water transportation lines and the Director General having waived or set aside all regulative enactments, opening terminals, abandoning long and short haul regulations, etc.

With the control of the railroads passing from private to governmental control, legislation became imperative in order that a specific relationship might be established between the owners of the railroads and the government and provision made for compensation to stockholders of these transportation systems. In pursuance thereof, Senator Smith of South Carolina introduced S. 3752 on February 5, 1918, and the bill was referred to the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce and was reported with amendments on February 7, 1918. The Senate consumed several days in debating the measure, which passed with amendments on February 22, 1918. Representative Simms of Tennessee introduced a companion bill in the House on February 8, 1918, H. R. 9685, and it was referred to the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce and reported out February 9, 1918. On February 28, 1918, a motion was made in the House and adopted to strike out all after the enacting clause of S. 3752 and the House bill as amended be substituted. On March 14, 1918, the House accepted the conference report and the measure went to the President, who approved it March 21, 1918.

The outstanding features in the railroad control bill provide that during the period of federal control the railroads shall receive as just compensation an annual sum, payable from time to time in reasonable installments, for each year and pro rata for any fractional year of such federal control not exceeding a sum equivalent as nearly as may be to its average annual railway operating income for the three years ended June 30, 1917.

That any railway operating income accrued during the period of federal control in excess of such just compensation shall remain the property of the United States. The

average annual railway operating income is to be ascertained by the Interstate Commerce Commission and certified by it to the President. Its certificate shall, for the purpose of such agreement, be taken as conclusive of the amount of such average annual railway operating income.

It is also provided that any federal taxes under the Act of October 3, 1917, or acts in addition thereto of any amendment thereof, commonly called war taxes, shall be paid by the carrier out of its own funds or shall be charged against or deducted from the just compensation, and that all other taxes assessed under federal or other government authority shall be charged off in the same manner. In the case where any carrier during all or a substantial portion of the period of three years ended June 30, 1917, on account of any one or numerous causes so exceptional as to make the basis of earnings hereinabove provided for plainly inequitable as a fair measure of just compensation, then the President may make with the carrier such agreement for such amount as just compensation as under the circumstances of the particular case he shall find just.

That no carrier while under federal control shall, without the prior approval of the President, declare or pay any dividend in excess of its regular rate of dividends during the three years ended June 30, 1917; Provided, however, that such carriers as have paid no regular dividends or no dividends during said period may, with the prior approval of the President, pay dividends at such rate as the President may determine. The bill carries an appropriation of \$500,000,000, to be used by the President as a revolving fund for the purpose of paying the expenses of federal control and so far as necessary the amount of just compensation and to provide terminals, motive power, cars and other equipment, such terminals, motive power, cars and equipment to be used and accounted for as the President may direct and to be disposed of as Congress may hereafter by law provide. This revolving fund may be used in such amounts as the President may deem necessary or desirable for the utilization and operation of canals, or for the purchase, construction, or utilization and operation of boats, barges, tugs and other transportation facilities on the inland, canal, and coastwise waterways. The measure also provides for financing and refunding of obligations.

These transportation systems while under federal control shall be subject to all laws and liabilities as common carriers, whether arising under state or federal laws or at common law, except in so far as may be inconsistent with the provisions of this Act or any other Act applicable to such federal control or with any order of the President.

During the period of federal control, whenever in his opinion public interest requires, the President may initiate rates, fares, charges, classifications, regulations, and practices by filing the same with the Interstate Commerce Commission, which said rates, fares, charges, classifications, regulations, and practices shall not be suspended by the commission pending final determination.

The law further provides that the federal control of railroads and transportation systems shall continue for and during the period of the war and for a reasonable time thereafter, which shall not exceed one year and nine months next following the proclamation by the President of the exchange of ratification of the treaty of peace, although it is provided that the President may, prior to July 1, 1918, relinquish control of all or any part of any system of transportation, further federal control of which the President shall deem not needful or desirable. The last section of the bill is as follows:

"That this Act is expressly declared to be emergency legislation enacted to meet conditions growing out of war; and nothing herein is to be construed as expressing or prejudicing the future policy of the Federal Government concerning the ownership, control or regulation of carriers or the method or basis of the capitalization thereof."

As a result of the passage of this law the transportation systems of the country coming under federal control have undergone many changes with respect to management. Sufficient time has not yet elapsed to determine accurately whether federal control, with its introduction of new policies, has contributed to an increased earning power of these systems, but it is conjectured that this transitional period would be an unfair basis upon which to determine the success or failure of governmental control. The main advantage of governmental control during the period of a war is that it fortifies the government in prosecuting the contest with vigor.

Rehabilitation Bill

S. 4284 introduced by Senator Hoke Smith of Georgia provides for vocational rehabilitation and return to civil employment of disabled persons discharged from the military or naval forces of the United States, and for other purposes. H. R. 11367 introduced by Representative Sears of Florida is a companion bill. (Later S. 4557 and H. R. 12178 were introduced by same authors, being revised bills.)

This measure is a corollary of the war risk insurance measure and rounds out a beneficent and humanitarian policy to be adopted by this country. In former wars there has been left in their train a vast multitude of men who because of their injuries have been incapacitated to follow their former vocations, or have become dependents upon society. Under the spur of modern thought and action, the welfare of humanity has become the chief activity of our interest and the measures referred to are calculated to rehabilitate, reeducate, refit and return to industry in whatever capacity science and physical ability may suggest for the disabled victim of the war. In fact, with the rehabilitation measure enacted into law, coupled with the war risk insurance law, our country will have taken an advanced step in the welfare of its citizens. With the passage of this measure there will rest a Herculean task on the Federal Board for Vocational Education to perform, for these bills provide that the administration of the reeducation, refitting and returning to industry shall be in charge of the board mentioned. It is interesting to recall that the American Federation of Labor for a number of years stood sponsor for and urged the adoption by Congress of a federal vocational educational law, and its efforts were finally crowned with success. This board during its infancy (for it has only been in existence approximately a year) has extended the work of aiding the states in establishing systems of vocational training. As it is now equipped with data and an experienced personnel, it is capable to administer the provisions of the rehabilitation and reeducation bills if they are enacted into law.

The A. F. of L. is particularly interested in the reeducation and the reentry of disabled soldiers and sailors into industry. The members of our organizations will have an opportunity to perform an invaluable service to society in cooperating with the Federal Board for Vocational Education in carrying on its work. In all of the countries actively engaged in the present war, work of a similar character is being performed, and in those countries the organizations of labor are giving their hearty support and cooperation. It is perhaps unnecessary to bespeak the cooperation of the American labor movement in this great humanitarian work, for it can be confidently expected that in every locality of our country where our organizations are located, there the members of those unions will give material assistance to the carrying out of this great national humanitarian work. Representatives of the A. F. of L. assisted in the framing of the bill, and the membership will without doubt assist in the execution of the law when it is placed upon the statute books. That there may be a close cooperation, it has been suggested (and that suggestion is offered for approval) that the three resident members of the Executive Council located in Washington be authorized by the Convention to cooperate with the Federal Board for Vocational Education in assisting in administering the law when it shall have been passed. The duty of the hour requires that all classes of citizens, whether they be employers or employes, give a full measure of support and active cooperation in administering a law which has for its purpose the making of disabled soldiers and sailors productive members of society.

Victims of Industrial Accidents

The Buffalo Convention passed Resolution No. 129 dealing with workmen incapacitated by industrial injuries and being prevented thereby from following their chosen avocations, with a resolve that the American Federation of Labor make an effort to secure legislation whereby these victims of industry may be afforded an opportunity to learn a trade or occupation at which they may be enabled to earn a livelihood. This is a complex legislative problem and which will of necessity require amendments to our state Workmen's Compensation laws. An effort was made to secure data upon this question from the source from which the resolution emanated, but it was not forthcoming. However, the representatives of the A. F. of L., together with the representatives of the Federal Workmen's Compensation Board and the Federal Board for Vocational Education, held conferences during the month of April, 1918, having under consideration the enactment of a law re-

habilitating and reeducating those civil employes of the government who received injuries in the course of their employment which unfits them to follow their usual vocations. As a result of those conferences, the tentative draft of a bill has been framed for the purpose of effectually meeting this problem. It was at first proposed to have this amendment attached to what is familiarly known as the Rehabilitation bill, providing for the reeducation of disabled soldiers and sailors, but upon taking a thorough survey of the situation, it was found that this method would be impractical and would delay the passage of the Rehabilitation bill, which was considered to be extremely important. Legislation of this character is essential to the welfare of a very large number of workmen and it is the purpose of the American Federation, in conjunction with the other groups mentioned in this section, to continue efforts to the end that these victims of industry may eventually be provided an opportunity for rehabilitation, reeducation and reintroduction into industry, and thus afford an opportunity to become useful and effective members of society.

Housing Shipyard Employes

With the entrance of the United States into the world war, one of the most imperative needs was the construction of ships to transport our soldiers, food and munition supplies to France. By an act of Congress, the Emergency Fleet Corporation came into existence, empowered to construct, commandeer, and extend control over all the shipyard plants in the country. With the enormous extension of the shipbuilding enterprise to overcome the destructive submarine campaign, it developed that in many localities where shipyards were being constructed or expanded, living quarters for large bodies of workmen were entirely inadequate or in some instances entirely lacking. In order that this serious impediment might be overcome, Senator Fletcher of Florida, chairman of the Committee on Commerce, introduced S. 3389 on January 5, 1918, authorizing the United States Shipping Board Emergency Fleet Corporation to expend \$50,000,000 from the money previously appropriated to the Corporation for the purpose of purchasing, leasing, requisitioning or acquiring by condemnation or otherwise any improved or unimproved land suitable for construction thereon of houses for the use of employes of shipyards in which there were being constructed ships for the United States. In the case of disagreement as to the amount of purchase or lease prices, the Shipping Board was authorized to pay 75 per cent of the amount determined by the Shipping Board, and the parties so dissatisfied were given the opportunity to petition the United States to recover such further sum as added to such 75 per cent would make up such amount as would be just compensation. This bill passed the Senate on January 18, 1918; on February 12, 1918, the House passed the bill with amendments, and it then went to conference. The House agreed to the conference report on February 18, 1918, and the Senate agreed to it on February 26, 1918. The measure was approved by the President on March 1, 1918.

There is a provision in the bill which permits the Shipping Board to "sell, lease, or exchange such lands, houses, buildings, fixtures, furnishings, and facilities upon such terms and conditions as it may determine, to carry out the purposes of the Act." The Board is given discretionary power in the matter of building permanent or temporary structures. The reason advanced for this policy is that at some points it is believed that after the war is brought to a close the construction of ships may be abandoned, and where this enterprise is the only one in the locality, the structures would become worthless for habitations of workmen. In other localities where there is a reasonable assurance that the shipbuilding industry will continue after the war, there it is intended to erect permanent structures. The American Federation of Labor, jointly with the Department of Labor, made a representation to the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee of the House (before which committee the Housing Shipyard Employes Bill was under consideration) to the effect that the administration of this measure should be placed in the hands of the Department of Labor. As the providing of funds for the construction of shipyard housing was an urgent necessity, Secretary of Labor Wilson acquiesced in the desire of the Shipping Board to permit the measure to pass with the understanding that the expenditure of future appropriations for the housing program should be administered by the Department of Labor.

Housing for War Workers

On February 7, 1918, Representative Maher of New York, chairman of the House Labor Committee, introduced H R 9642, appropriating \$50,000,000 to be expended by the Department of Labor for housing munition and other war workers. The bill was referred to the House Committee on Labor and hearings were held, but on February 13, 1918, on a motion in the House, the bill was taken from the Committee on Labor and rereferred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds. Hearings were later had before the latter committee and a new bill introduced (substitute for Maher bill, H. R. 10265 by Representative Clark of Florida on February 26, 1918), and a favorable report was filed on February 28, 1918. The Committee on Rules reported a rule for the consideration of the bill and it was taken up and on April 2, 1918, the bill passed the House. As passed the bill in addition to the \$50,000,000 appropriated for housing for war and munition workers, \$10,000,000 was added to be used exclusively for the same purpose in the District of Columbia. The bill then went to the Senate and was referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds on April 4, 1918, and reported with amendments to the Senate on April 16, 1918. It was amended in the Senate and passed that body on May 1, 1918. The bill as passed the House authorized the Secretary of Labor to expend funds in the manner provided, but it was amended in the Senate and the administration of the funds was taken from the Secretary of Labor and placed in the hands of the President. The bill then went to conference. The House agreed to the conferees' report on May 11, 1918, and the Senate agreed to the conferees' report on May 12, 1918. The measure was approved by the President on May 16, 1918. This measure is designed to provide housing in localities where factories have been expanded because of the necessity of large production and making it imperative that housing be provided in order that these plants operate on war material and may secure and retain a sufficient amount of labor to keep these institutions in operation.

Transportation for Shipyard and Plant Employes

S. 3388 introduced by Senator Fletcher of Florida on January 5, 1918, reported out January 15, 1918, and passed the Senate on April 1, 1918. The measure then went to the House and was passed by that body on April 17, 1918. It became a law by the signature of President Wilson on April 22, 1918. This law is an amendment to section 1 of the Emergency Shipping Fund provisions of the Urgent Deficiency Appropriation Act of June 15, 1917, and empowers the Shipping Board to take possession of, lease, or assume control of any street railroad, interurban railroad, or part thereof wherever operated, and all cars, appurtenances, and franchises or parts thereof commonly used in connection with the operation thereof necessary for the transfer and transportation of employes of shipyards or plants engaged or that may hereafter be engaged in the construction of ships or equipment therefor for the United States. Under the provisions of the law the Shipping Board is empowered to take over any street railway whose lines transport employes of the shipyards to and from work, if in the judgment of the Shipping Board it becomes desirable.

Compensation for Maritime Workers

Senator Johnson of California introduced S. 4342 on April 12, 1918, and it was referred to the Senate Committee on Commerce. It provides that liabilities for the compensation provided in the act, without regard to negligence or the assumption of risk, exist against any employer or vessel for any personal injury sustained by his employes arising out of and in the course of the employment and for the death of any such employe if the injury shall proximately cause death, in the cases following:

- (1) Where at the time of the injury the employe is performing service growing out of and incidental to his employment and is acting within the course of his employment as such.
- (2) Where the injury is proximately caused by the employment, either with or without negligence or assumption of risk, and is not so caused by the intoxication or the willful misconduct of the injured employe.
- (3) Where such conditions of compensation exist, the right to recover in addition to such rights as are now provided by the maritime law such compensa-

tion pursuant to the provisions of this act, shall be the exclusive remedy against the employer for the injury or death, except that when the injury was caused by the employers' gross negligence or willful misconduct, or the gross negligence or willful misconduct of any person having control and the right to issue orders to such injured employe, and such act or failure to act was the personal act or failure to act on the part of the employer himself, or the person having the right to issue orders; then the injured employe may at his option either claim compensation under the act or maintain an action at law or in an admiralty court for damages.

(4) In all other cases where the conditions of compensation do not concur the liability of the employer shall be the same as if this act had not been passed, and nothing contained in the act shall affect the provisions of the general maritime law in respect to the right of a seaman to care, cure, or wages when falling sick or when injured in the service of a vessel or of the privilege of admission into a United States marine hospital, but the provisions of this act shall be supplementary and additional thereto. The rates of compensation include 65 per cent of the average weekly earnings for temporary total disability not to exceed 240 weeks, while in the case of permanent disability 65 per cent of earnings for a period of 240 weeks and 40 per cent thereafter during the remainder of the injured employe's life. All vessels, their owners, charterers, and insurance carriers are liable for compensation under the act.

No action has thus far (May 14, 1918) been taken upon the bill.

Workmen's Compensation

On May 21, 1917, the Supreme Court of the United States rendered a decision that persons employed as stevedores in loading and unloading vessels are engaged in work of maritime nature; that injuries received in the course of such work are maritime, and that the rights and liabilities of the parties in connection therewith are matters within admiralty jurisdiction; that since exclusive jurisdiction of all civil cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction is vested in the Federal district courts, a state could not apply its workmen's compensation law to employes engaged in this character of work. This situation involving as it did a large number of employes, the American Federation of Labor, together with others interested in this subject, sought to find some remedy whereby this condition of affairs might be relieved and the workmen employed in the character of work under discussion given adequate protection. As a result of conference a plan was evolved and Senator Johnson of California introduced S. 2916 on September 25, 1917, and Representative Gard of Ohio introduced an identical bill, H. R. 6321, September 27, 1917. This bill took the form of an amendment to the judicial code relating to the jurisdiction of the district courts, and it was thought at that time to be an adequate remedy. The bill was passed by the Senate and the House and became a law on October 6, 1917. It was the general consensus of opinion that by amending the judicial code the state compensation laws in the states along our coast lines would operate to protect workmen engaged in loading vessels and other work of a similar character, and thus eliminate the possibility of workmen and those dependent upon them from being compelled to suffer because of judicial interpretation as to lines of legal demarcation in injury cases.

Since the passage of the amendment to the judicial code, however, another serious complication has arisen in the state of Washington. The supreme court of that state has held in the case of *Jarvis vs. Daggett*, 87 Washington, 253, that the State Industrial Insurance Department can not enforce against employers the payment of premiums upon pay-rolls in maritime employment. for the reason that the commission in accepting premiums from this class of employers can not protect the employers against suits that may be brought for damages under the admiralty jurisdiction of the federal court. The Washington State Supreme Court has also held in the case of *Shaughnessy vs. Northland Steamship Co.*, 94 Washington, 325, that notwithstanding the fact that the employer has paid contributions to the Washington Industrial Insurance Department, a workman injured in admiralty may pursue his right of action against his employer, and in that case a substantial recovery was sustained amounting to some \$3,000. A report from the Industrial Insurance Commission of the state of Washington shows that a large number of men have

received injuries and because of the conflict of jurisdiction have been unable to secure any relief whatever under the workmen's compensation law of the state and are compelled to seek relief from suits under the admiralty law. Where employers operating in maritime industries that make it necessary for workmen to be employed in that zone in which two legal jurisdictions are operative, it is patent that some definite legal status should be reached so as to put this class of employers upon the same legal basis in the payment of compensation as all other classes of employers.

In approaching the solution of this question it is brought to the attention of the convention that section 4612 of the Revised Statutes defines who is a seaman. In that definition the longshoremen are not included, and therefore it is logical to assume that the obvious remedy of the employer in such cases as the one described is to contest the suit for damages upon the ground that the longshoreman is not a seaman or mariner and that he has no proper standing in a court of Admiralty.

War Risk Insurance Law Amended

S. J. Resolution 133 which passed Congress, provides that application for war risk insurance can be made by persons other than the person to be insured. This amendment to the law provides an opportunity for friends and relatives of enlisted men to apply for and secure government insurance for the benefit of those enlisted or other dependents. The President approved this resolution on April 2, 1918.

Injury to War Material Law

This bill, S. 383, was passed by the Senate on April 9, 1917, and was on the House calendar for nearly a year before securing consideration from that body. It was designed to punish those who were wilfully seeking injury or destruction of war material or of war premises or utilities used in connection with war materials. The original draft of the bill was not objectionable, for the reason that it applied only to acts designed to destroy property and retard the progress of the war.

On March 6, 1918, this bill came up for consideration in the House and ex-Speaker Cannon offered the following amendment, which was adopted:

"Whoever with intent to injure, interfere with, or obstruct the United States or any associate nation in preparing for or carrying on the war, shall conspire to prevent the erection or production of such war premises, war material, or war utilities."

This amendment changed the entire character of the bill and could not be interpreted otherwise than to prevent peaceful strikes. This amendment was one of those recurrent episodes that demonstrate the avidity with which hostile members of Congress seek to destroy or make ineffective our organizations of labor. Although it was courageously contested by Representative Keating of Colorado and Representative Nolan of California, yet the amendment passed by a vote of 255 yeas, 59 nays, 114 not voting. Immediately following the passage of this amendment, however, Representative Lunn of New York introduced the following amendment:

"That nothing herein shall be construed as making it unlawful for employes to agree together to stop work or not to enter thereon with the bona fide purpose of securing better wages or conditions of employment."

This amendment was likewise adopted by a vote of 272 yeas to 38 nays, answered present 1, not voting 117. The bill as amended by the House then went to the Senate on March 8, 1918, and the amendments adopted by the House were disagreed to and a motion adopted requesting a conference. Considerable discussion occurred in the Senate during the consideration of the amendments to the bill, and because of the divergent views of the Senators upon both of the amendments referred to, the motion was adopted calling for a conference. On March 9, 1918, the House agreed to the Senate request for a conference

and the conferees were appointed. In the meantime, however, the American Federation of Labor communicated with the conferees upon this bill and voiced its objection to the elimination of the Lunn amendment unless the Cannon amendment also was eliminated. In other words, the Federation took the position that if the Cannon amendment was to remain in the bill, the Lunn amendment should remain also, but, if it were deemed desirable by the conferees to eliminate both of these amendments, that action would be satisfactory to the Federation. On April 5, 1918, the House conferees reported back an agreement with the Senate conferees, recommending a slight but immaterial change in the wording of one section. On April 6, 1918, the Senate conferees presented to the Senate the Conference Committee's report on this bill, identical to that presented to the House. On the same day the House agreed to the Conference Committee's report and adopted it. On April 10, 1918, the conferees' report on this bill was called up in the Senate and after an extended debate went over to the following day, May 11. On May 11 the conference report was rejected in the Senate by a vote of 25 yeas, 34 nays, 36 not voting. Upon the rejection of the Conference Committee's report by the Senate, a motion was made that the Senate further insist upon its disagreement with the amendments of the House and requesting a further conference. This motion was adopted. On April 12 a motion was made in the Senate to reconsider the vote by which the conference report was rejected and that the House be requested to return the papers to the Senate. A point of order was made against this procedure; the point of order was overruled by the Chair, following which an appeal was taken and the yea and nay vote had, which resulted in the Chair being reversed. On April 15 a revised conference report was reported to the House, in which both the Cannon and Lunn amendments were stricken from the bill. The House agreed to the conference report and adopted it unanimously. On April 16, 1918, the Senate also adopted the conference report on this measure by a unanimous vote. The bill was approved by the President April 20, 1918. The debate upon this measure in the House and Senate revealed a strong inclination on the part of a number of members to insist upon drastic legislation relative to strikes.

War Finance Corporation

The extension of governmental control in the affairs of this nation deemed essential during the war finds clear and concrete expression in what is known as the War Finance Corporation law. S. 3714, providing for credits for enterprises and industries in the United States necessary or contributory to the prosecution of the war and for other purposes, passed the Senate on March 7, 1918. It passed the House in amended form on March 21, 1918. The conference report on this bill was submitted to the Senate on April 1, 1918, and adopted. On April 2, 1918, the House had under consideration the conference report on this bill and adopted same. The President approved the measure on April 4, 1918.

The capital stock of the corporation provided for in the law is \$500,000,000, all of which is to be subscribed by the United States. The Corporation is empowered and authorized to make advances upon stipulated terms as may be prescribed, for periods not exceeding five years from the respective dates of such advances, to any bank, banker, or trust company in the United States which shall have made after April 6, 1917, and which shall have outstanding any loan or loans to any person, firm, corporation, or association, conducting an established and going business in the United States, whose operations shall be necessary or contributory to the prosecution of the war, and evidenced by a note or notes, but no such advance shall exceed 75 per centum of the face value of such loan or loans. Money is also to be advanced to corporations on their bond holdings and other obligations. All advances made are to be covered by promissory note or notes and secured by notes, bonds or other obligations. The rate of interest charged on any advance is to be not less than 1 per centum per annum in excess of the rate of discount for ninety-day commercial paper prevailing at the time of such advance at the federal reserve bank of the district in which the borrowing institution is located; but such rate of interest shall in no case be greater than the average rate receivable by the borrowing institution on its loans and investments made during the six months prior to the date of advance, except that where the average rate so receivable by the borrowing institution is less than such rate of discount for ninety-day commercial paper. The rate of interest on such advance shall be equal to such rate of discount, while the War Finance Corporation always retains the power to secure additional

security at any time. In addition to the powers already stated, the law provides for the creation of a "Capital Issues Committee," consisting of seven members to be appointed by the President, whose prescribed duties are to investigate, pass upon and determine whether it is compatible with the national interest that there should be sold or offered for sale or for subscription any issue, or any part of any issue, of securities hereafter issued by any person, firm, corporation or association, the total or aggregate par or face value of which issue and any other securities issued by the same person, firm, corporation, or association since the passage of this act is in excess of \$100,000. In other words, this law is a governmental financing scheme designed to place in the hands of the government the control of the financial operations of the country. This has been deemed essential for the reason that in the prosecution of the war vast sums of money must be raised to meet the tremendous expenditure made necessary in carrying out the war activities of the nation.

Civil Rights Law

H. R. 6361, known as the Civil Rights Bill, designed to protect the equities of enlisted men in mortgaged property and otherwise extend protection to their interests at home while they are in the military service, was introduced by Chairman of the Judiciary Committee, Webb of North Carolina, on September 29, 1917, and favorably reported to the House on October 2, 1917. The bill was considered in the House and passed on October 4, 1917. It then went to the Senate. It did not reach the consideration of the Senate until February 5, 1918. It was amended and passed the Senate February 6, 1918. The bill then went to conference and the conference report was agreed to by the Senate on March 2, 1918, and agreed to by the House on March 4, 1918. The President signed the law on March 8, 1918.

The salient provisions contained in this bill require an affidavit to be filed in any action commenced in any court, specifically stating whether the defendant is in the military service or not. The court is further empowered to stay the execution of any judgment or order, vacate or stay any attachment or garnishment of property, money or debts in the hands of another, whether before or after judgment, during the period of military service or within sixty days thereafter. The law also provides that no eviction or distress shall be made during the period of military service in respect of any premises for which the agreed rent, does not exceed \$50 per month, occupied chiefly for dwelling purposes by the wife, children, or other dependents of a person in military service, except upon leave of court granted upon application therefor or granted in an action or proceeding affecting the right of possession and providing a penalty against any person who shall knowingly take part in any eviction or distress of imprisonment not to exceed one year, or fine not to exceed \$1,000, or both. The Secretary of War or the Secretary of Navy, as the case may be, is empowered to order an allotment of the pay of a person in military service in reasonable proportion to discharge the rent of premises occupied for dwelling purposes by the wife, children, or other dependents of such person. No person who has received a deposit or instalment of the purchase price under any contract for the purchase of real or personal property from any one who has entered the military service shall exercise any right of option under such contract to rescind or terminate the contract or resume possession of the property for non-payment of any instalment falling due during the period of such military service, except by action in a court of competent jurisdiction.

There are numerous other provisions which adequately protect the equities of all those who are in the military service of the United States, but the provisions of the law only apply to obligations originating prior to the date of the approval of this act (March 8, 1918), and which are secured by mortgage, trust deed, or other security in the nature of a mortgage upon real or personal property owned by a person in military service at the commencement of the period of the military service and still so owned by him. This act is one of the comprehensive pieces of legislation enacted by Congress calculated to protect the material interests of all those who are engaged in the military service.

Chinese Coolie Labor

On May 29, 1917, Mr. Kalaniana'ole, delegate in the House of Representatives from Hawaii, introduced House Resolution 93. The purpose of this resolution was to "provide for the admission into the territory of Hawaii from the republic of China, without right

to proceed to any part of the United States, under such terms and conditions and subject to such rules and restrictions as it deems advisable, 30,000 Chinese laborers." On January 17, 1918, this resolution came before the House Immigration Committee, where representations were made in favor of the adoption of the resolution. A representative of the American Federation of Labor vigorously opposed the resolution and it is still retained by the House Immigration Committee, no action having been taken.

As the result of agitation from sources which can be easily divined, there emanated from numerous portions of the country letters, pamphlets, and communications in the press advocating the abrogation of the Chinese Exclusion Law. On December 7, 1917, Senator Gallinger of New Hampshire introduced Senate Resolution 160, which is as follows:

"Resolved, That the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry is hereby directed to make careful investigation into the advisability of recommending legislation that will permit the importation of Chinese farmers into the United States under proper restrictions and regulations during the continuance of the war."

The various reasons assigned in favor of the modification of the Chinese Exclusion law were partially predicated upon the fact that Chinese have been shipped into England and France to perform menial tasks, and partially because it is assumed by advocates of cheap labor that war conditions present a favorable opportunity to break down restrictive immigration legislation. The urgent necessity for transporting immense supplies of food to our allies, and with a consequent necessity for the stimulation of production of farm products, was seized upon by cheap labor advocates to give support to this campaign; notwithstanding the fact that the Department of Labor (based upon final reports) emphatically stated that during the harvest of 1917, there was not a single bushel of grain lost because of a dearth of labor.

Contemporaneous with the consideration of these resolutions a considerable number of communications were addressed to the headquarters of the A. F. of L., urging the necessity for the abrogation of the Chinese Exclusion law upon the pretence of need for farm labor. In order to meet the campaign just starting, to modify, suspend or abrogate the Chinese Exclusion law, President Gompers answered these communications at some length. Following will be found an excerpt from one of these letters, which succinctly presents the attitude of the A. F. of L.:

"There has been for some time an effort to create a sentiment favorable to the suspension or abrogation of the law prohibiting the immigration of Chinese coolie labor. Despite your expressed desire to advocate nothing that would be detrimental to the best interest of organized labor or all of America's workers, the plan you suggest would bring deplorable consequences. Our nation is already confronted by an unsolved race problem that is acute and exigent in many localities. It would be an inexcusable error of judgment to intensify the present involved situation by a still further addition of racial complications.

"Prior to the declaration of war and immediately subsequent thereto, the employers of labor from every section of the country vociferously began an agitation for the repeal of all the labor laws of the various states and impertuned governmental officials to recommend the repeal of the labor laws which applied to industries controlled by the government. In other words, the employers of labor attempted to use the opportunity afforded by a declaration of war to destroy the standards of living and of work which had been brought about through the suffering and the sacrifice of the organized labor movement of our country. The men and women of labor of this nation have struggled in their organized capacity for over fifty years to secure and to maintain a reasonable American standard, and it was urged that the benefits which have been secured to all the people of our country as a result of their effort be nullified by repealing all the protective laws which have been secured as the result of humane efforts and the awakening of the public conscience to the imperative needs of our present civilization. These laws do not represent arbitrary regulations that can be abandoned with impunity, but are founded upon principles of human welfare and conservation of producing power. To protect human workers by properly conserving their creative power

is the basis for highest production. These protective measures adopted by legislative bodies after considered judgment, are the safeguards of the life of the Republic, and can be abandoned only with serious hazards to the future virility and potentiality of the nation.

"Now comes the demand that our country be flooded with Chinese coolie labor, which is not assimilable and which because of its docility will constitute a means through which employers in this country will drive the standards of American working people to the level of the Chinese coolie. That very docility is justification of serious apprehension, for as you say, 'These coolies will be the servants of labor and in no sense competitors.' The history of this country has demonstrated that it can not exist part slave and part free. Servile labor cost us one bloody civil war. It is our hope that wise policies may prevail and conditions averted that might result in another such conflict.

"I have wondered whether you have considered the polyglot character of our population. This country is made up of the races of the entire world. It is the great international melting pot from which there will be transmuted a race which will deserve characterization as American. If your observation has led to a study of the heterogeneous elements of America's population, you must have come to the conclusion that we have before us a tremendous task to weld these elements into a homogeneous whole, an essential characteristic of a nation.

"We are in a world war and no one has the prophetic wisdom to interpret the outcome, but if we are fighting for justice, freedom and democracy, then we should have a particular and distinct regard for the ultimate welfare of our own country and not employ means and methods which will leave us at the close of the war with a still greater problem than we had in facing the responsibilities imposed upon us by war.

"Organized labor is unalterably opposed to the modification of the Chinese Exclusion law in order to permit Chinese coolies to enter this country, no matter for what purpose. The A. F. of L. for many, many years fought for a restrictive immigration law, and assisted in securing the Chinese Exclusion Act. An overwhelming majority of the members of Congress enacted the immigration law containing a literacy test. Our advocacy of restricted immigration was based upon our knowledge of the economic situation and conditions in this country, and, in addition, having a due regard for the perpetuation of the institutions of our country. If for any reason the Chinese Exclusion law was modified or suspended, it must carry with it the modification or the abrogation of the Gentlemen's Agreement now existing between this country and Japan, which would permit large numbers of Japanese to also enter this country.

"In addition to our opposition to the modification or the suspension of the Chinese Exclusion Act, it has not been demonstrated that there is a shortage of labor which would justify the resorting to extreme measures. Whatever may be your opinion as to the effect of the importation of cheap and docile labor into this country, the history of the efforts of the working people everywhere unmistakably demonstrates that the high standard built up and maintained by intelligent and cooperative action must succumb to the insidious influences of a race of people whose hopes, ambitions and desires are gratified by a standard of living which falls far below that of a growing and fructifying citizenship.

"Even though we may be in the midst of war, and even though it were possible to adopt some measure whereby a large body of Chinese might be imported into this country for the period of the war and then deported at its close, the impress and results of coolie labor would still remain and constitute an added burden in the coming reconstruction days. Under present conditions of war, the organized labor movement has expressed itself as willing to meet the responsibilities imposed upon it, and in carrying out this policy, we are demonstrating to the government and the people of the United States our loyalty to its institutions. No labor movement of any belligerent country has taken a more advanced position than has the American Labor Movement. Even before war was declared, representatives of our movement promulgated a declaration in which its position was made clear.

While it voiced its opposition to war, yet it also declared that if events finally drew this country into the maelstrom of war, it would stand solidly behind this government. In view of the attitude of the men and women of labor, I am justified in expressing the thought that our movement is absolutely and unalterably opposed to Chinaizing any of the industries of this country.

"I therefore dissent, and emphatically dissent, from any plan looking toward the introduction of coolie labor into this country, and the organized labor movement will use every means at its command to thwart any attempt to modify or suspend the Chinese Exclusion Act."

Neither the resolution introduced by Mr. Kalaniana'ole nor Senator Gallinger's has been reported by the committees to which they were referred up to the time of closing this report. It is believed that the interests behind the program of employing Chinese coolies in this country have been checkmated for the moment, but, if not, the A. F. of L. will vigorously oppose any efforts made in the future to break down our immigration laws.

Daylight Saving Law

S. 1854, introduced by Senator Calder of New York on April 17, 1917, was referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce. The bill was reported out May 25, 1917, and passed the Senate June 27, 1917. It then went to the House and was referred to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce July 6, 1917; reported out with amendments February 9, 1918; passed the House on March 15, 1918, the Senate agreeing to the House amendments on March 16, 1918. The measure was approved by the President on March 19, 1918.

Enlisted Men in Civil Occupations

S. 3471 was introduced by Senator Chamberlain of Oregon on January 15, 1918, reported out by the Military Affairs Committee on January 18, 1918, and passed the Senate on February 5, 1918. This measure passed the House with amendments on March 8, 1918, the Senate concurring in the House amendments on March 9, 1918, and the law was signed by President Wilson March 16, 1918.

This measure is for the purpose of permitting enlisted men to be furloughed to engage in civil employment whenever in the opinion of the Secretary of War the interests of the service or of the national security and defense render it necessary or desirable. These furloughs, according to the terms of the bill, shall be granted only upon the voluntary application of such enlisted men, under regulations to be prescribed by the Secretary of War, with or without pay and allowances, or with partial pay and allowances, and for such periods as the Secretary of War may designate. The law was enacted upon the assumption that the same condition may develop here as it did in Great Britain, where it became necessary to withdraw a considerable number of skilled workmen from active service in the army for the purpose of civil employment.

Child Labor Law

At the Buffalo Convention of 1917, it was reported that on August 1, 1917, Representative Robinson of North Carolina introduced a bill, the purpose of which was to postpone the going into effect of the federal Child Labor Act until one year after the conclusion of the war. No action has been taken by the House upon this measure up to this time. It was also reported that an injunction was sought in the Federal Court of the Western District of North Carolina to restrain enforcement of the law on the ground that it was unconstitutional. The application for this injunction was made to Federal Judge Boyd, who rendered an opinion declaring the Child Labor Law unconstitutional. The position taken by those seeking the injunction was that the federal Child Labor Law is an interference with state rights. So far as the effect of the decision is concerned, however, the manufacturers of the Western District of North Carolina are obeying the law. Because of the nature of the law, it is impossible for them to disobey it. The case was appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States and arguments were held in Washington before that body on April 15 and 16, 1918. No decision at this date has been rendered.

Compensation to Orphans

Resolution No. 134, adopted by the Buffalo Convention of the American Federation of Labor in 1917, dealt with compensation to orphans. Agreeable to the context of the resolution, the A. F. of L. forwarded a communication to all State Federations requesting that in making up their state legislative programs amendments be added to the workmen's compensation laws wherever such was necessary to meet the suggestion of the resolution and their passage urged.

School Teachers' Pension Bill

Pursuant to Resolutions Nos. 23 and 133, endorsed by the Buffalo Convention of the American Federation of Labor, directing that efforts be made to secure legislation granting school teachers in the District of Columbia a system of pensions and endorsing Senate bill 640, letters were addressed to Hon. Thomas R. Marshall, Vice-President of the United States and Hon. Champ Clark, Speaker of the House of Representatives, communicating to them the action of the convention.

On January 28, 1918, Senator Hollis of New Hampshire introduced S. 3648, providing for pensions for the public school teachers of the District of Columbia, and it was referred to the Committee on District of Columbia. This bill was reported favorably February 6, 1918, and passed the Senate on February 8, 1918. The bill then went to the House and was referred to the House Committee on the District of Columbia on February 12, 1918. This bill provides for a contributory plan of administration, a certain sum of money being deducted from the teachers' salaries, each school month, the deduction not to exceed in any case 8 per cent of the annual basic salary, although no computations shall be made on a basic salary in excess of \$1,500. On reaching the age of 62 any teacher may be retired by the Board of Education on its own motion, or retirement can take place by the application of the teacher, although provision is made whereby teachers may continue in the service up to 70 years or thereafter. In cases of accident or illness any teacher who has reached the age of 52 may be retired by the Board of Education. The annuity of the teacher retired under the provision last mentioned shall be not less than \$420 per year, while others are to be retired on not less than \$480.

Convict Labor Bill

All of the provisions of the original Bill of Grievances, drawn up by the conference of officers of international unions in 1906, have been enacted into law save one. We have not yet secured the enactment of satisfactory legislation on convict labor. On December 4, 1917, S. 3076 was introduced in the Senate by Senator Hoke Smith of Georgia, which conforms with the policy of the convention actions of the American Federation of Labor in dealing with this subject.

Representative Booher of Missouri introduced H. R. 7353 on December 11, 1917, which is a companion bill. The bill provides—

"that when an emergency exists or when war is imminent, creating a demand for supplies which can not easily be produced or supplied by privately owned or conducted factories not employing convict labor, that the purchasing agents of the government subject to the approval of the President, may contract for such supplies with the superintendent or other head of any federal, naval, military, state, county or municipal governmental penal institution willing to undertake the manufacture, production and delivery of such supplies."

It is provided that the compensation to be paid for these supplies shall be fair and just, and, in so far as possible, be the prevailing price for like commodities in the vicinity of the institution furnishing them. The compensation and hours of labor for the inmates of these penal institutions performing this work shall be based upon the standard hours and wages prevailing in the vicinity, the pro rata cost of maintaining the prisoner to be deducted from his compensation. It is specifically directed that the product of the inmates of any penal institution shall not be contracted for or purchased from any private person or persons, using the labor of incarcerated men. This prohibition includes all goods, wares and mer-

chandise manufactured, produced or mined wholly or in part by convict labor, except paroled convicts.

The bill confers upon the federal government a special privilege in the manufacturing of products, in that they can be transported in interstate commerce without restriction, while the products of penal institutions not manufactured for government use, shall be subject to the operation and effect of the laws of the state or territory in which they are manufactured. This provision in reality is the crux of the bill; as it is an enabling act conferring upon the state and territories the power to prohibit the shipment into or sale within their jurisdictions of products manufactured in penal institutions. The bill authorizes the Secretary of War to establish, equip, maintain and operate in the United States Army prison and disciplinary barracks or its branches a factory or factories for the manufacture of equipment or supplies for the government; also to construct military roads and highways, and to supervise the work of county and state highway officials who may be charged with the development of the proposed roads. The Secretary of the Navy is also empowered to exercise the same authority with reference to the penal institutions under his jurisdiction.

One of the interesting features of the bill is that the Attorney General of the United States is authorized to "equip, maintain and operate at the United States Penitentiary located at Atlanta, Ga., factories for the weaving of textiles for mail sacks and other similar mail-carrying equipment for the use of the government; equip, maintain and operate at the penitentiary at Leavenworth, Kans., a factory for the manufacture of furniture and office equipment for the United States; and also to establish at McNeil Island, Wash., a pulp and paper mill for the manufacture of print and other kinds of paper for the use of the government."

It is specifically provided that these factories are not to be operated so as to abolish any existing government workshop or curtail the production within its present limits of any such government workshop.

In all of these operations it is clearly and specifically provided that compensation and hours of labor in all penal institutions furnishing supplies to the government shall be based upon the standard hours and wages prevailing in the vicinity in which the institution is located, while the actual cost of maintenance of the prisoner only will be deducted from his compensation. The penalty provision of the bill is to the effect that "Whoever shall order, purchase or cause to be transported in interstate commerce in contravention of the provisions of this law shall be fined not more than \$1,000 or imprisoned for not more than six months, or both, or for subsequent offense shall be imprisoned for not more than one year."

On January 18, 1918, a hearing was held by the House Labor Committee on H. R. 7353, and a number of amendments were rewritten and the bill was reintroduced on February 8, 1918, as H. R. 9683. On January 18, 1918, Mr. Sherley of Kentucky introduced H. R. 8978, the provisions of which were similar to the Booher and Smith bills, but with this difference, instead of providing for the equipment of the Leavenworth, Kans., and McNeil Island, Wash., penal institutions for the manufacture of furniture and paper, it only provides for the equipment of a building in Atlanta for the manufacture of cotton fabrics such as enters into the production of mail sacks, etc. This bill passed the House on May 11, 1918. While these bills are designated as war measures, it has been exceedingly difficult to secure consideration of them by Congress from the fact that there is such a tremendous amount of war legislation pending. Every energy will be exercised to the end that a constructive convict labor law shall be passed and our historic Bill of Grievances coined into legislation.

Nolan Minimum Wage Bill

April 2, 1917, Congressman Nolan introduced H. R. 152, a bill fixing the compensation of certain employes of the government on a minimum wage scale of \$3 per day. The Nolan bill having been reported on January 14, 1917, a little over a month after a special order was adopted, went out on a point of order. This bill has been endorsed by the Federation

conventions on two separate occasions. Efforts have been made since the bill was displaced to secure an opportunity for action, but thus far every effort has been futile.

On February 15, 1918, Senator Johnson of California introduced S. 3878, which is a companion bill to the Nolan minimum wage. The Senate bill is now before the Committee on Education and Labor of the Senate.

Insurance Against Unemployment

There was introduced in the House by Meyer London House Joint Resolution 189, December 13, 1917, providing for a commission to inquire into the advisability of establishing national insurance against unemployment, invalidity and sickness. This resolution was favorably reported by the House Labor Committee and came up for consideration in the House on January 16, 1918. The resolution met serious opposition, and after a spirited debate a motion to strike out the enacting clause was adopted by a vote of 199 yeas, 133 nays, 94 not voting.

Women's Suffrage

On December 18, 1917, Representative Raker of California introduced House Joint Resolution 200, proposing an amendment to the Constitution extending the right of suffrage to women. The amendment was as follows:

"Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex.

"Section 2. Congress shall have power by appropriate legislation to enforce the provisions of this article."

On January 10, 1918, the House had this joint resolution under consideration and it passed the House by a vote of 274 yeas to 136 nays, 17 not voting. It was further provided that if within seven years from the date of the submission of this article to the several states it shall have been ratified by three-fourths thereof, it shall become a part of the Federal Constitution. This resolution then went to the Senate and was referred to the Committee on Women's Suffrage. Up to about the first of May polls made in the Senate indicated that this resolution did not have sufficient support to insure its passage, and therefore no effort was made to secure a vote. As there have been several changes in the personnel of the Senate due to deaths, there now appears to be a fair chance of the resolution passing the Senate.

Suffrage for the District of Columbia

Representative Burroughs of New Hampshire on February 21, 1918, introduced in the House Joint Resolution 251, proposing amendments to the Federal Constitution extending the right of suffrage to the residents of the District of Columbia and providing also for representation in Congress, as well as affording all rights guaranteed to citizens of the states.

Education of Adult Illiterates

On March 23, 1918, Senator Smith of Georgia introduced S. 4185, a bill to require the Commissioner of Education to devise methods and promote plans for the elimination of adult illiteracy in the United States. The bill was reported out favorably on March 25, 1918. Several portions of sessions have been devoted to the discussion of the bill, but no definite action has been taken. The bill provides in substance that the Commissioner of Education under direction of the Secretary of Interior shall devise efficient, economic methods for teaching adult illiterates and men and women of meagre education in the United States, promote plans for the elimination of illiteracy, and the extension of education among the adult population, and cooperate with state, county, district, and municipal education officers and others in such work.

Wheat Price Legislation

On February 19, 1918, Senator Gore, chairman of the Senate Agricultural and Forestry Committee, favorably reported an amendment to the agricultural appropriation bill, increasing the government guaranteed price of \$2.20 per bushel to \$2.50 for the 1918 wheat.

crop. The food control law, section 14, authorizes the President to fix a guaranteed price for each of the official grain standards, for wheat as established under the United States Grain Standards Act, and at the time of the introduction of this amendment the President had fixed the price of \$2.20 per bushel for the 1918 wheat crop. This amendment was incorporated in the agricultural appropriation bill by the Senate. Upon the consideration of this amendment in the House, the amendment was stricken out by a vote of 167 to 98. At the present time, May 14, the two Houses are not in agreement and the agricultural appropriation bill is still in conference.

Standardization of Wages

On January 4, 1918, Senator King of Utah introduced Senate Resolution 174, the purpose of which was declared to be the standardization of wages paid to the employees of the government. The resolution provides "that the Committee on Education and Labor of the Senate shall inquire into the subject of wages having to do directly or indirectly with government work, and report upon the advisability of establishing standards of wages for laborers employed in such work, and to further report upon the possibility and expediency of legislation looking to the standardization of wages and the stabilization of industrial and labor conditions in the country during the pendency of the war." The resolution was referred to the Committee on Education of Labor, but no action has been taken.

Eight Hours for Women

S. 778 by Senator Robinson of Arkansas and H. R. 123 by Representative Keating of Colorado are companion bills. Their provisions prohibit interstate and foreign commerce of any article or commodity, the product of any mill, cannery, workshop, factory or manufacturing establishment, situated in the United States, in which females 16 years of age or over have been employed or permitted to work more than eight hours in any one day or more than six days in any one week.

A similar bill, H. R. 1706, by Representative Taylor of Colorado has also been introduced. These bills were introduced on April 6, 1917, April 2, 1917 and April 4, 1917, in the order mentioned. No hearings have been held upon these measures and consequently no action taken.

Protective Mine Legislation

The Senate Committee on Indian Affairs on January 17, 1918, had before it for consideration H. R. 195, which passed the House on December 12, 1917. Section 5 of the bill as passed by the House provided "that the state of Oklahoma should have the preferential right of purchase, at the appraised value thereof, upon the same terms as applied to other coal and asphalt deposit sales under the act, all coal and asphalt deposits underlying the surface heretofore purchased by the state of Oklahoma." These lands are then described minutely. It appears that these lands lie adjacent to the state penitentiary, and under the language contained in the bill it was feared that it was intended to employ convicts in the mining of this coal for commercial purposes. The Senate Committee on Indian Affairs, however, added the following amendment:

"And provided further, that said coal deposit under said land shall not be mined by convict labor for the purpose of sale to any private agencies, individual, person, or corporation, or to be sold for private or commercial purposes."

The bill as amended passed the Senate on January 18, 1918. The measure is still in conference (May 14, 1918).

Anti-Syndicalism Bill

H. R. 11464, introduced in the House on April 15, 1918, by Representative Miller of Minnesota defines criminal syndicalism, prohibiting the advocacy thereof and the advocacy of crime, sabotage, violence, or other unlawful methods of terrorism as a means of accomplishing industrial or political ends, and assemblage for the purpose of such advocacy; declaring it unlawful to permit the use of any place, building, or rooms for such assemblage;

and providing penalties for violations, the penalty ranging from \$500 to \$5,000 fine and from one to ten years imprisonment or punishment by both fine and imprisonment. No action has been taken upon this measure and the probabilities are that none will be taken.

Immigration Legislation

H. R. 3132, introduced by Representative Raker of California, was referred to the Committee on Immigration, April 14, 1917, and reported to the House, July 11, 1917, and passed the House on February 4, 1918. It was referred to the Senate Committee on Immigration on February 5, 1918, and reported out with amendments on April 12, 1918, and passed the Senate on April 16, 1918. After having been in conference for three weeks it was agreed to by both Houses and signed by President Wilson May 9, 1918. The salient provisions of the bill provide for the naturalization of aliens who have enlisted or who desire to enlist in the military service of the United States.

Proposed Minimum Wage

On April 13, 1918, Representative Keating of Colorado introduced H. R. 11431, providing for the establishment of a Wage Board in the District of Columbia and empowering same to fix wages for women and minor workers in the District. Hearings have been held before the Senate and House District of Columbia Committees. Aside from having the endorsement of the local labor organizations of the District, the Merchant and Manufacturers' Association of the District has also endorsed the bill, the President of the Association appearing on behalf of the measure at the committee hearing April 18, 1918. No further action has been taken at this date (May 14, 1918).

Municipal Ownership

On April 2, 1917, Representative Crosser of Ohio introduced H. R. 289, providing for the acquisition, ownership and operation by the Commissioners of the District of Columbia of all the street railroads located in the District of Columbia. This bill was before the House District of Columbia Committee and was reported favorably without amendment on March 25, 1918. No action has been taken up to the present (May 14, 1918).

Espionage

On January 16, 1918, Representative Webb of North Carolina introduced H. R. 8753, amending "An act to punish acts of interference with the foreign relations, the neutrality, and the foreign commerce of the United States, to punish espionage, and better to enforce the criminal laws of the United States, and for other purposes." This bill was offered as an amendment to what is familiarly known as the Espionage law, approved by the President June 15, 1917. The bill passed the House March 4, 1918, and passed the Senate April 10, 1918, with amendments. It was then sent back to the House which disagreed with the Senate amendments and requested a conference. An agreement was reached upon the bill, the Senate agreeing to the conference report on May 4, 1918, and the House agreed on May 7, 1918. The Espionage law which was approved by the President June 15, 1917, was assumed by Congress to be a necessary protective measure and made necessary by the entrance of this country into the world war. It contains restrictive provisions against obtaining information respecting the national defense with intent to use this information to the injury of the United States, or to the advantage of any foreign nation.

A literal interpretation of the law confines it to reprehensible acts designed to hamper the United States Government in its prosecution of the war. The general consensus of opinion among members of Congress was that owing to the polyglot character of our population and with no effort having been made in the past to assimilate this heterogeneous mass of people into our institutions by education or otherwise, a restrictive measure of this character was essential to protect the interests of the American Government. With an almost unrestricted immigration from every country in the world, some of which maintained as a national policy that their nationals (whether naturalized in this country or not) still were subjects of their parent governments, presented a situation which was precarious. In addition to this, the history of this war when written will contain one conspicuous feature, and

that is, the insidious propaganda which emanated from the imperial German government and spread by its agents and emissaries in every part of the world and which invaded the departments of our own government. No more striking illustration can be pointed to than the crafty campaign carried on in Russia and its demoralizing results. The American Federation of Labor yields to no champion of freedom of speech or action in its advocacy of those measures which give to the individual the widest latitude in expression of speech and to act, and its entire record has been one of consistency and persistent effort that this freedom should be guaranteed, but the A. F. of L. realizes that this country is engaged in a desperate conflict and that every fibre of the national being must be exercised to the end that we may be successful in our undertaking. The provisions of the espionage bill as literally interpreted provide punishment for those who knowingly and with full consciousness desire to hamper this government in the prosecution of the war. The amendment to this act, H. R. 8753, has passed both Houses of Congress with amendments and is before the President at this date, May 14, 1918. The provisions of this amendment go into greater detail than the original Espionage Act and provide punishment for those who say or do anything except by way of bona fide and not disloyal advice to an investor or investors, with intent to obstruct the sale by the United States of bonds or other securities of the United States or the making of loans by or to the United States, and whoever, when the United States is at war, shall wilfully cause, or attempt to cause, or incite or attempt to incite, insubordination, disloyalty, mutiny, or refusal of duty, in the military or naval forces of the United States, or shall wilfully obstruct or discourage or wilfully attempt to obstruct or discourage the recruiting or enlistment service of the United States. There is also a prohibition against those who shall wilfully utter, print, write, or publish any disloyal, profane, scurrilous, contemptuous, or abusive language about the form of the government of the United States, or the Constitution of the United States, or the military or naval forces of the United States, or the flag of the United States, or the uniform of the Army or Navy of the United States, or any language intended to bring the form of government of the United States, or the Constitution of the United States, or the military or naval forces of the United States, or the flag of the United States into contempt; or who promote the cause of its enemies, or shall wilfully display the flag of any foreign enemy, or shall by utterance, writing, printing, publication, or language spoken, urge, incite, or advocate any curtailment of production in this country of any thing or things, product or products, necessary or essential to the prosecution of the war in which the United States may be engaged, with intent by such curtailment to cripple or hinder the United States in the prosecution of the war, or shall wilfully advocate, favor, teach, defend, or suggest the doing of any of the acts or things in this section enumerated, and whoever shall by word or act support or favor the cause of the German empire or its allies in the present war or by word or act oppose the cause of the United States therein.

Borland Amendment

On December 14, 1917, Representative Borland of Missouri, during the consideration of the post office appropriation bill, offered an amendment extending the hours of government clerks from seven to eight daily. On a roll-call vote the amendment was defeated by a vote of 249 yeas to 92 nays. Under the present law, the government clerks are required to work seven hours per day. There is a specific provision in the law which authorizes the head of each department of government to require these clerks if necessary to work overtime without additional compensation. During the period of the war many of the departments have required clerks to work overtime and they have done so without making any complaint. No department of government has requested that the law be changed, or in fact, has there been any desire expressed by any official in an administrative position in the government that the statute relating to the hours of labor for federal clerks be changed, but is the conception, or rather mania, of Representative Borland to amend the statute compelling these clerks to work eight hours per day.

On January 19, 1918, during the consideration of the Indian appropriation bill, Mr. Borland again introduced his eight-hour amendment to that measure and was again defeated. During the consideration of the agricultural appropriation bill on February 1, 1918, Mr. Borland succeeded in securing the passage of his hour-lengthening amendment to that bill. In this form the bill went to the Senate and an effort was made in the Senate Agriculture

and Forestry Committee to expunge the Borland amendment, but the effort was futile and the bill was reported favorably to the Senate on February 11, 1918.

The federal clerks in meeting the issue declared they had no objection to Congress establishing by law the basic eight-hour workday, but that in doing so Congress should accord the same treatment to the federal employes of the government as it did to its employes in the arsenals, gun factories, and other works of the government; that is, providing for payment of time and one-half for all hours worked in excess of eight. A provision in the naval appropriation law, approved March 4, 1917, explicitly provides:

"That in case of national emergency, the President is authorized to suspend provisions of law prohibiting more than eight hours labor in any one day of persons engaged upon work covered by contracts with the United States;

"Provided further, that the wages of persons employed upon such contracts shall be computed on a basic day rate of eight hours work with overtime rates to be paid for at not less than time and one-half for all hours worked in excess of eight hours."

The clerks based their position upon the provisions of the foregoing section. During the consideration of the agricultural appropriation bill in committee of the whole in the Senate on March 15, 1918, an amendment was added providing that the Borland amendment should be limited to the period of the war. An amendment by Senator Sheppard of Texas to strike out the Borland amendment was defeated by a vote of 29 nays to 28 yeas. Subsequently an amendment by Senator Williams of Mississippi requiring that all time worked in excess of eight hours should be paid for at the rate of time and one-half was ruled out on a point of order. On March 21, 1918, when the bill was reported out of committee of whole to the Senate, a motion was made by Senator Shafroth of Colorado to suspend the rules and consider an amendment providing for time and one half for all hours worked in excess of eight hours. Senator Sheppard then moved to strike out the Borland amendment, which carried by a vote of 40 to 23. The bill then went to conference and the conferees reported to both Houses with the Borland amendment stricken out.

When the legislative, executive and judicial appropriation bill came up for consideration in the House on March 15, 1918, Mr. Borland again offered his celebrated hour-lengthening amendment, which was added to the bill by a vote of 128 for to 88 against, and the bill passed and was sent to the Senate with the Borland amendment. The Appropriation Committee of the Senate in reporting the legislative, executive and judicial bill to the Senate on April 19, 1918, eliminated the Borland amendment. The bill then went to conference. A report from the conferees to both Houses was to the effect that there were two provisions still in disagreement, one the matter of eliminating or discontinuing the subtreasuries of the United States, and the other the Borland amendment, the Senate insisting that the Borland amendment should be stricken from the bill. The House, in consideration of the conferees' report on the legislative, executive and judicial bill by a vote of 159 to 131 instructed the House conferees to insist upon the Borland amendment, and asked for further conference. The conferees have not to this date (May 14, 1918) submitted their report to either House.

Wage Raise for Federal Employes

The Legislative, Executive and Judicial Appropriation Bill, H. R. 10358, which passed the House on March 15, 1918, provided for a flat raise of certain classes of federal employes of \$120 per year (this does not include employes in the postal service). The limit of this increase is fixed to apply to those receiving a maximum salary of \$2,000 per year. According to the phraseology of the bill, this increase did not apply to those departments of government where lump sums are appropriated to defray the expenses incurred in the employment of workers. The Senate reported and passed this bill on April 16, 1918, in amended form. The Senate bill provides that the maximum salary upon which this increase applies shall be \$2,500 per year, and also that the employes working in departments where lump sum appropriations are made shall participate in the increase. The bill is still in conference on this date (May 14, 1918).

Taylor System Again

The Naval Appropriation Laws for a number of years have carried a provision against the use of the so-called Taylor or Emerson stop-watch or time-measuring device, intended to overspeed the employes in the various works operated by the government. When the current Naval Appropriation bill was before the House on April 20, 1918, Congressman Browne of Wisconsin moved to strike this provision out, but the motion was lost. On May 4, 1918, although the Naval Appropriation Bill was not under discussion in the Senate, Senator Gallinger offered an amendment to the bill to strike out the section just referred to and it was ordered printed and referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

Conscription Law

Senate Joint Resolution 123, otherwise known as the Quota Bill, directing that quotas of first-class drafted men be based on available registrants instead of population ratio has been adopted by both Senate and House and has been signed by the President.

Senate Joint Resolution 124, provides for the registration for military service of all male persons of the United States, or residing in the United States, who since the 5th day of June, 1917, and on or before the day set for registration by proclamation by the President, attained the age of 21 years. An interesting feature of the discussion of this measure in the Senate was the introduction by Senator New of Indiana of an amendment providing that all registered male persons who have attained the age of 19 years shall be subject to military training in accordance with regulations to be prescribed by the President, but shall not be called for active service until they have attained the age of 21 years. This amendment was known as the Universal Service Amendment, and after a lengthy discussion it was rejected, the vote being 26 yeas, 36 nays, not voting, 33. The President signed S. J. Res. 124, on May 20, 1918.

Unlawful Associations

S. 4471 introduced by Senator Walsh of Montana, on May 2, 1918, and passed by the Senate on May 6, 1918, declares unlawful associations purposing by physical force, violence, or injury to bring about any governmental, social, industrial, or economic change in the United States, and prescribing punishment for persons engaged in the activities of such associations, and for other purposes. The law provides "That any association, organization, society, or corporation, one of whose purposes or professed purposes is to bring about any governmental, social, industrial, or economic change within the United States by the use, without authority of law, of physical force, violence, or physical injury to person or property, or by threats of such injury, or which teaches, advocates, advises, or defends the use, without authority of law, of force, violence, or physical injury to person or property or threats of such injury, to accomplish such change or for any other purpose, and which, during any war in which the United States is engaged, shall by any means prosecute or pursue such purpose or professed purpose, or shall so teach, advocate, advise, or defend, is hereby declared to be an unlawful association."

It further provides that while the United States is engaged in war who shall act or profess to act as an officer of any such unlawful association, or who shall speak, write, or publish, as the representative or professed representative of any such unlawful association, or become or continue to be a member thereof, or who shall contribute anything as dues or otherwise to it or to anyone for it, shall be punished by imprisonment for not more than ten years or by a fine of not more than \$5,000, or by both such fine and imprisonment. It further provides that while the United States is engaged in war, any person who knowingly prints, publishes, edits, issues, circulates, sells, or offers for sale or distributes any book, pamphlet, picture, paper, circular, card, letter, writing, print, publication, or document of any kind in which is taught, advocated, advised, or defended, or who shall in any manner teach, advocate, advise, or defend the use, without authority of law, of force, violence, or physical injury to person or property, or threats of such injury, as a means of accomplishing any governmental, social, industrial, or economic change, or otherwise, shall be punished by imprisonment for not more than ten years or by a fine of not more than \$5,000, or by both such fine and imprisonment; and also that any owner, agent, or superin-

tendent of any building, room, premises, or place who knowingly permits therein any meeting of any such unlawful association, or of any subsidiary or branch thereof, or, during any way in which the United States may be engaged, any assemblage of persons who teach, advocate, advise, or defend the use, without authority of law, of force, violence, or physical injury to person or property, or threats of such injury, shall be punished by imprisonment of not more than one year, or by a fine of not more than \$500, or by both such fine and imprisonment.

In the discussion of this measure on the floor of the Senate Senator Walsh took occasion to say that this was not intended in anywise to affect the legitimate organizations of labor. Senator Borah of Idaho in a conference with a representative of the American Federation of Labor stated that Senator Cummins and himself had had under advisement this measure, and it was their judgment that it could not be construed in any way as applying to the legitimate organizations of labor. Senator Walsh in a similar manner made the statement that the law was not intended in any manner to affect the status of the legitimate organized labor movement. This measure is passed under the war power granted to Congress under the Constitution.

Fire Prevention Laws

At the Buffalo Convention Resolution 88 dealt with the loss of life and property through fire, and the Convention took favorable action on the passage of state and national legislation which will relieve the present great loss of life and property caused by fire. Communications were addressed to the State Federations of Labor relative to this subject, and the responses to these communications show that the following states have fire prevention laws: Arkansas, Colorado, Connecticut, District of Columbia, Georgia, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, New Hampshire, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Tennessee, Texas, Vermont, Virginia, Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin.

In order that the various statutes effective in the various states may be increased in their effectiveness, it is essential that the various organizations engaged in the building industry should seek such amendments as would carry into effect the purposes of the resolution referred to.

The entire matter is brought to the attention of the convention for the purpose of affording opportunity to make further specific recommendations in dealing with this subject in the future.

Second-Class Mail Rates

As will be noted by the report to the Buffalo Convention of the American Federation of Labor, efforts were made to prevent the increase of rates on periodicals enjoying the second-class mailing privilege, contained in the war revenue bill passed by Congress. In that effort we were unsuccessful, although publications falling under the classification of religious, educational, scientific, philanthropic, agricultural, labor or fraternal organizations or associations, not organized for profit and none of the net income of which inures to the benefit of any private stockholder or individual, irrespective of zone, are increased only from one to one and one-eighth cents per pound, or fraction thereof, on July 1, 1918, to July 1, 1919, and on and after the latter date one and one-fourth cents per pound, or fraction thereof.

In this measure there was evolved what is known as a zone system similar to that now in operation by the parcel post, the rates being graduated in a similar manner. This zone system, however, applied to all publications except those specifically mentioned above. Another feature of the law was the increase of rates on periodicals carrying over 5 per cent of their total space in advertisements. As reported to the last convention every effort has been made to have the enforcement of the rates postponed. However, the sentiment in Congress seems to be strongly in favor of retaining the stipulated rates in the War Revenue Bill. In addition, there is a considerable sentiment even to raise the present level of these rates. There have been representations made by Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo to the effect that he deems it essential that the War Revenue Bill be amended in

such manner as to produce a much larger revenue than is now being collected by the government. While there seems to be much opposition in Congress to re-opening the War Revenue Measure, yet it is apparent that with the tremendous expenditures of this government in conducting the war, there must be a substantial increase in war revenue, or the bonded indebtedness be increased to such proportions as to raise the annual interest payments to a prodigious sum. As a matter of fact the indications are that it will become necessary for the government to increase its revenues. Every effort will have to be exercised in opposition to a still further increase in the postal rates. The A. F. of L., however, will do everything possible at least to maintain the present rates, while at the same time giving its support to any movement to reduce the present second-class rates to their former level.

On May 16, 1918, Senator Watson of Indiana, during the consideration of the Post Office Appropriation Bill, made a strong statement against the increase of the second-class postal rates, stating that in his judgment, because of the ever-increasing price of print paper and because of the constant enhancing of wages, the raise in postal rates was unfair to the press of the country. Senator Watson further stated that he was violating no committee secrets to say that a majority of the membership favored postponing the operation of the law for one year, because he believed the quantity of advertising and the value of the work done by the newspapers and the press generally of the United States at this time was beyond any calculation. In taking issue with the statements made, Senator Thomas of Colorado introduced a communication from the President of the National One Cent Letter Postage Association, which went into detail with reference to the cost of the transportation and distribution of the second-class mail handled by the Post Office Department of the government. In the discussion of this measure, it was stated that second-class mail matter constitutes about four-fifths of the mail that is carried and distributed by the Post Office authorities, with a deficit in the carrying of second-class mail of \$70,000,000 during 1917. Because of the parliamentary situation, no amendment could be offered during the consideration of the Post Office Appropriation Bill to postpone the enforcement on July 1, 1918, of the new postal rates on second-class matter, nor any other legislation that could be considered as new legislation.

District of Columbia Two-Platoon System

Representative Van Dyke of Minnesota introduced H. R. 11231, on April 4, 1918, the provisions of which propose to regulate the hours of duty of the officers and members of the Fire Department of the District of Columbia. This is a bill providing for the two-platoon system. It was passed in the House on April 22, 1918. The measure is now before the Senate Committee.

Postal Employees' Wage Increases

The wage increases for postal employees were incorporated into measures affecting only the postal service and acted upon separately from the wage measure affecting other Federal employees. The officials of the American Federation of Labor cooperated with the representatives of the affiliated postal organizations in acquainting the Congress with the urgent need of granting substantial increases to the various groups of postal workers. On December 17, 1917, another hearing before the House Post Office Committee was had and made an oral presentation of facts in which was included the expression of the Buffalo Convention on the subject of postal wage increases. They urged the passage of the Madden and Van Dyke bills, which proposed a reclassification of the salaries of post office clerks, railway mail clerks, and city letter carriers, and the attention of the committee was called to the necessity of giving rural carriers, printers, laborers and other classes of postal employees increases in compensation to offset living costs that had soared while postal wages remained stationary.

Again on February 21, 1918, argument was made before the House Rules Committee for a special rule making possible the early consideration of the postal employees' wage measure which had been reported from the House Post Office Committee. The Rules Committee reported out the rule as requested and on March 26, after a three-day discussion, the House passed what was known as the Moon bill, containing amendments sponsored by Representatives Madden and Tague, reclassifying the salaries of post office clerks,

city letter carriers and railway mail clerks, and providing for percentage increases to other groups of postal employes.

The Senate Post Office Committee has incorporated some of the features of the House Moon bill into the postal appropriation bill and the entire subject-matter of postal wage increases is at this writing (May 22) under discussion by the conferees of the House and the Senate on the postal appropriation bill.

Subject to a slight revision by the conferees the eventual outcome will approximate a \$200 increase in compensation under a temporary reclassification law to post office clerks, city carriers and railway mail clerks, with increases of twenty and fifteen per centum to other groups of employes, amounting in the aggregate to \$45,000,000.

First Things First

With the declaration of war by Congress on April 6, 1917, the legislative duties of the American Federation of Labor have been enormously increased. A great mass of legislation has been introduced, most of which required careful scrutiny in order that the interests of Labor might be adequately protected from the passage of any legislation which would adversely affect the organizations of labor. We are living in stress and storm. Times are abnormal. The character of considerable legislation introduced, if enacted into law, would seriously invade the normal and natural rights of the working people of the country. To perform this service has required constant attention and incessant endeavor to protect the rights and interests of the workers.

The observations are here made with a view to suggesting that while this country is engaged in the present conflict our efforts should be directed more particularly to great and fundamental issues. While we appreciate that there are many needed legislative reforms, yet it is more essential that the Federation direct its attention and activities to fundamentals. Therefore, with that in mind, it is confident in its hope that the delegates to this convention will appreciate the situation and give material assistance in carrying the suggestions into effect.

CARPENTERS—BRIDGE AND STRUCTURAL IRON WORKERS

The Buffalo Convention directed "that inasmuch as the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers' International Union was not represented in the Buffalo, 1917, Convention of the Building Trades Department, the subject-matter contained in Resolution No. 160 be referred by this convention to the next convention of the Building Trades Department." The entire subject-matter of the Carpenters—Bridge and Structural Iron Workers will be found upon pages 127-128, 164-165, 210, 434-439, 445-446 of the printed proceedings of that convention.

At our meeting in February, by our direction President Gompers addressed the following communication to President Donlin of the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor:

WASHINGTON, D. C., February 11, 1918.

Mr. JOHN DONLIN, *President,*
Building Trades Department,
A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER: The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor has been in session yesterday, Sunday and today, February 10 and 11, 1918. We have had under discussion the subject-matter of Resolution No. 160 of the Buffalo Convention, the substitute offered by Delegate Morrin to the committee's report thereon.

The E. C. begs to say that it has reached the following conclusion upon the subject:

"The E. C. of the A. F. of L. having under consideration the action taken by the Buffalo Convention upon the substitute motion offered by Delegate Morrin of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers to a report of the Building Trades Committee finds as follows:

"Resolution No. 160 by the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers aimed to have the A. F. of L. convention instruct the E. C. of the Building Trades Depart-

ment not to annul the decisions referred to in Resolutions 14 and 21 introduced in the B. T. D. convention by the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners and by the International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal Lathers.

"The report of the Building Trades Committee to the A. F. of L. Convention recommended that as the subject had been referred by the Building Trades convention to its E. C. that Resolution No. 160 be also referred to that body.

"The substitute offered by Delegate Morrin to the committee's report referred Resolution No. 160 to the next convention of the Building Trades Department.

"Section 5 of the general rules governing departments specifically provides that affiliated organizations should comply with the actions and decisions of the departments, subject to appeal therefrom to the E. C. or the conventions of the A. F. of L.

"As Resolution No. 160 and the substitute motion offered to the committee's report contained no appeal from action by the Building Trades Department, therefore the subject is herewith referred to the Building Trades convention with information that the A. F. of L. can only deal with questions of the kind upon appeal.

"The Building Trades Department and its E. C. are herewith informed that as they are chartered to transact the Building Trades affairs of the A. F. of L., the above reference of this subject to their convention does not interfere with their action taken at their Buffalo Convention on Resolutions 14 and 21, and that said action was within constitutional authority as per the established rules and regulations."

We are informed that the E. C. of the Building Trades Department has been in session for several days and will hold another session. The above is communicated to you as promptly as possible in order that it may reach you and your E. C. in time before adjournment.

Fraternally yours,

SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President, American Federation of Labor.

Under date of March 4, 1918, President J. E. McClory of the International Union of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers gave official notice of protest and an appeal from the action of the E. C. to this convention.

SHEET METAL WORKERS—STOVE MOUNTERS

At a conference on May 6 between the representatives of these two organizations and Secretary Frank Morrison representing the American Federation of Labor, in conformity with the action of the Buffalo Convention, the following understanding was reached:

1. The Sheet Metal Workers agree that in the event of the stove mounters agreeing to amalgamate with the Sheet Metal Workers that charters be issued to the stove mounters free of charge, and that their members be placed in immediate good standing and in full benefit.
2. The Sheet Metal Workers agree to place at least one permanent organizer in the field, said organizer or organizers to be Stove Mounters; he or they to devote their time to the interests of that industry.
3. The Sheet Metal Workers further agree that a Stove Moulder shall be a member of the Executive Board of the amalgamated organization.
4. In any industry where members of the two organizations are employed, it is agreed that all members of both organizations shall become members of one separate and distinct local.
5. It is further agreed that this agreement to become final and binding shall be ratified by a referendum vote of the Stove Mounters' International Union.

The Executive Council will continue to be helpful in bringing about the consummation of this agreement and aiding in uniting these two organizations for their mutual advantage and that of the membership and the men engaged in the trades and occupations affected.

FLINT GLASS WORKERS—MACHINISTS

The directions of the Buffalo Convention in the case of the Flint Glass Workers—Machinists will be found upon pages 124-125, 387-389 of the printed proceedings of that convention. The officers of the Flint Glass Workers and the Machinists were directed to comply with the findings of the representative of the American Federation of Labor in this case as approved by that convention.

The Flint Glass Workers protest that the Machinists have failed to abide by the decision, but that on the contrary the Machinists entered into an agreement with an employing company the provisions of which were in direct conflict with the decision of the A. F. of L. The officers of the A. F. of L. have exerted every effort to be helpful in the matter but without bringing about any change in the situation.

JEWELRY WORKERS—METAL POLISHERS—MACHINISTS

There was brought to the consideration of the Executive Council the jurisdictional dispute between the Jewelry Workers, the Metal Polishers and the Machinists. The representatives of these organizations presented to us their respective claims of jurisdiction, with arguments in support thereof. The E. C. decided that:

1. Metal polishing comes under the jurisdiction of the Metal Polisher's International Union.
2. That where jointly employed the Metal Polishers and the Jewelry Workers shall combine their action for the purpose of securing improved conditions.
3. That the International Association of Machinists has jurisdiction over tool and die-making.
4. That where jointly employed the Machinists and the Jewelry Workers shall coordinate their effort for the purpose of securing improved conditions of employment.

CAPMAKERS—HATTERS

The last convention directed that if the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North America failed to comply with the decision of the Baltimore Convention and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor by April 1, 1918, that organization should stand suspended.

A special convention of the Capmakers was held on January 1, 1918, for the purpose of considering the decisions of the Baltimore and Buffalo Conventions of the A. F. of L. The special convention adopted a series of preambles and resolutions declaring that it was impossible for the organization to comply with the decision of the A. F. of L. and providing that the resolution should be referred to referendum vote of the membership. The referendum vote was 7,011 for and 19 against the resolution of the Capmakers' special convention.

Therefore, on April 1, 1918, the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North America was automatically suspended from affiliation to the A. F. of L.

CARPENTERS—SHEET METAL WORKERS

The last convention decided that the President of the American Federation of Labor and the President of the Building Trades Department should use their good offices in assisting the presidents of the two contending organizations to come to a final adjustment of this long drawn-out controversy. As yet their efforts have not been crowned with success.

COOPERS—CARPENTERS

In conformity with the instructions of the Buffalo Convention for a conference between the representatives of these two organizations regarding the question of jurisdiction over the manufacture and erection of wooden tanks, efforts were made to arrange for a conference. At the time this report is written, the conference has not been held, but it is anticipated that it will occur in the very near future. We hope to be able to make a later report to the convention upon this subject.

PAINTERS—LONGSHOREMEN

The representatives of the Brotherhood of Painters complained to the Buffalo Convention against transgression of jurisdiction on the part of the Longshoremen's association. In conformity with the directions of that convention efforts were made to have the representatives of the two organizations meet in conference, but at the time this report is prepared, a time convenient for both parties has not been agreed upon.

MACHINISTS—CARPENTERS

The Executive Council reported to the Buffalo Convention that though the representatives of the Machinists and the Carpenters had held conference for the purpose of endeavoring to work out a plan to apply to all disputed cases of jurisdiction in the erection of machinery, no satisfactory understanding had been reached and that the matter was still under negotiation between them.

The convention directed that the representatives of the two organizations should continue to meet in conference to settle their differences in accordance with the understanding reached at the Baltimore Convention and that in the meantime the action and decision of the Philadelphia Convention be held to be in force and effect. The Machinists protest that the Carpenters have failed to comply with the directions of the A. F. of L. but that on the contrary they have declared that they will continue to maintain for their membership the work of installing machinery.

We have endeavored since the Buffalo Convention to have the officers of the two organizations meet in conference but without success.

LITHOGRAPHERS—PRINTING TRADES

The Buffalo Convention directed the Executive Council to draw up a plan of amalgamation to be put into effect April 1, 1918, or as soon thereafter as the E. C. might determine, the organization or organizations failing to become part of the amalgamation to stand suspended.

We authorized President Gompers to carry out the instructions of the Convention. He met in conference with the representatives of the several organizations on March 30. The plan of amalgamation as above provided is as follows:

Plan of Amalgamation

The conventions of the American Federation of Labor have decided that the members of the Lithographers' International Union should become amalgamated with the Photo-Engravers' and the Printing Pressmen's International Unions. To the E. C. was assigned the duty of devising the plans upon which the amalgamation should be accomplished. Effort was made to bring about a plan of amalgamation and for that purpose conferences of the representatives of the organizations were held, the Lithographers' representatives declining to participate in the plan and insisting that the E. C. prepare a plan which is to be submitted to the organizations involved for acceptance or rejection.

At a conference held in the offices of the A. F. of L. in which the representatives of the organizations in interest participated, and after some discussion, I made the following tentative suggestions as the plan of amalgamation:

1. That in principle and in effect the amalgamation of the membership of the Lithographers' International Union accept the decision of the A. F. of L. upon the following basis:

(a.) The lithographers proper where they have a local union shall become a local union of the Photo-Engravers' International Union and receive a separate charter from the Photo-Engravers' International Union without cost, the membership to be accepted without initiation fee and placed in good standing in the Photo-Engravers' International Union;

(b.) The pressmen in the lithographic trade where they have a local union shall become a local union of the International Printing Pressmen's Union and receive a separate charter from the Printing Pressmen's International without

cost, the membership to be accepted without initiation fee and placed in good standing in the Printing Pressmen's International Union;

(c.) That the Photo-Engravers' local union and the Lithographers' local union maintain a joint committee to deal with their joint interests in the locality in which they are employed;

(d.) That the local union of the pressmen in the lithographic trade and the Printing Pressmen's local union maintain a joint committee to deal with their joint interest in the locality in which they are employed;

(e.) The lithographers' local unions shall have a member of the General Executive Board of the Photo-Engravers' International Union elected exclusively by the membership of the local unions of the lithographic trade;

(f.) The local unions of the pressmen in the lithographic trade shall have a member of the General Executive Board of the International Printing Pressmen's Union elected exclusively by the membership of the local unions of the pressmen in the lithographic trade;

(g.) The election of members of the executive board of the lithographers and the pressmen's unions in the lithographic trades, as provided herein, shall occur at the same time and under the same conditions as the election of the general officers and executive board of the International Photo-Engravers' Union of North America, and the Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America;

(h.) That the Photo-Engravers' International Union shall not permit the label of the International Union or of the Allied Printing Trades Council to be placed upon any work in which the lithographers' work enters unless the lithographers employed on such work are members of the lithographers' local union under the Photo-Engravers' International Union;

(i.) That the International Printing Pressmen's Union shall not permit the label of the International Union or of the Allied Printing Trades Council to be placed upon any work in which the work of the pressmen in the lithographic trade enters unless the pressmen in the lithographic trade employed on such work are members of the local union of pressmen in the lithographic trade under the International Printing Pressmen's Union;

(j.) Wherever there are members of unions of lithographers and the pressmen in the lithographic trade, who are now entitled to benefits in excess of those provided by the Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association, the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union and the International Photo-Engravers' Union of North America shall make provision to meet and supply such benefits;

(k.) Members of lithographers' local unions and the members of the pressmen in the lithographic trades shall assume and contribute the financial obligations such as dues, assessments, etc., other than initiation fee as equally as may be required of the members of the International Printing Pressmen and Photo-Engravers' Unions;

(l.) Every effort shall be made by the officers and the organizers to thoroughly organize the men working in all branches of the lithographic work; that cooperation and mutual helpfulness for the best interests of all the workers involved shall be the guiding principle and conduct of all under the respective jurisdictions of the Photo-Engravers' International Union of North America and the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America.

We fully approve the plan President Gompers submitted and recommend its adoption by this convention and that the organization or organizations failing to comply therewith shall, on August 1, stand suspended.

TILE LAYERS—BRICKLAYERS AND MASONS

The Executive Council has given very thoughtful and careful consideration to the appeal of the Ceramic, Mosaic and Encaustic Tile Layers' and Helpers' International Union against the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor in the case of jurisdictional controversy between the Ceramic, Mosaic and Encaustic Tile

Layers' and Helpers' International Union and the Bricklayers' and Masons' International Union. The representatives of the contending organizations were afforded full opportunity to present to us all documents and to make such arguments as they desired in support of their respective claims. We, thereupon, declared as follows:

"In the appeal to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor by the Tile Layers against the action of the Buffalo Building Trades Department Convention with reference to ordering amalgamation of the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union and the Ceramic, Mosaic and Encaustic Tile Layers' and Helpers' International Union governing the Tile Laying industry, we hold as a general expression (and as is set forth in section 5, general rules) that affiliated organizations 'should comply with the actions and decisions' of the department.

In this instance the subject was not alone a jurisdictional contention and decision with which both parties 'should comply' but extended to amalgamation of the parties in interest as being in the opinion of the convention the best general solution of the whole question.

Shorn of verbiage and detail, this action reduced the proceedings to Tile Laying as recognized in the Tile Layers' charter of affiliation in the A. F. of L. and in the B. T. D. being transferred to the B. M. & P. I. U. and that the members of the former should go into the latter and that the Tile Layers as a separate international union would cease to exist and therefore would have to give up its charter in the A. F. of L. and in the B. T. D.

We are not called upon to go into the merits of the subject in dispute. Instead, our action is desired on the legality of procedure of the B. T. D. Convention on the subject at its Buffalo Convention.

In this relationship and with an appeal being taken against the action of the department, the existence of the Tile Layers' charter in the A. F. of L. as well as in the department is affected; and in the A. F. of L., unless there was mutual consent of the parties in interest, a two-thirds vote of the convention is essential to revoke the charter. This fact indicates, therefore, that the subject-matter is more for decision of the A. F. of L. Convention than for decision of its E. C., so we recommend that the action of the B. T. D. Convention on this subject and the appeal therefrom be referred to the St. Paul, Minnesota, A. F. of L. Convention for consideration and action.

With reference to the contention over the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department, revoking the charter of the Tile Layers at its meeting at headquarters in May, 1918, we hold that the subject is not officially before us until it has been reported and acted upon by a B. T. D. Convention.

In compliance with the decision reached this case is referred to this convention for consideration and action.

CARRIAGE AND WAGON WORKERS—CHANGE OF TITLE

The Carriage and Wagon Workers' International Union having failed to comply with the decision of the American Federation of Labor to discontinue the use of the words "Automobile Workers" in its title, was automatically suspended from affiliation to the A. F. of L. on April 1, 1918.

TO AMALGAMATE TEXTILE WORKERS

The last Convention directed the amalgamation of the three organizations in the textile trades—that is, the United Textile Workers of America, the Chartered Society of Amalgamated Lace Operatives, and the International Spinners' Union—the terms of amalgamation to be formulated by the officers of the American Federation of Labor; the charter of the organization or organizations failing to comply therewith to be suspended. By direction of the Executive Council the organizations were so advised.

A conference between the representatives of the three organizations was held. The conference reported to the E. C. their failure to agree upon terms of amalgamation.

Secretary Gould of the Chartered Society of Amalgamated Lace Operatives entered

protest against the suspension of its charter, taking the ground that the plan of amalgamation had not been formulated by the officers of the A. F. of L.

The E. C. has been exceedingly busily engaged with the work of our Federation and the general labor movement. We therefore have been unable to formulate a plan for the amalgamation of the three organizations in question. We have directed that two of the organizers of our Federation shall be appointed for the purpose of meeting with the representatives of the three organizations involved for the purpose of endeavoring to formulate a plan to bring about amalgamation, the two organizers to report to the E. C., and set August 1, 1918, as the time limit within which the organizations shall accept the terms formulated and approved, or the offending organizations have their charters revoked on the date named.

ORGANIZATION OF WOMEN WAGE-EARNERS

There are in the employ of the American Federation of Labor as special organizers nine women trade unionists. They have given and are giving excellent service in the campaign for the organization of wage-earners, and particularly women workers.

The Buffalo Convention referred to the Executive Council the resolution (No. 105) requesting that the E. C. be instructed to devise ways and means for more effectively organizing the women workers of the country so as to protect their interests and maintain the wage standards in the industries where men are being replaced by women.

The officers of all national and international unions having women in their industry were requested for an expression of opinion as to the best and most effective campaign for meeting the situation. The replies received show that these organizations are fully alive to the situation and have been and are doing everything within their power to safeguard and protect the rights of the women wage workers and to maintain standards. We should and will make every effort to give whole hearted support in the endeavor to organize the women workers of America to bring them the full fruition of organized effort that they may be accorded as a right, equal pay for equal work with men.

COLORED WORKERS—ORGANIZATION OF

Several resolutions were brought before the Buffalo Convention having for their object the better organization of the colored workers. One of the earliest declarations of the American Federation of Labor was, "That it is the duty of the working people of the United States to organize and cooperate for the protection and the promotion of the rights and interests of all the workers and without regard to nationality, sex, politics, color or religion."

The constitution provides for the organization of separate unions of colored workers when that course is deemed desirable and most advantageous and for the formation of central labor unions representing local unions of these workers. At every convention of the A. F. of L. for the past thirty years there have been colored delegates and they have received the same treatment of cordiality, courtesy and fraternity as any white man could expect.

At our meeting in February, the first meeting at headquarters after the Buffalo Convention, we notified the following of our meeting and invited them to confer with us regarding plans for the organization of colored wage-earners:

R. R. Moton, Principal, Tuskegee Institute.

John R. Shillady, Secretary, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Fred R. Moore, Editor, *New York Age*.

Archibald Grimke, Washington Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Emmet J. Scott, Special Assistant to the Secretary of War.

Eugene Kinckle Jones, Executive Secretary, National League.

Thomas Jesse Jones, Educational Director, Phelps Stokes Fund.

These representatives of the colored workers asked that when organizing their race, there should be included skilled as well as unskilled workmen, those from the North as well as from the South, employes of the government together with civilian employes, women as well as men.

We referred the subject to President Gompers with authority to appoint a committee representing the A. F. of L. to meet with a like committee representing the colored workers for further consideration of plans and policies.

The committees thus appointed met in joint conference at headquarters April 22 and the subject was comprehensively discussed.

The whole plan, work and desires of the A. F. of L. in regard to the organization of colored workers were laid before the representatives of the colored people at the conference. They were greatly impressed, so that they finally declared that they would issue a statement addressed jointly to the A. F. of L. and to the colored workers, calling upon the latter to organize into bona fide unions of labor and to become part of the existing trade unions, or to organize into purely colored workers' unions in full affiliation in spirit and fact with the A. F. of L.

Up to this time the declaration has not been received.

NEEDLE TRADES DEPARTMENT

Your Executive Council was directed to make an investigation as to the necessity of advisability for the formation of a Needle Trades Department.

An expression of opinion was requested from the executive officers of all affiliated national and international unions. Less than half replied. Of these, but eleven were favorable, and of these eleven, but one was a needle trades organization.

It is therefore our best judgment that the organization of a Needle Trades Department is inexpedient and impractical at the present and certainly not desired by the workers in the trades.

UNITED HEBREW TRADES

The Buffalo Convention when dealing with the subject of the United Hebrew Trades declared:

1. That a conference be held at the earliest possible time in the city of New York at which five representatives of the United Hebrew Trades should meet with five representatives of the Central Federated Union of New York.
2. That a representative of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall preside and participate for the purpose of endeavoring to carry out the program of unity, solidarity, as well as loyalty to the American trade union movement as represented by the A. F. of L.
3. That the representatives of the E. C. of the A. F. of L. shall report the results of the conference to the following meeting of the E. C.
4. That until after the conference and report as above provided, Resolution No. 120 be held in abeyance.
5. That unless a more satisfactory situation be established the E. C. shall be authorized and empowered to carry the provisions of Resolution No. 120 into effect.

In conformity therewith, on December 16, 1917, President Gompers called and participated in a conference in New York City between the representatives of the United Hebrew Trades and of the New York Central Federated Union. The Central Federated Union made the following proposition:

All unions affiliated to the A. F. of L. as local unions or through international unions making application for representation to, and in the United Hebrew Trades, must be seated by that body and full sincere support given.

All independent, dual or seceding unions at present seated in the United Hebrew Trades must be unseated until they affiliate to the A. F. of L. direct or through international union so chartered.

The United Hebrew Trades shall not by resolution or otherwise endorse, support or assist any dual, independent or seceding organization.

The United Hebrew Trades asked for time for consideration of the proposition to be taken up again at another conference.

On January 6 the conference was resumed in New York City when the representatives of the United Hebrew Trades requested an extension of time so as to prepare those whom they represented for the acceptance of the recommendation by the New York Central Federated Union made at the previous meeting.

On February 7 the United Hebrew Trades notified headquarters that they had declared against the proposition of the Central Federated Union. We therefore directed that the instructions of the Buffalo Convention as contained in Resolution No. 120 (pages 196, 380-383 of the printed proceedings) should be put into effect, and they were.

That the A. F. of L. and your E. C. have been tolerant, absolutely fair and just in the course followed in the case of the United Hebrew Trades, no one will dispute. There is a bona fide central body in New York City affiliated to the A. F. of L.—that is, the New York Central Federated Union; there is no need for another central body in New York City, particularly one organized on a racial or political basis. In addition, it is prejudicial to the good name and interests of labor and to the success of our movement when such a body is not only organized, but refuses to accord equal advantages to all bona fide trade unions.

COOPERATIVE LECTURER AND ADVISOR

The Buffalo Convention directed the President of the American Federation of Labor to appoint for a period of one year a qualified trade unionist as lecturer and advisor on a broad plan of cooperation. The convention further directed that the affiliated local trade unions should be requested to contribute the sum of one dollar toward a fund for carrying on this work.

Although a number of recommendations were made, President Gompers felt impelled to defer the appointment of anyone until a sufficient fund should have been created to guarantee the performance of the duties required. At the time this report is being prepared the amount is insufficient with which to inaugurate the work.

The Treasury Department has made a ruling that the Cooperative Societies which are operating stores must pay income tax on their return savings just as though they were the profits of an ordinary profit-making concern.

It is recommended that effort be made to have the interpretation of the Treasury Department of the income tax law not to apply to cooperative societies or that if this can not be done under existing law that authority be given by this convention to have presented to Congress a bill by which the purely cooperative societies shall be exempted from the provisions of the income tax law.

LABOR DAY

Since the recognition of the first Monday in September as Labor's day, the celebration of that day has increasingly become observed as Labor's special festival.

The first Monday in September, 1917, being the first Labor Day after our country entered the war, its celebration assumed a more subdued and serious tone. The first Monday in September, 1918, will be the second Labor Day since our Republic has thrown its strength and resources in the titanic world struggle. No one can dispute that Labor has done and is loyally doing its part in support of the Government and our common cause.

It is but fitting that Labor's day, 1918, should be observed in a distinctive manner. We, therefore, recommend that organized labor in every section of the country observe Labor Day, 1918, by special ceremonies and demonstrations, and that the slogan for the day be:

"Win the War For Freedom."

AMENDMENT TO CONSTITUTION

Section 3, Article 7, of the constitution provides that the secretary of the American Federation of Labor shall publish a financial report monthly in the *American Federationist* and send a copy to each affiliated body.

When this provision of the constitution was adopted, there was no thought at that time of having the magazine published in sufficient numbers to be sent to each member of every directly affiliated union, as was directed by the Seattle, 1913, convention.

The cost of printing the financial statement is at price and a half. For 1917 alone it cost \$56 per page or \$9,578.82 for the year.

It seems to the Executive Council that the executive officer of each organization should have copy of the financial statement showing the receipts and expenditures of the A. F. of L., and that it should be part of the archives of his office, but that it is not necessary or advisable, but on the contrary, wasteful, to furnish each member of every directly affiliated local union with a copy of the financial statement and that is what now happens by publishing the financial statement in the *American Federationist*.

For the above reasons, we therefore recommend that:

1. The constitution be so changed as to discontinue from the columns of the *American Federationist* the publication of the financial statement, and that
2. The financial statement be printed quarterly as a separate document and forwarded to the officers of all affiliated national and international unions, state federations of labor, city central bodies and directly affiliated local unions.

CONCLUSION

As our report shows, the American labor movement faces the difficult problems of the future with an organization numerically stronger and more effectively united than ever before. During the past months the trade union movement has earned for itself a recognition and a value more adequate than that ever previously achieved. It has stood the most difficult tests and demonstrated that it is an indispensable part of organization for production, and therefore an integral part of organization of society.

Because it is an agency that promotes efficiency and is indispensable to the quickest and most effective production of war materials, it is inevitable that the coming months will bring great opportunities and increasing organization. Let us strive to take every advantage of these opportunities in order that the workers may be in a position to deal wisely with the difficult problems of the reconstruction period that will follow the war, and thus to establish permanently higher standards of life and work.

Fraternally yours,

SAMUEL GOMPERS

President

JAMES DUNCAN

First Vice-President

JAMES O'CONNELL

Second Vice-President

JOS. F. VALENTINE

Third Vice-President

JOHN R. ALPINE

Fourth Vice-President

H. B. PERHAM

Fifth Vice-President

FRANK DUFFY

Sixth Vice-President

WILLIAM GREEN

Seventh Vice-President

W. D. MAHON

Eighth Vice-President

DANIEL J. TOBIN

Treasurer

FRANK MORRISON

Secretary

Executive Council

American Federation of Labor

SECOND DAY--- Tuesday Morning Session

The Auditorium,

St. Paul, Minn., June 11, 1918.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 a. m., Tuesday, June 11th, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—Kline, Sovey, Preece, Corcoran, McClory, Boyer, McCarthy, Barnes, Smith (F. W.), Baker, Conway, Desepte, Feeney, Snellings, Dunn, Silberstein, Rickert, Doyle (F.), Neenan, Williams (Jno.), Gould, McSorley, O'Connor (T. V.), Wharton, Van Lear, Fljozdal, Finnson, Lane, Schmidt (F.), Davidson, Cannon, Hayes (F. J.), White (J. P.), Green, Lewis, Valentine, Burns (A.), Carey (D. A.), Doid, Alpine, Berry (G. L.), Orr, McHugh, La Belle, Ryan (E. J.), Heit, Freil, Sumner, Heberling, Ross (L. J.), Konenkamp, Agethen, Curtis, Scott (M. G.), Hatch, Mountford, Toone, Wines, Inglesias, Weiss, Wilk, Hoof, Crickmore, Williams, Morgan, O'Dell, Brown (J. H.), Sellins, Brindell, Greene, Ott, Curran, Fricke, Parker, Brand, Rynerson, Fanning, Mosher, Bush, Kuhn, Sanders, Tucker, Hester, Casey, Weinstock, Birch, Ellicott, Beck, Mezzacapo, Bruen, Harte, Browne, Lampa, Morris, Wendell, Quesse, Kester, Staunton, Walker, Waplington, de Krafft, Williams (T. J.), Welch, Burns, Pinkston, Faramore, Riordan, Byrne, Voigt, Bincker, Sharon, Hall (F.), Bondfield, Berry, Fitzgerald.

President Gompers announced that J. A. Franklin, President of the Boiler-makers and Iron Ship Builders would not be able to attend the convention because of his duties in Washington in connection with war work, and that Delegate Louis Weyand would be selected to fill the place on the Committee on Resolutions left vacant by President Franklin's absence.

Vice President Duncan: The Committee on International Labor Relations is usually made up of ex-fraternal delegates to foreign countries. The committee was named yesterday but the President, with his usual modesty, failed to name the most important part of the committee. The committee last night requested that the name of President Gompers be printed with the committee. We now ask the endorsement of the convention of the addition of his name to the Committee on International Labor Relations.

Upon motion the action of the committee was endorsed.

TELEGRAM FROM PRESIDENT WILSON

Secretary Morrison read the following telegram, addressed to President Gompers:

The White House,

Washington, D. C., June 10, 1918.

Samuel Gompers,
American Federation of Labor,
St. Paul, Minn.:

Please convey to the Thirty-eighth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor my congratulations upon the patriotic support which the members of your organization have given to the war program of the nation in the past year, not only in the trenches and on the battlefield where so many of our younger men are now in uniform, but equally in the factories and shipyards and workshops of the country where the army is supported and supplied by the loyal industry of your skilled craftsmen. We are facing the hardships of the critical months of the struggle. The nation can face them confidently assured now that no intrigues of the enemy can ever divide our unity by means of those industrial quarrels and class dissensions which he has tried so diligently to foment. In these days of trial and self sacrifice the American workman is bearing his share of the National burden nobly. In the new world of peace and freedom which America is fighting to establish his place will be as honored as his service is gratefully esteemed.

WOODROW WILSON.

MESSAGE FROM COUNCIL OF NATIONAL DEFENSE

Washington, D. C., June 10, 1918.

Frank Morrison, Secretary American Federation of Labor, St. Paul Hotel, St. Paul, Minn.

I am directed by the Council of National Defense to transmit to you the following resolution passed by the Council and Advisory Commission:

"Whereas, The Council of National Defense and the Advisory Commission are cognizant of the Thirty-eighth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor; and

"Whereas, The Council of National Defense and Advisory Commission are equally cognizant of the affirmative patriotic service rendered to the people, and the Government of the United States by the organized labor movement and the

workers of America generally in the tremendous task now stretching before this republic and her allies in the world struggle for freedom, justice and democracy, be it

"Resolved, And it is hereby resolved, that the Council of National Defense and Advisory Commission transmit to the Thirty-eighth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor the deep appreciation of this national service, and further of their knowledge of the efforts on the part of Samuel Gompers, Esquire, President of the American Federation of Labor to make this service a tangible and vital thing in the interest of America and her allies.

W. S. GIFFORD,

"Director Council of National Defense and Advisory Commission, and the other officers and the committees as the representatives of the American Federation of Labor."

Secretary Morrison read a communication from Lodge 59, B. P. O. E., inviting the delegates and visitors to attend the annual Flag Day of the Elks, June 14th, in Rice Park. The principal address of the exercises will be given by President Gompers. A cordial invitation was also extended every member of the Elks' Club his headquarters while visiting the city.

The Minneapolis Schools Flag Day Celebration Committee and the Parents and Teachers' Associations, extended a cordial invitation to all delegates and visitors to attend and take part in the exercises to be held in Minneapolis on Flag Day, June 14th.

Delegate Joyce, Secretary of the Committee on Credentials, reported as follows:

Your Committee on Credentials has a protest against the seating of the delegate of the Georgia State Federation of Labor, L. P. Marquart, and protests against the seating of G. C. Burton, Trades and Labor Assembly, Louisville; Walter J. Yarrow, Oil and Gas Well Workers' Union No. 15,525, with 12 votes; C. O. Moore, Oil Workers' Union No. 15,503, with 8 votes. After a hearing attended by these delegates and the delegates who entered the protests, the protests were withdrawn. The committee recommends the seating of these four delegates.

The report of the committee was adopted and the delegates seated.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ORDER OF BUSINESS

Delegate Andrew C. Hughes, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

We, your Committee on Rules, recommend the adoption of the following rules for the government of the convention:

Rule 1. The convention shall be called to order at 9:30 a. m. and remain in session until 12:30. Convene at 2 p. m., and remain in session until 5:30 p. m., except Saturday, on which day the session shall be from 9:30 a. m. 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 Roberts' Rules of Order.

Rule 12. A motion to reconsider shall not be entertained unless made 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 members 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 if he or she so desires.

Rule 18. When a roll-call has been taken, and all delegations 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. Roberts' 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 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.
WM. P. KRAMER,
THEODORE THOMPSON,
JOSEPH D. CANNON,
FRANK FISHER,
EDWARD MENGE,
WALTER N. REDDICK,
R. C. SCHNEIDER,
P. J. MORRIN,
FRANK BUTTERWORTH,
JAMES H. HATCH,
J. V. MORESCHI,
THOS. J. SAVAGE,
ANDREW C. HUGHES, Secretary.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Guerin inquired if the resolutions and reports would be printed in full as in former conventions, or merely printed by title.

Secretary Morrison stated that all the resolutions introduced up to the close of the afternoon session would be printed Tuesday night and distributed Wednesday morning.

Vice President Duncan called attention to the fact that Rule 15 of previous reports had been omitted from the report read by the committee.

Delegate Woll, Photo Engravers, moved as an amendment to the motion that Rule 15 be included in the report. The committee stated that it had been omitted through an error. The motion to amend was seconded and carried.

The report of the committee was adopted as amended.

REPORT OF AUDITING COMMITTEE

Delegate Joyce, Secretary of the Committee, submitted the following report:

St. Paul, Minn., June 10, 1918.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-eighth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Greeting:

We, the undersigned, having been appointed according to the constitution of the American Federation of Labor to audit and examine the books and accounts of the American Federation of Labor for the seven months beginning October 1, 1917, and ending April 30, 1918, herewith

submit for your consideration the following report:

The total receipts and expenditures during the seven months ending April 30, 1918, are given in the following tables:

RECEIPTS.

Cash balance on hand Sept. 30, 1917	\$98,967.84
Per capita tax	182,239.21
Supplies	9,761.64
Interest on funds on deposit	1,468.95
American Federationist	58,993.90
Defense fund for local trade and federal labor unions	25,758.72
Disbanded and suspended unions and fees for charters not issued	1,028.68
Initiation fees	19,514.02
Reinstatement fees	1,163.68
Premiums on bonds of officers of unions bonded through A. F. of L.	3,544.91
Total	\$402,431.55

EXPENSES.

General	\$171,557.18
For defense of local trade and federal labor unions	8,748.00
Refunding overpayment of per capita tax	73.16
American Federationist	58,876.52
Premiums on bonds of officers of affiliated unions	3,065.26
Initiation fees	45.15
Reinstatement fees	30.00
Paid to Trustees A. F. of L. Building Fund	34,725.00
Total	\$277,110.57
Total receipts	\$402,431.55
Total expenses	277,110.57

Leaving cash balance April 30, 1918

\$125,320.98

RECAPITULATION.

In general fund	\$17,248.78
In defense fund	108,072.20
Loan to Trustees A. F. of L. Building Fund from Defense Fund	\$40,000.00
Total Balance April 30, 1918.	\$165,320.98

Where Funds are Deposited and Invested.

We find the funds of the American Federation of Labor safely disposed of as follows:

Certificates of deposit by Treasurer Tobin in Union Trust Co., Indianapolis, Ind., on deposit in Indiana National Bank, Indianapolis, Ind., subject to check of Treasurer Tobin	\$65,000.00
On deposit in Riggs National Bank, Washington, D. C., subject to check of Secretary Morrison	\$17,211.59
Outstanding checks	15,211.59
2,000.00	
Invested in Liberty Bonds	30,000.00
Invested in Canadian Victory Bonds	10,000.00
Loan to Trustees A. F. of L. Building Fund	40,000.00
Total	\$165,320.98

A. F. of L. Building Fund.

RECEIPTS.

Balance on hand Sept. 30, 1917.	\$1,247.88
Received during the year.....	46,656.02
Total receipts	\$47,903.90
Total expenses October 1, 1917, to April 30, 1918.....	\$47,838.80

Balance on hand April 30, 1918	\$65.10
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RECAPITULATION.

Total amount borrowed.....	\$189,240.00
Total amount paid on loans....	66,740.00

Balance owed	\$122,500.00
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TO WHOM OWED.

A. F. of L. Defense Fund.....	\$40,000.00
American Security & Trust Co.	82,500.00

Total	\$122,500.00
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We have examined the bank record of this account and find same correct, and the balance of \$65.10 deposited in Riggs National Bank, Washington, D. C.

Fund for Promoting and Advancing Co-operation.

Received up to and including April 30, 1918.....	\$282.00
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We have examined the bank record of this account and find same correct. The amount, \$282.00, is deposited in Riggs National Bank, Washington, D. C.

In concluding our report we desire to state that your committee would be derelict in its duties as a committee in presenting to the American Federation of Labor the report of your finances and resources if we failed to call to your attention the able and efficient office system employed by Secretary Frank Morrison in handling your accounts. They have the warrant, check and voucher system, each in a separate department, and the several departments meeting and balancing their accounts at the close of each day. The vast business and increasing responsibility of the American Federation of Labor makes it necessary that installation of efficient office equipments be used, and to the credit of the officers of the American Federation of Labor we find such to be the case. The office force were very courteous, and rendered every assistance and in the manner in which we found the accounts speaks for their ability and trustworthiness.

Respectfully submitted

H. C. DIEHL, Chairman.
MAX GORENSTEIN,
MARTIN T. JOYCE, Secretary.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Lennon (J. B.): I would like to have it appear in the report of this committee that on the first of January there was a change in treasurers and that the outgoing treasurer turned over to his successor all the funds of the Federation he had in his possession.

Secretary Morrison: Treasurer Tobin's report states: "My term of office as treas-

urer started with January 1, 1918. On that date all the funds held by former Treasurer Lennon were transferred to me."

Delegate Lennon: That is satisfactory. The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried unanimously.

Soldiers and Sailors Union Label Tobacco Fund.

Delegate McAndrew, of the Tobacco Workers, was given the privilege of making a report on the above subject, which is in part as follows:

Shortly after the United States declared war against the German Government and our military forces were gathering into the training camps at home and in France and England, an agitation was started by patriotic gatherings in this country to supply our boys with smoke comforts. Considerable tobacco and cigarettes had already been sent overseas by individuals, when the American Tobacco Company, seeing an opening for an expansion of trade, put on a great newspaper campaign advertising a prepared "Kit" of tobacco ready for sending by parcel post to individuals then overseas by relatives and friends. The campaign was pushed at high speed, and the appeal was responded to by thousands whose only thought was the comfort of the boys then away, some of whom might never return.

The campaign raised hundreds of thousands of dollars, and the tobacco and cigarettes were sent, and no doubt was greatly appreciated when comparison was made with the French native article.

Investigation on our part showed that large contributions were being made to the fund by trade unionists, that all the tobacco and cigarettes were being purchased from the American Tobacco Company, and no union label tobacco or cigarettes were being sent.

We arranged with several union shops to get up "Kits" at prices ranging from 50c to \$1.50, and circularized the trade unions of the country, advising the members of these facts and called their attention to the fact that many of our troops were drawn from the union ranks, and were compelled to consume the non-union goods sent to them.

We introduced a resolution in your convention at its session in Buffalo N. Y., last November, which was favorably acted upon, in which we called upon the delegates for assistance in our campaign, which was responded to in a very considerable measure, which I assure you we greatly appreciate, and in behalf of the Tobacco Workers' International Union I tender our sincere thanks for the aid and assistance in this good work.

Attached to the report was a list of all the donors and the amounts donated.

Delegate McAndrew: Almost every cantonment camp in the United States has received a share of this tobacco and \$650 worth of it was sent overseas. I want to thank the members of the Amalgamated Association of Street Railway Employees for the action they took in their convention last September to help the sale of

union label tobacco. They gave prizes for certain numbers of the labels, which increased the sale of our product and other union label products. I want to thank the street car men, and particularly President Mahon and the Executive Board, for their assistance in this matter.

Delegate Campbell: I move that the report be accepted and that it be noted in the minutes.

Seconded and carried.

Delegate Weber, Musicians: I move that this convention authorize President Gompers to acknowledge the telegram of the President of the United States, the Hon. Woodrow Wilson, and make suitable reply thereto.

Seconded and carried.

President Gompers: A mission of representative labor men and women was sent to England and France. That mission has an interesting report, a report that is practically up-to-date on the situation as it exists. That report is ready. The reading of it, I am sure, will be found exceedingly interesting. Delegate Frey, of the mission, will read the report. The other members of the mission who are in the convention will come to the stage while he is reading it.

The members of the mission who were present, Delegates M. F. Ryan, James Wilson, Melinda Scott and W. H. Johnston, occupied places on the stage while the following report was read by Delegate Frey:

REPORT OF LABOR MISSION TO GREAT BRITAIN AND FRANCE.

Introduction to Report.

Respectfully Submitted to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

The members of the mission began the work which lay before them by conferring with President Gompers in Washington and receiving his final advice. From the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor the members of the mission proceeded to New York City. Before sailing, Sir Andrew Caird met the delegation at a luncheon as a representative of the British government. Once aboard ship, the members of the mission arranged for daily sessions at which they discussed the problems before them and more thoroughly familiarized themselves with the official records of the American Federation of Labor relative to its war aims and policies, and the suggestions which they had received from President Gompers.

Two incidents gave excitement to the voyage. The ship passed through an exceptionally severe storm, and on the last morning was subjected to a submarine attack, the torpedo passing about eight feet from the ship's bow and hitting the stern of the cruiser, which at that time formed a part of the naval convoy. Fortunately the

damage done was insufficient to sink the battleship, and two well-placed depth bombs, discharged by one of the destroyers, in all probability sent the submarine to the port where it properly belonged. After landing at a port somewhere in England, the party was taken to a large city to pass the night and rest, but a Zeppelin raid, the first which had visited this city for two years, made rest impossible. Shortly afterwards the party found themselves in London, where the delegation immediately placed themselves in touch with the representatives of the General Federation of Trade Unions and the British Trade Union Congress.

It has been deemed advisable in this report to refer to the mission's work under separate captions, in order that the several features referred to might be treated concisely, and made more readily accessible to those who may desire at some future time to refer to its contents.

President Wilson's Leadership.

During our trip through France and the British Isles nothing was more often or more forcibly borne in upon us than the high esteem and respect universally felt in those countries for our own President, Woodrow Wilson.

It was a source of great satisfaction to note the position of world leadership which our president occupies. Wherever the mission went it found the same generous measure of praise and the same high degree of admiration and confidence expressed. No matter in what differing industrial or political circles we found ourselves there was the same profound admiration for him. In public meetings everywhere mention of President Wilson's name and his war aims always brought forth a spontaneous and prolonged demonstration.

The actions and utterances of President Wilson have immeasurably heartened the people of the countries of our allies and have inspired them to a lofty and abiding faith in the triumph of democracy. It is to President Wilson that millions of our brothers across the sea look with confidence as the great leader who will bring the world to peace through victory on the same high libertarian plane that so strikingly characterized America's entry into the conflict.

In our discussions with the various sections of the labor movement abroad one of the notable features was the unanimity with which all agreed in support of the war aims set forth by President Wilson and endorsed by the American Federation of Labor. No matter what other differences there were on questions concerning the war, all wings came together on this point. It is President Wilson's interpretation of the war and his declaration of its purposes that have made it in reality among all people what Samuel Gompers so graphically termed it, "a crusade for human freedom."

Conferences

The leaders of the British and French Trade union movements, having been informed by President Gompers of our mission, were eagerly awaiting our arrival. In London and Paris arrangements had

been made to hold conferences at which the representatives of the movement in the respective countries would be present.

The conferences which were held proved of the utmost value, for they gave the opportunity for an exchange of opinions, viewpoints and policies which could not have been secured by any other method of communication. As a result, it was possible for the mission to clearly and definitely state the attitude and policy of the American Federation of Labor upon the question of war aims, and what was equally as important, give the reasons which had prompted American trade-unionists to adopt these policies which have so profoundly influenced the program of the movement in the allied nations. These conferences also gave us the invaluable privilege of meeting the leaders in Great Britain and France and receiving from their lips a concrete statement of the policies which they had adopted, and the reasons and conditions upon which these were based.

In both countries we found nothing but the heartiest approval of the war aims adopted by the American Federation of Labor, coupled with the oft-repeated assertion that our brothers in the allied countries had been greatly weaned by the position which the American trade union movement had taken. They had looked to America for assistance in formulating sound policies, and their expectations had been generously fulfilled.

Upon but one policy was there a marked divergence of opinion, and upon this there hinged a question of the most vital importance.

The Blackpool Convention of the British Trade Union Congress, in 1917, adopted a resolution which provided for the calling of a conference to consider peace terms, at which representatives of the workers from all of the warring countries would be present. In February, 1918, an Inter-Allied Labor and Socialist Conference was held in London at which representatives of the trade union and socialist movements of Great Britain, France, Belgium, Italy, Serbia, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Roumania and South Africa were present. This conference adopted a memorandum on war aims, which was accepted by those present as a guide for the workers in the nations which were represented. One section of this memorandum provided for the calling of an International Congress of Labor and Socialist organizations for the purpose of removing misunderstandings and obstacles which stand in the way of world peace. Such a conference would be held in a neutral country "under the auspices of an impartial committee," and would seat representatives from the Central Powers. As an essential condition, all organizations desiring to be represented would be called upon to state in precise terms through a public declaration their conformity with the principles of "no annexations or punitive indemnities, and the right of all peoples to self-determination," and that they were working with all their power to obtain from their governments the necessary guarantees to apply these principles honestly and unreservedly to all questions to be dealt with at any official peace conference. Furthermore, the memorandum provided that such conferences "provide an opportunity for the delegates from the respective countries now in a

state of war to make a full and frank statement of their present position and future intentions, and to endeavor by mutual agreement to arrange a program of action for a speedy and democratic peace."

It was apparent to the members of our mission that there was a wide divergence of opinion between the leaders in both Great Britain and France as to the interpretation and construction to be placed upon the latter portion of the sentence quoted. To some it meant that the delegates at such an international conference would adopt resolutions or formulate policies or programs of a definite and all embracing character; by others it was interpreted to mean that such a conference would not be permitted to proceed further than an exchange of opinions. In fact one leading figure most prominently connected in Great Britain with the project of an international congress assured us in the most emphatic manner that he was opposed to having such a congress go further than conversations, and that he was opposed to having it take any action in any way binding upon any of the delegates. These statements were made before a joint session with the parliamentary committee of the British Trade Union Congress and the Executive Committee of the Labor Party, and were not challenged by any one present. It is possible that there are leaders in Great Britain who are of the opinion that such a conference should adopt a program more or less binding upon the respective movements, and there are a goodly number who express the most vigorous opposition to any conference at which representatives of the workers from the Central Powers are seated until German armies have been withdrawn from the soil of France, Belgium, Italy and Russia, and the German military machine is no longer a menace to civilization. While the representatives from France at the Inter-Allied Conference subscribed to the memorandum and today give support to the thought that an international conference should go no further than conventions, a number of the leaders in that country expressed the opinion that it would be folly to hold it unless binding action was taken. At the conferences held in both countries there were prominent leaders who naively informed us that it was the intention to make the qualifications for a seat in an international conference so stringent that representatives from the Central Powers would decline to be present, their failure to participate, should they so decide, supplying evidence that they were insincere in their desire to have a peace established which would provide equal justice and freedom to all of the nations involved in the war.

Our first conference with labor representatives was held in a chamber of the House of Commons, London, on April 17, representatives of the Parliamentary Committee of the British Trade Union Congress and of the Labor Party being present. At this session little more than a limited reference was made to the war policies of the respective movements. On April 29th, and 30th, conferences were held with the same representatives in Central Hall, Westminster. At the first of these the official actions of the American Federation

of Labor upon the war were read from the convention proceedings, beginning with the resolution introduced by President Gompers at the Philadelphia Convention, 1914, and including all that was adopted by the Buffalo Convention, 1917, bearing upon our movement's war policies. This was followed by a lengthy statement covering the war experiences of our movement and the reasons which had prompted the American trade union movement to adopt the war policies and aims which now determine its actions. In reply representatives of the British movement gave us the benefit of many of their experiences. Much of the time was devoted on the part of some who were prominent because of their positions, to a discussion of the reasons why in their opinion an international conference was essential. The opinion was expressed by one prominent leader that our American movement would be unfortunate if it maintained its position not to participate in an international conference as one would be held in all probability without our presence, yet later on the same individual during the conference expressed the thought that should the position of the A. F. of L. be maintained it would probably make the convening of an international conference an impossibility. From the opinions expressed the mission is justified in assuming that the leaders in Great Britain are far from unanimous upon the question of the advisability of holding an international conference and that there also exists a divergence of opinion on the part of those who do, upon what it could accomplish and the conditions under which such a conference should be held. Many of those who believed in the holding of an international conference were vigorous in their belief that the German military machine must be defeated, their opinions being that such a conference would assist in bringing about this result through its influence upon the workers of Germany and Austria, and the effect upon the workers in the allied countries should the workers of the Central Powers refuse to participate. With the exception of the self-confessed pacifists, we found the British representatives stoutly insisting that the allied armies must be loyally sustained by the workers in industry, and the German military machine defeated. There was also a unanimous agreement with the thought that the time had arrived when the trade union movement should be more directly represented in international diplomacy connected with the war, and that there should also be a similar representation at the official peace conference following the ultimate armistice.

It was suggested that the mission, after having participated in the conference, should endeavor to determine the extent to which the A. F. of L. war aims agreed with those of the British Trade Congress and the Inter-Allied Conference of February last. The mission, however, assumed the position that it had no authority to negotiate or agree relative to the actions taken by the labor movement in any of the allied countries. It held that it was only authorized to state the war aims and policies adopted by the A. F. of L. and to confer with the representa-

tives of the labor movements of the allied nations so that an accurate report of their aims and policies could be submitted to the American movement. Furthermore, the members of the mission declined to take part in the consideration or adoption of any resolution which might have been introduced, or to make any public statements as to any points of agreement or disagreement which might exist in the war aims of the trade union movements of America and the allied countries. By assuming this position your mission prevented any misconception as to its functions and the misconstructions and misinterpretations which might have been placed upon its actions by those who were desirous of discrediting it or making it appear that there existed a difference of opinion, however slight, between the members of the mission and the official war aims of the A. F. of L.

Upon its return from France the mission again met with the same group of British representatives, this conference being held on May 17, in Central Hall, Westminster. On this occasion the impression received as the result of conferences with the joint representatives of the Confederation General du Travail and the Socialist Party were submitted, and the need for a closer and more continuous method of contact and communication with French trade unionists expressed.

In France there exists a joint representative body created between the Confederation General du Travail and the Socialist party to consider all questions relative to labor's war aims and policies. It was this joint body which welcomed us by a luncheon in Paris on May 5th. Several hours were devoted to a statement of the French and American labor war aims, and the ground prepared for the two conferences which took place the following day at the headquarters of the Confederation General du Travail. At the first of these the official reports of A. F. of L. conventions were read as they had been at our conferences in London and the same explanation given. Those present representing French labor were in hearty agreement with the A. F. of L. war aims, though they differed somewhat with the methods adopted by our movement, and the great majority were opposed to the American determinations to participate in no international conference until German armies were no longer a menace. One of the most prominent figures in the Confederation General du Travail expressed the opinion which was supported by practically all French representatives present, that an international conference was necessary, his conviction being that it would be possible to impress upon the German and Austrian workers that it was their duty to act for the general welfare of the workers of the world. If these representatives should refuse to agree upon just peace terms, then nothing would be left but to continue the war. He believed, however, that by meeting with them, action could be taken which would hasten peace and supplant plutocratic government by a socialist government. While our French brothers differed somewhat with the methods of the A. F. of L. they repeated-

ly expressed not only their unqualified approval of the A. F. of L. war aims, but their conviction that in adopting these the American labor movement had clearly shown the way for all labor movements to follow. We found during our conferences that among our French brothers there existed wide differences of opinion as to the methods by which war aims were to be applied, and that as in Great Britain there existed no small differences as to methods and policies between those who were purely trade-union representatives, and those who represented the political groups assuming to speak for labor. As in Great Britain, efforts were made to have us commit ourselves to the points of agreement or difference which might exist in the program or methods of the two countries, but we declined to do otherwise than maintain the position assumed at the London conferences. Our French brothers had extended a most generous welcome to us, every courtesy was shown on their part, and the farewell which they gave conveyed in full the sentiments of affection for the personnel of the mission and their high regard for the A. F. of L. It is our opinion that much practical good will follow from the London and Paris conferences in which we participated. The press of both countries in more than one instance had failed to clearly and accurately express the A. F. of L. policies, so that these had not been clearly understood, and several individuals for personal or political motives had evidently colored their statements relative to our movement to accomplish whatever purpose they had in mind. The misconceptions which had arisen were overcome through the presentation of the official records of the A. F. of L. conventions, and if the mission accomplished nothing else, it succeeded in clearly stating the position of the American trade-union movement on the subject of war aims and policies.

The receptions tendered to the mission are referred to in a separate section of this report, but at this place we desire to refer to those which were given to us by our British and French brethren. The Parliamentary Committee of the British Trade-Union Congress and the Executive Committee of the Labor Party entertained us with a dinner and reception in the House of Commons on the day of our first conference. The following evening the Executive Committee of the General Federation of Trade Unions entertained us in a similar manner in the same historic building. Shortly before leaving England, Brother W. A. Appleton, General Secretary of the General Federation of Trade Unions, who had just returned from his American trip, extended hospitality in the form of a dinner in the House of Commons. The standing Joint Committee of Industrial Women's Organizations gave a tea and reception to the women members of our mission, and as we were leaving London the joint Parliamentary Committee and Labor Party said their farewell at a luncheon which they had provided. In addition a number of special dinners and luncheons were given to individual members of the party. At these dinners and receptions the most hospitable cordiality was extended, and hearty good wishes ex-

pressed for the continued success of the American Federation of Labor and its President, Samuel Gompers. In France the joint committee of the Confederation General du Travail and Socialist Party entertained us at an elaborate luncheon, and the day following again extended proverbial French hospitality at a luncheon. Only our short stay in Paris prevented our participation in other receptions which they had arranged for our entertainment.

Interviews with Representatives of Allied Workers

While in London and Paris representatives of the labor movements of several countries met members of our mission for the purpose of describing the problems with which they were forced to contend, and requesting information as to the manner in which the A. F. of L. was dealing with similar questions if they arose. They also desired to be more fully advised relative to the war aims and policies of the American Trade Union movement. Among those whom we met under these circumstances were representatives of the Roumanian, Serbian, Italian and Greek workers. We also had several lengthy interviews with the leaders of the Belgian movement who were attending to the interests of the Belgian workers in Britain and France.

International Federation of Trade Unions

During the conferences held in London and Paris with representatives of the labor movement and in private conversations with many of the leaders in both countries reference was made to the many existing conditions which could only be adequately met through the re-establishing of an effective International Federation of Labor. In both countries it was the unanimous opinion that it should be re-established in a neutral country. At present there exists an unfortunate dearth of official records of the several national trade union movements, and owing to this it has been possible for politicians and the partisan and general press to spread much misinformation among the workers relative to the attitude of trade union leaders and official policies. There is a crying need for a much greater international exchange of trade union information, experience and ideas, which can only be accomplished satisfactorily through a central international trade union bureau or secretary. Such an international center is also most essential so that greater stability and unity of purpose may be established. In Great Britain and upon the European Continent there exists today among the workers more or less joint industrial and political movements, the French workers having the joint committee of the Confederation General du Travail and the Socialist party, while the British workers in their labor party include Socialist groups such as the Independent Labor Party, National Socialist Party, British Socialist Party and the Fabian Society. While these Socialist groups work with the trade unions politically they maintain their separate affiliation with the International Socialist organization. Our European trade union brothers are the best judges of what

their political activities should be and what affiliations, political or otherwise, which this should include, but the existing condition tends nevertheless to emphasize the urgent necessity for a purely international trade union federation at which the industrial problems can be given ample consideration entirely apart from any political movements or considerations. It is unsafe and unsound to passively contemplate the influences exerted upon the trade union movement in the great industrial nations of the world by political leaders, however sincere they may be, whose viewpoint and experiences are those of the theorist and politician. The policies and programs of the workers must be formulated by the workers themselves, acting through their industrial organizations, if their best interests are to be served.

Public Meetings

It would be impossible to calculate the number of persons reached directly by members of our mission through public addresses and through interviews in the press, but an idea of our activities in addressing public meetings may be gained from perusal of the list of cities in which public addresses were made.

In London a number of public meetings were addressed. In several other cities two or more meetings were held. Following is a complete list of cities in which public addresses were made:

London and suburban district; Manchester, Norwich, York, Deptford, Leeds, Sheffield, Fort Sunlight, Birmingham, Brighton, New Castle, Gretna Green, North Hampton, Sunderland, Salford, Stockport, Nottingham, Edinburgh, Glasgow and numerous shipyards on the Clyde; Ayr, where the Scottish Trade Union Congress was in session; Dundee, Swansea, Cardiff, Southampton, Greenwich, Versailles and Paris.

In nearly all of these cities, in addition to the public meetings, there were banquets and receptions given in our honor by the municipal authorities.

War Preparations

War preparations in Britain, where we had opportunity to observe most fully, continue at a rate that insures an ever growing supply of the munitions of war.

During a conference with Winston Churchill, minister of munitions, we were told that 2,500,000 men and women are now engaged in war production, working directly under the direction of the Ministry of Munitions. Significant of Britain's man-power conditions was his statement that nine-tenths of all British shells are made by women. Significant of the state of labor conditions was his statement that since the war began there has been less than one day in one thousand per worker lost by strikes.

Throughout Britain new munitions plants are being erected. On one day we observed two new plants under construction, each covering several acres. France also is busily engaged in increasing war materials production, but our opportunity for observation there was more limited, due to the shortage of time.

Production of non-essentials has practically ceased in both countries. In Britain stocks of luxuries are almost exhausted and it is impossible to buy many of the comforts and trifles of peace times.

Mills and factories that made these things in peace times have been converted to the making of war munitions. Plants that made textiles are either making army uniform cloth or have been converted to factories for the production of shells. Conversion of factories to war purposes has been general.

It was our valued privilege to visit in both France and Britain many of the great plants in which munitions are made. Scarcely an article of war is made the manufacture of which we were unable to see. We saw the manufacture of tanks in both France and Britain and were permitted to ride in them. We saw airplanes manufactured and were permitted to learn many details concerning new construction. We saw the manufacture of heavy ordnance and of shells. We saw the manufacture of high explosives and of gas masks. And we saw these processes on a scale so vast in both countries as to eclipse any previous picture drawn by the imagination. It is for military authorities to dwell upon the significance of these great projects of a military nature, but it may be said here that the entire industrial fabric of these two nations has been so taken from its original form and reshaped so that its entire purpose now is the production of munitions and equipment to be hurled against the German lines.

The fighting lines at the front are the culminating point of the national effort and the national effort must all co-ordinate with the needs of the front. The nation has become a fighting machine of which the front is the cutting edge and back of which every part must harmonize with every other part. Direct observation through Britain and France brings these facts into strong relief. Every useful citizen is a part of the fighting machinery of the nation and there is little room and small excuse for the person who is not useful in some capacity.

In connection with war preparations it may be interesting to know that the army is concerning itself with food production for its own uses. At Versailles we were shown a tract of 1,500 acres being cultivated scientifically by French and American soldiers, temporarily unfit for the front. Here, under intensive cultivation, seedling plants are grown. These seedling plants are sent to the front where the fighting troops till their own gardens just behind the lines. It should be said here also that general cultivation in both France and Britain is going forward this year on an increased scale. Both of these countries bear the marks of minute and careful attention. Even around the reserve trenches in France wheat is growing, though the effort here will be lost if further retreating movements are compelled.

The scale of war preparations as we saw them indicate no fixed stopping point, but a determination to plan for any eventuality and never to count the war won or the ground safe until the fact of victory itself has been achieved.

Attitude of the Public

In war today the morale of the people constitutes one of the vital lines of defense. Unless that holds everything else is weakened, and not lost. The Mission therefore gave especial attention to the state of mind among the people at all times.

That there is a certain weariness among the people of France and Britain is evident even to the casual observer. The burdens of nearly four years of terrific war have fallen upon their shoulders. The drainage of manpower has been such as to leave at home few but the aged, the unfit and the very young. Where men formerly preponderated in industry, women now preponderate. There are innumerable hardships to irritate nerves already freighted with tragedy and sorrow.

But despite the burdens, the will to win remains unshaken. The deep meaning of the war is graven into the hearts of the people in all walks of life, and there is an unmistakable and profound conviction that, to quote an American, "the only way out of this war is through it."

There is, it must be said, a pacifist minority that would yield to Prussianism upon any pretext or none. Among the fanatics of this minority there are all shades of pacifist and enemy opinion. And the minority is noisy. However, the minority is too small to affect the national purpose in either nation. The fair and correct statement is that the morale of the people in France and Britain is fully equal to the strain that must yet be borne, and that in these countries Germany's greatest antagonist is the determination of free people to remain free.

Beneath the care and weariness that is all but hidden, there is a serenity that betokens confidence. It is a calm confidence. It is a splendid confidence. It is an unshakable confidence. It is found in home and factory. It survives air raids and long range lateral bombardments. Even those who live and toil within sound and range of the guns in France go about their work with the manner of those who believe themselves immune from danger, or with utter indifference.

Your mission arrived in England while the force of the German spring offensive was at its height. During that time we also visited Scotland, and even during the visit to France there was uncertainty as to what the ultimate limits of the Teutonic thrust might be. There have been few such anxious moments in the histories of nations, yet there was an almost inexplicable freedom from anything that would indicate a quickened public anxiety. There were no such showers of newspapers in the streets as would be seen in an American city, no such surging crowds around bulletin boards. There was an interest in the titanic struggle, but it was a quiet interest in which people sought the news quietly and went their way quietly after having got it.

Your mission is convinced of the soundness of the public will and the public understanding, both in Britain and France, and this conviction is based upon innumerable personal conversations, upon observation in great public gatherings and upon the expressions of a wide variety of people in every station and region of the territory covered.

Throughout this period of greatest stress the people remained calm, their only manifestations being those of a grim and unyielding determination.

Attitude of Soldiers

The men of the armies appear to feel that the war is their job, and they go about their work as something not to be left until it is finished. We have observed and talked freely with soldiers of every variety, from fresh young American soldiers to French and British veterans in service since the early days of the war.

The spirit of the fighting men in France was illustrated forcibly by a brigade of French troops which we saw marching to take its place in the line in Flanders, where the fighting was most severe. This brigade marched as if on parade, with colors flying and the brisk music of a bugle band cheering them on. We came upon this brigade some five miles from the fighting front. The soldiers were in heavy marching order, and presented a spectacular array, swinging along under a glittering, menacing array of fixed bayonets.

There is a dogged grimness of face about the soldiers in France. Upon the features of British and French there are the set lines that come of long and firm resolve, resolve inflexible as long as life remains. Such men as we have seen may be slain, but they can never be crushed into defeat.

With the American soldier there is not the pronounced setting of the face that only time and struggle can produce. With them there is, however, a calm confidence, without rancor and without hate thus far. So far as appearances are concerned, the American soldiers might be sanitary engineers, in France to rid the country of a pestilence, thoroughly capable of doing what they came to do and knowing themselves to be capable. It is a splendid spirit, inspiring and satisfying.

Among the British and French soldiers we have seen men who, though wounded time and again, have returned each time to "help finish the job." One famous British aviator continues to fly, though he has lost a leg in combat. A lad who enlisted at the outbreak of war served some months at the front, was invalided home, recovered and enlisted with the air service, where he served two years before being shot down from a height of 2,000 feet, after which he enlisted in the navy. There are countless men in the allied armies who, though entitled to be "ticketed" home, refuse to quit the field upon which the fate of democracy must be decided. They serve to illustrate the spirit of the allied fighting force as a whole. It is the same spirit that stopped the invaders at the Marne, and that will in the end drive them back into Germany in defeat.

The soldiers of the allied armies have written the story of their own heroic determination, and it is not possible to add any word that will emphasize the splendor of their achievement. Every magnificent quality that has gone into the building of the war's history is there in France and Flanders to-day. The heroes of Liege and Louvain and Rheims and Verdun live again from day to day in the persons of other men, fighting on and ready to fight on until victory is achieved.

It does these valiant soldiers no injustice to say that their spirits are buoyed, their enthusiasms heightened and their eyes quickened by the swiftly growing American army. And the good fellowship with which the British and French greet, mingle with and fight with the American new-comer, completes the forging of the bonds of alliance in the sacred cause for which civilization's millions are contending.

Attitude of Workers

Much of the material that will indicate the attitude of the workers of France and Great Britain toward the war will be found in other sections of this report. It will doubtless be gathered that it is impossible to take the statements of leaders unquestioned, when dealing with the attitude of the mass of working people.

Your mission was given exceptional opportunities to observe the attitude of both organized and unorganized labor. All of the chief industrial centers of England and Scotland were visited. In nearly all of these meetings were held. Some of these meetings were public, while others were open only to trade unionists.

Our careful and extended observation leads us to report that the working people in the mass have not been infected with pacifist virus, and that there is among them no wish to falter in the course that must be run to win the war. It seems to us to say that organic contact with the productive forces of national life makes for a clear and steady brain and a vision unclouded by hallucination or sophistry. This is the thought brought out by observation of the working people with whom we came in contact.

The cost of living has arisen amazingly in both France and Britain, causing a most acute burden to rest upon the working people. However, while there is a general understanding of the necessity for maintaining proper standards, and while much effort is given to that activity, there is thorough appreciation that American labor is right in declaring that the war must be won or all free effort will be denied the opportunity to function.

It would be impossible to pass from this subject without paying tribute to the splendid spirit of the women of Britain and France who have nobly borne the tremendous share of war's burden which has been thrust upon them by the draining of man-power for the fighting lines. It is a spirit of which the citizenry of these nations will be proud for all time, and a spirit which harmonizes with the whole fiber and purpose of these two brave countries.

Food Conditions

Shortage of food in France and the British Isles impressed us as being a matter of prime interest to Americans. Rationing is universal and our own rations accorded strictly with those governing residents, so that in our own experience we found the truth about food conditions.

In both countries the civilian population willingly sacrifices the food of normal times in order that the men at the front may be supplied amply. With the introduction of rationing throughout England "queues" (that is, long lines of waiting people) were practically abolished and

since these were the chief cause of complaint there now is practically no dissatisfaction expressed.

The French say, "C'est la guerre"—it is the war—and that answers all questions and all complaints. The English say "What are you 'grousing' about? You're not at the front," and that answers everything.

Such food restrictions as are now known in America are minor and trifling in comparison with those of France and Britain. There the individual who can secure butter at one meal a day is fortunate. Many families see no butter for days at a time and frequently cannot even get a 'margarine substitute.

In England the sugar allowance is six ounces per person per week. It has become a habit with thousands to carry with them saccharine or saxine tablets for use as substitutes for sugar.

Sweets and confections are pitiful imitations of former luxuries, where they have not disappeared altogether.

The meat ration is so meager that in many families the father eats no meat whatever in order that the children may have something approaching a normal allowance.

In England the bread ration is two ounces per meal. The bread is coarse and dark. In Paris it is the custom for guests to unobtrusively leave their bread coupons on the table in order that the host may not be compelled to pay for the entertainment by going without bread one meal for each guest entertained.

At the time of our visit in France there was no meat restriction, due to peculiar local conditions, but since that time three meatless days per week have been imposed.

In both countries fish and eggs are used as substitutes for meat. This results in an endless repetition of these two articles on every table until the wonder is that complaint is not universal.

However, complaint is notable for its absence. It is a part of the price of freedom and is accepted ungrudgingly as such.

We cannot but feel it our duty to say that it should be considered a privilege by every American to help conserve our own food supply in order that the surplus for our brave allies should be as generous as possible. Compared with theirs, our supply is abundant. We have not begun even to suspect the meaning of food shortage as it is known in France and Britain.

The Armies of Our Allies

The whole gigantic effort of war culminates at the front, and not until the front has been seen is the picture of war complete.

Under the guidance of staff officers, the mission visited the French, American and British fronts. Traveling in French army automobiles, the party left Paris early in the morning for the French front. It will help the American to understand what the war means to France if he will picture going to the front by automobile from his own home city.

After traversing much of the territory occupied by the Germans in 1914 before they were halted at the Marne—territory which it will take years to bring back to

its former productive condition—the party reached Rheims. Before entering the historic city, now mantled in a shroud of bravery and tragedy, the ruins with the enemy lines beyond were viewed through a powerful glass from an observation post high above the level of the city itself, a far better observation post for French officers than the towers of the cathedral, proof that no military consideration justified the wanton destruction of that incomparable edifice.

As the gray cars entered the ancient gateway an American aviator hovered overhead, a fair but elusive target for the shower of German shells that burst beneath him.

Nothing portrays with such completeness the Hun spirit as does this devastated, deserted city. It is a mass of broken walls. Scarcely a structure stands unscathed by the torrent of fire and steel. With singular majesty the great cathedral stands in the midst of the wreckage like a proud captain with his shattered legions clinging in bleeding array at his feet.

Not a living thing is left. Only the constant booming of the big guns in front emphasizes the reality of the scene. It is a dead city, slain wantonly and hideously by the guns which voice the Prussian hate of free life and free institutions. Only gaunt, scarred remnants of walls remain, tombstones of a magnificent and heroic past, monuments to an unconquerable spirit.

As we gazed upon this desolation workmen were swinging away the last bolts from the base of the statue of Joan of Arc in front of the cathedral so that this one untouched bit of the past might be taken away to security.

With the cars running in pairs, far apart, to lessen the danger from German guns, the party left Rheims. At 10 o'clock that night Verdun was reached, after paying a brief visit enroute to the headquarters of Gen. Gouraud, commander of the Fourth Army. Like a procession of swift gray ghosts we had run through the dark without lights, while far ahead of us there flashed constantly the flames of discharging guns. Under the lee of the formidable citadel we de-trained and made our way to a quiet underground dining hall and a repast as welcome and delectable as any imagination could picture.

While the guns muttered intermittently overhead we slept far below the surface in the officers' quarters—quarters that are never free from a creeping dampness and a certain melièval atmosphere that made the surroundings strangely romantic. Here we met men who had gone through the gruelling defense against the crown prince's furious assaults—men who, by their serenity and matter-of-factness, typified wonderfully the whole atmosphere of France. The commandant of the citadel, youthful, courteous and unassuming, the captain who commanded through the great defense of the city and the general in command who found a keen pleasure in presenting to each member of the mission the medal of Verdun, and one which he requested should be presented with his compliments to President Gompers, bearing the watchword of the French armies, "They shall

not pass"—these were some of the brave men we found in this maze of subterranean passages.

During the forenoon of the next day we inspected Fort Souville, the point at which the German hordes were halted in their assault on Verdun. The Teutonic lines are within easy sight of Souville, which is two and one-half miles from the citadel itself. Only the eye and the camera can picture the battlefield that rims its way around this point of desperation. It was atop Souville that the French defenders went with their machine guns at the height of the German advance, determined to hold on until they fell, every man believing that death would be his reward. Standing here upon the topmost point we gazed upon a field of giant craters, baffling description—a field upon which 300,000 French and 500,000 Germans have died, a field over which is still strewn the tragic refuse of war. And into these great, ghastly gashes in the bleeding side of France the invader still pours his torturing fire in the vain hope of enthroning the sword as the ruler of mankind.

American Forces Abroad

To the mission, one of the most interesting and inspiring events was their contact with American officers and enlisted men in the Navy and Army. At an unnamed port in Great Britain it was their privilege to meet Admiral Rodman upon his flag ship after passing by the huge gray floating fortresses over which waved the stars and stripes. These American dreadnaughts were a part of our fleet which is acting jointly with the Grand Fleet of Great Britain in keeping the seas clear of the Hun's war ships and merchant bottoms. Our Admiral extended a most cordial welcome and after the formal reception had terminated chatted informally with the members of the group. He expressed his appreciation for the efforts of American workers to build ships, and referred to the pressing necessity for more ships so that our country's resources could be more speedily utilized in bringing the war to a successful termination. Our ships and the blue jackets who manned them looked ready and fit for any emergency which might arise, their appearance giving assurance that Old Glory and all that our flag stands for was safe in their keeping. From the expressions heard at every hand it was evident that the two fleets were cooperating in fact and in spirit and that the most friendly relations existed between the officers and enlisted men. Our own clear-eyed, manly appearance in sailors spoke in most enthusiastic terms of the friendly attitude of the British seamen. The high officers of both fleets indicated by their attitude, as well as their words, the deep bond of friendship as well as the common cause which had united them by inseparable bonds. If we refer more extensively to our army in France, it is because of greater opportunity of seeing it in action, and witnessing the preparations which it was making to do its full part, and more, in the battles then being fought and those which were to follow. It was our privilege to meet General Pershing and his staff, but before this, we were given a roadside reception

by the fighting colonel of one of our regiments and his men who had just returned from the fighting line, after a battle which had left many of our boys in khaki sleeping beneath the soil they had so gloriously defended.

They had not fought in vain, for over two Huns had been killed for every American. As we stepped from our military automobiles, our boys were drawn up on parade, and while the Stars and Stripes floated over them, a military band stirred the blood with those martial airs which mean so much to Americans. After a brief reception, the Colonel gave the order "break ranks" and in a moment each member of the Mission was the center of as splendid an appearing group of American soldiers as they had ever seen. One thing was speedily impressed upon us—the soldiers admired their colonel—they had confidence in him—they loved him and were eager to follow him wherever he might lead. Clean cut, fresh looking in spite of the battle they had just fought, full of enthusiasm and anxious to get back to the front, they gave the lie to those who had circulated stories at home of the evil ways they had fallen into since leaving American shores. There was not the slightest evidence that any of them had forgotten the lessons of morality or manliness which they had learned at their mother's knee, the fighting spirit which they possessed and their evidence of vitality being sufficient in themselves to indicate that both they and their officers had kept their minds and bodies fit for the work which lay before them. "Tell the folks at home that they will never be ashamed of us," more than one of our boys said as a last message before we were forced to leave them.

On the road, and in the villages, we saw many of our boys helping a peasant woman by carrying a pail or a bundle, or surrounded by a group of children whom they were entertaining. On every hand we listened to complimentary reference to the attitude which our soldiers had shown toward the civilian population, and the French soldiers' eyes assumed an expression which gave added emphasis to their words as they spoke of their American comrades in arms.

It was towards the end of a strenuous day that we reached a place somewhere in France where General Pershing had established his headquarters. The General, surrounded by his Staff formally received the Mission, and then mingled with the group and there followed conversations which will never be forgotten. No descriptions of General Pershing do him full justice—tall, of military figure, full of energy, keen and alert of mind, blue eyes that look at you frankly and penetratingly, square jawed, with smiling lips that almost hide the firm lines they assume at times, he seemed to be the embodiment of America's ideal soldier. The Staff which surrounded him, which included General McAndrews, were also soldiers whose appearance, manner and conversation inspired confidence. After seeing and talking with them we were impressed with the conviction that the mothers in America need have no worry as to the watchful care which would be taken of their boys who had enlisted to fight the battles of humanity so that freedom, jus-

tice and democratic institutions might emerge triumphant.

After leaving General Pershing's headquarters, we were taken to the numerous points where the American command was training soldiers to take part in some of the features which were being prepared for future efforts. As to these it is advisable that we should remain silent, but it is permissible to say that everywhere we saw evidences of systematic activities and huge military works carried out on so enormous a scale that it was difficult to grasp the fact that they had been constructed by Americans with American material, since the date when our country entered the war. Everywhere we found whole-souled cooperation between officers and men. It would be difficult to determine whether it was the officers who spoke most highly of the men in the ranks or the soldiers who expressed the most admiration for their officers. We left the American Army with sentiments of confidence and pride, and the conviction that its personnel was fully deserving of the confidence which had been placed in them.

Air Raid Over London

While in London the majority of the Mission witnessed one of the great air raids, which from time to time have been an evidence of the methods of German "Kultur." This raid, participated in by several divisions of Gothas, lasted practically three hours, and resulted in more damage to buildings than to life, though unfortunately, the barbarians carried death to a number. This report is not the place for a description of an air raid but it may be permissible to say that it constitutes an event which becomes indelibly fixed in the memory of those who pass through it. Warning whistles send the people to the bomb shelters, hundreds of giant searchlights sweep the sky and as the death dealing airships approach the city, battery after battery of anti-aircraft guns fill the heavens with a barrage of exploding, splintering, shrapnel which, after filling the air with deadly effect, descends at last in a shower of jagged fragments most dangerous and often fatal to those who have not sought safe shelter. Colored lights high above signal to the batteries below that the defending airplanes are about to attack the Huns, and in that sector the shrapnel ceases to explode, the report of bursting shells being replaced by the sharp discharge of aerial rapid fire guns. Soon the duel has ceased and again the earth is rocked by the firing of the land batteries. From time to time a dull muffled roar testifies to the explosion of a bomb, and where this is followed by a red glow, that it was of an incendiary nature. At last horns are blown from rapidly moving volunteer autos which officially inform the citizens that the raid is over. That a heavy injury is inflicted upon the invaders is shown by their heavy losses, seven of their machines having been destroyed in the raid we witnessed. The following day we were taken to a number of places where bombs were dropped, those inspections enabling us to form an idea of their great powers for destruction.

While London has suffered from repeated air raids, Paris also has had its

air raids and in addition has been subjected to the particularly grueling punishment of long range bombardment. We were able to inspect closely much of the damage done by the German 70-mile gun. St. Gervais church, built in the twelfth century, was the victim of one of the most destructive shells from this unseen weapon. In this church, a shell fell through the roof upon a throng of worshippers, killing approximately 100. At another point a shell had burst beside a factory wall, killing several girl workers inside. We were interested in learning that it was the falling of this shell through a glass and metal awning that enabled the government's mathematicians to ascertain the exact trajectory and location of the gun. The periodical pounding of the French capitol with this monster cannon impressed us as being one of the most vicious features of Prussian warfare.

Official Receptions

We are justified in saying that no body of civilians at any time have been accorded such receptions as those which were given to the group of American citizens who had crossed the Atlantic to tell the story of America's spirit and what America was doing to hasten the day of deliverance from the threat of Hunnish savagery. They were received by rulers and men who stand out most prominently in the history of the war, and on every occasion when the story of what American trade-unionists were doing, had been related, and their war aims stated, the policy of the American Federation of Labor was given the warmest approval.

The first reception was given by Ambassador Page at the American Embassy in London. The graciousness and cordiality of his welcome gave added pleasure to the occasion and left a most favorable impression upon each member of the group.

At our embassy we were privileged to meet Admiral Sims, who at once made our mission feel that they were talking with a red-blooded, frank, straightforward American. He gave sound advice, some necessary information and indicated a profound interest in the activities of the American Federation of Labor. That evening we again had the pleasure of meeting Admiral Sims at the American Officers' Club where, surrounded by other prominent naval and army officers, a most enjoyable and profitable evening was spent. It is a pleasure to report that in every quarter, we heard high praise for the great work being accomplished under Admiral Sims energetic direction.

The following day there was a dinner at the House of Commons, which was given by the Right Honorable George Barnes, member of Great Britain's war cabinet and Former General Secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers. Many of Britain's most illustrious men were gathered around the tables, their presence being one of the many evidences which were given of the importance attached to the mission's activities. Among those who gave special prestige to the occasion were: Arthur Balfour, Viscount Bryce, Lord Beaverbrook, Lord Robert Cecil, Austin Chamberlain, the Earl of

Derby, Sir Auckland Geddes, Viscount Milner, Ambassador Page, Sir Horace Plunkett, Sir J. Forbes Robertson, Sir Rosslyn Wemyss, naval head of the Admiralty; J. R. Clynes, M. P.; Ben Tillet, M. P.; Rt. Hon. Wm. Bruce, M. P.; Rt. Hon. G. H. Roberts, M. P.; Rt. Hon. J. Hodge, M. P.; Rt. Hon. D. J. Wardel, M. P.; and other brilliant, forceful characters, who are now taking a leading part in their country's defense. Shortly afterwards, in an unnamed Northern port, the party was taken through a long lane of Great Britain's giant dreadnaughts to the grand fleet's flagship on board of which they were received by Admiral Sir David Beatty. In his cabin, the nerve center of the world's greatest Armada, he described some of the fleet's work and activities, spoke with praise of the seamen who manned his ships, and paid a high tribute to the American naval unit, its commander and its sailors. He also expressed his warm appreciation for the steps taken by the American Federation of Labor to establish the greatest possible degree of co-operation with the American Government in the building of ships. Despite the heavy burdens resting upon him he had found time to inform himself of what the American Federation of Labor and its president, Samuel Gompers, were doing. It was after this rare opportunity of meeting Great Britain's high admiral that we enjoyed the added honor of being received by our own naval leader, Admiral Rodman and the same day we were entertained in the Admiralty House at a luncheon given by Admiral Sir Cecil Burney, Commander-in-Chief of the naval forces of Scotland.

Returning to London, we were received by Winston Churchill, Minister of Munitions, whose statements in part are referred to in this report under another heading, and afterwards in a most extraordinary manner we were brought together with the representatives of the press of the world at a luncheon in Whitehall Palace, served in the Banquet Hall where Cromwell once held Parliament and from which Charles I. stepped to the scaffold through one of its windows. It was the first time since this historic event over two hundred years ago, that a banquet had been served in this great hall, saturated with the stirring history of the past and today filled with relics of Britain's wars and heroes.

We first touched the soil of France at Havre, where a formal welcome was tendered by the mayor and representatives of the French War Department. Afterward, we were received by the officers of the Belgian Government, whose temporary capitol is now on French soil, and at this official function we had the pleasure of meeting that truly representative American, Brand Whitlock. In Paris we began the official receptions by paying our respects to that distinguished American citizen, Ambassador Sharp. We were then presented to Marshal Joffre at his headquarters, the hero of the Marne, speaking in feeling terms of the reception he had received at the time of his visit to America, and of his affection for the American people. Shortly afterwards, we were received in turn by General Dubail, Military Governor of Paris, and the aged veteran General Niox, Governor of the Invalides, those spacious buildings which,

among other points of interest, contain Napoleon's tomb.

The following day, President Poincare formally received the mission in his official residence, taking the opportunity to voice his admiration for President Wilson and the American people and expressing his warm appreciation for the war policy which the American Federation of Labor had adopted. At noon, Monsieur Pichon, Minister of Foreign Affairs, gave the mission a luncheon at which all members of the French Cabinet were present, and shortly afterwards, the municipal authorities of Paris gave an official welcome in their magnificent Hotel de Ville. From this delightful function, the mission proceeded to the Chamber of Deputies, which for the first time in its history adjourned in honor of visitors. Premier Clemenceau, the President of the Chamber of Deputies; Paul Duchanel and Antonin Dubost, President of the Senate, mingling with the Senators and Deputies who thronged the reception hall. There were also two unofficial receptions which must be referred to, one given by Mrs. William Astor Chanler, at which many of the most prominent men of the nation were present, and the other by the Volney Club, where a brilliant gathering spent the evening in exchange of opinions.

On returning to London we were received by Lloyd George in the cabinet room, where Britain's energetic Premier pled the members of the Mission with questions in addition to giving most interesting and valuable information. In spite of the tremendous call upon his energies he seemed surcharged with vitality, and keenly alive to details as well as the larger problems.

A few days afterwards, an invitation was received from their Majesties, King George and Queen Mary, to meet them in Buckingham Palace. After the formalities of the reception had terminated, King George, Queen Mary and Princess Mary spent over an hour in informal conversation with the members of the Mission. The king moved freely from group to group, discussing various phases of the war and surprising the members of the mission by his intimate knowledge of industrial problems and of the leaders in the industrial movement both in Great Britain and abroad. His personal attitude, his wide range of knowledge coupled with his sound and statesmanlike grasp of industrial questions and national and international problems, made the event one of extraordinary interest and value, apart from the fact that we were being so highly honored. Queen Mary was most gracious in her attitude and found occasion to converse with each member of the mission, indicating by her conversation a keen and most sympathetic interest in all that was transpiring at home and abroad. The Princess Mary proved to be a most charming and unaffected young lady, unassuming and gentle in her demeanor and charming in her conversation.

At all of these receptions, one or more members of the Labor Mission responded to the welcome extended by referring to the war aims and policies of the American Federation of Labor and giving the reason which had prompted the American trade-unionists to adopt them.

Just before leaving England our Mission again visited the American Embassy

to say farewell to Ambassador Page, thank him for the courtesies he had extended and impart some information which perhaps might be of practical value.

As the party gathered in the Railway Station, Lord Northcliffe, who had been confined to his home for several days by sickness and who was still suffering, made his appearance for the purpose of meeting the mission and wishing them a Godspeed on their journey home.

Recommendations

Your mission was authorized to convey to our brothers in the Allied Nations a statement of the American Federation of Labor war aims and policies, and to bring back with them a report of this work, coupled with a statement of their observations. It was not instructed to submit recommendations. It is with some hesitancy therefore, that its members united in placing before you for your serious consideration a recommendation, which if adopted, will inaugurate a new feature in our international relations. As the result of painstaking observations and investigation your mission was impressed with the failure of ordinary official methods of communication to keep the trade-unionists of the Allied Countries sufficiently well informed as to developing tendencies, and the tentative programs which were being considered by many of the leaders, or launched upon the movement by some of its affiliated groups. There is, of course, no difficulty in securing complete statements of all the official aims and policies adopted in conventions or conference by representative trade union bodies. But in the strong currents set in motion as a result of the industrial dislocations due to war time conditions, there is much transpiring of a most vital influence upon our movement, which may not become a matter of official report for months. It is unnecessary to present any lengthy argument for the purpose of making it apparent that if intercommunication is necessary to the welfare of our movement during normal times, it becomes increasingly so during war time, and absolutely essential to the welfare of our movement during such a war as the present world wide conflict, in which not only armies, but industrial movements as well, may prove the determining factor for victory in the final balancing of the scales.

While there exists free intercommunication between the trade union movements of the Allied Nations, this has in our opinion proved insufficient to enable our movement to keep in as close touch with what was transpiring and developing abroad as was essential to our mutual welfare. We, therefore, recommend that during the period of the war, the American Federation of Labor maintain one or more direct representatives in Europe.

Visit to Ireland

During the last few days of our stay a visit to Ireland was arranged for those members of the mission who found themselves free from engagements in London. The party went first to Belfast, crossing the channel from a Scottish port. The stay in Belfast was brief and afforded

time only for a luncheon with the Lord Mayor and a hurried inspection of the York Mills and the magnificent Municipal Technical Institute. It is in the York Mills that the linen for the best airplane wings is woven.

From Belfast the party went to Dublin. We reached Dublin at an unfortunate time, the Whitsuntide holidays. Because of this and the lack of time for advance notification, the mission was unable to secure meetings with representatives of the labor movement. An effort to prolong the stay was made, but the sailing time of our homeward-bound vessel made this impossible. We were compelled to leave Ireland with only a hasty impression of the remarkable beauty and possibilities of the country. Fortunately, though the visit was most brief, it was possible to meet a number of representative Irishmen.

Conclusion

At another point in this report there has been reviewed at length the desire of many leaders, and the declarations of the Inter-allied conference in favor of holding a conference or conversation with representatives of the German workers. It was not deemed wise to add to that section of the report the findings which we wish to record in this paragraph, but these findings should be conveyed to our movement. We were able to learn before leaving Britain that unquestionably the leaders of the German and Austrian trade union and Socialist movements have for some time had full knowledge of the pronouncement of the Inter-allied conference of February last and that they have failed to make any statement of their own purposes and have failed to indicate any willingness to enter into any meeting with representatives of allied labor as proposed in the Inter-Allied declaration. This of itself seems to show clearly the attitude of the German workers and to prove that the entire program for an international conference falls of its own weight.

Throughout Great Britain and France we were impressed with the desire of the people for a closer relationship with America and a better understanding of Americans and American ideals. This desire was constantly expressed with the deepest feeling and at every turn we were made aware of a love for our land and our people and that, we feel, must have its full flower and fruition in a common effort to build a better and nobler civilization upon the foundation we now are fighting side by side to make secure. As Americans we were deeply touched by these expressions of affection so frequently brought to us by representatives of all walks of life. The people of our allies indicated to us a resolve for a partnership of ideal effort and a brotherhood of spirit that shall last for all time, utilizing to the full the opportunities that shall be ours in common through democracy made safe from attack by scientific despotism and brutality.

It was their thought that as we fight together today to maintain our freedom, so we must work and learn and build together when our armies and navies have

opened the way to a resumption of peaceful pursuits.

So generous and heartfelt was the cordiality with which we were received by our brothers of Britain and France, so genuine were the constant expressions of friendship and brotherhood in labor's cause, that we find it a keen delight to here declare the pleasure with which we accepted these tributes to the American Trade Union movement.

We felt constantly that it was as representatives of the American Federation of Labor that these attentions were shown us and these pledges of friendship given. We bring back to our movement the word of these evidences, expressing here but feebly the spirit with which we were met everywhere.

No matter what differences as to questions of trade union tactics we found, there was at all times a gratifying affection shown for the American trade union movement and a real and deep-seated desire for permanent mutual effort in achieving the common goal of enlightened trade unionism.

On behalf of our movement we expressed to our brothers our appreciation of the kindness shown us, but we must add here what we said then, that we shall trust to our deeds rather than our words to demonstrate what lies deepest in the hearts of the American workers.

We wish to add, also, an expression of thanks to the military and naval officers of allied nations who were our painstaking guides on all expeditions to war making establishments and to the fleets and battle-fronts. It was their kindness and forethought, often exercised under the most trying circumstances, that enabled us to bring back so complete a picture of the war and its magnitude and meaning.

Our whole endeavor while abroad was to present the war policy of the American Federation of Labor as it is found in the official records. This was done in private conversation, in conference, in public meetings and in statements to the press.

We gave the record from the beginning, describing first the conference of trade union officials held in Washington, March 12, 1917, nearly a month before America entered the war, at which time the leaders pledged themselves to the support of the government "in peace or in war." We explained that this action was necessary because there was not time for a regular convention to meet the situation. We described the industrial difficulties which arose following the declaration of a state of war and the conferences held with government representatives, through which adjustments satisfactory to labor were reached.

It was with special pride that we described to our brothers across the sea the Buffalo Convention of the American Federation of Labor, to which President Wilson came to pay high tribute to labor's fidelity, and in which, as we repeated on every occasion, every question of labor war policy was determined by unanimous vote.

We recounted the various steps that had been taken in promotion of the proposal

that representatives of organized labor should sit with the government plenipotentiaries around the table at which peace terms are to be drawn. But we proclaimed with vigor at every opportunity the determination of the American trade union movement not to be drawn into any conference or conversation with German representatives of any kind while Prussian militarism remains a menace to freedom and democracy, and while the armies of that despotism remain on the soil of France and Belgium.

During our stay abroad the position of the American Federation of Labor was not only carried to the labor movements in Britain and France, but was in fact laid before the world, due to the prominence given our mission. Moreover, we left for home with the definite knowledge that our declarations had penetrated into Germany and Austria with sufficient depth to give to large sections of those countries a knowledge of the spirit and determination of the American trade union movement.

It is fair to assume, in the light of this knowledge, that at least the German and Austrian leaders of a misguided population know that in America the workers understand that the barrier between us and them has been raised by their own actions and must be destroyed by the Teutonic people themselves or by the weight of our armed forces before there can be any discussion with them relating to peace or international fellowship.

We arrived at an Atlantic port and immediately got into long distance communication with President Gompers and arranged to be in conference with him at the Executive Council room of the A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C. At 10 o'clock Saturday morning, June 1, the mission met in conference with President Gompers and Secretary Morrison, with the officers of the various departments and other labor men and women in Washington, where we were welcomed and greeted and an informal general survey of our observations was given. Arrangements having been made, the mission, together with President Gompers and Secretary Morrison had a conference with President Wilson in the White House at three o'clock Saturday afternoon, June 1, lasting 45 minutes. A general exchange of views ensued, the President expressing his great appreciation and gratitude for the service the mission had performed.

We cannot find words to express the gratitude and admiration which came to us not only from the interview itself, but the simplicity and the democracy of the President's manner, the frankness with which he addressed us, the evident keenness of his mind, the clarity of his expressions and the modesty of his entire demeanor and personality.

In addition to the great respect and admiration manifested on every hand for President Gompers, both from the representatives of the masses of labor with whom we came in contact, as well as the representatives of the governments of Great Britain and France, we have been unperturbed to urge upon him a visit to those countries at the earliest possible time. We therefore recommend to the

Executive Council, and we trust and hope through the E. C. to the convention, that President Gompers be authorized and requested to undertake such a mission at an early date and before the close of this year.

Respectfully submitted,
 JAMES WILSON, Chairman,
 MARTIN F. RYAN,
 WILLIAM SHORT,
 GEORGE L. BERRY,
 MELINDA SCOTT,
 AGNES NESTOR,
 WILLIAM H. JOHNSTON,
 JOHN P. FREY, Secretary,
 CHESTER M. WRIGHT, Asst. Secy.

Delegate James Wilson, Patternmakers: I hope you will permit me, as a member of the commission, to say in addition to this report, that there were many evidences of deep appreciation shown by the people we had the privilege to meet of the attitude of the labor movement of America and its war policies, especially that part which proclaimed that there should be no meeting and no participation in any conference at which were present representatives of the German workers so long as this war lasts. Wherever we went we found that the navy men, the army men, the labor men, the President of France, the King of England, the Premier of England and the men on the firing line knew of and were heartened by the attitude of the labor men of America. Many times I was asked by these people to extend their appreciation to you, and through you to the delegates and the labor movement of America, for the splendid position our movement has taken, for its clearcut, definite policy that cannot be interpreted in any other than one way. This has given hope and determination to those who are fighting on the other side what little pacifism there is on the other side.

As has been said in the report, the General who came to meet us at Verdun, after having presented to each member of the mission a medal which had been struck in commemoration of the men who died on that field rather than permit the armies that have crucified civilization to pass through, in appreciation of the work which you had done, President Gompers, and in appreciation of the attitude of the labor movement of America, requested us to present to you in his behalf the Medal of Verdun, which bears the inscription in French, "They Shall Not Pass," and with it he wrote this: "To Mr. Gompers, President of the American Federation of

Labor, Verdun, May 8, 1918," with his name which, on account of the place he is located cannot be made public now. I desire to present this medal in his behalf.

Delegate Walker, Mine Workers: I move that the report be adopted by rising vote, that it be made part of the proceedings of this convention, printed in pamphlet form to be sent to the entire labor movement and given the widest publicity. Seconded by Delegate Connors, J. B.

Delegate Schlesinger, International Ladies Garment Workers: There are a few points in that report I am not very well pleased with. Some references are made to the Socialists of Europe that does not meet my approval, and I am sure do not meet the approval of a great many Socialists. It is that the Socialists of Europe are politicians and that a division is growing between the trade Unions and the Socialists.

Delegate Frey: I think you did not get the exact language of the report or you would not make the statement you do. The report does not contain the language you have stated.

The motion offered by Delegate Walker was adopted by rising vote.

President Gompers: The entire convention, with the exception of four delegates, approves of the report. Four votes are cast against it. The recommendations contained in the report will be referred to the Committee on International Labor Relations.

Delegate Dobson, Bricklayers, asked the chair if he would inform the convention whether or not the record of the organization whose delegates cast the negative vote was in harmony with the fundamental principles of the American Federation of Labor. The chairman stated that it was not within the province of the president to make such a statement.

A further brief statement was made by Delegate Dobson, and Delegate Schlesinger replied that his organization had as clear a record in the A. F. of L. and for a longer period than the organization represented by Delegate Dobson, and he felt he had a right to express the sentiments of the people he represented.

At 12:30 the convention was adjourned to 2 p. m. of the same day.

SECOND DAY--- Tuesday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2 o'clock p. m., Tuesday, June 11th. President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—Kline, Sovey, Preece, Corcoran, Boyer, Hutcheson, Mahlon, Baker, Conway, Desepete, Noonan (J. P.), McAndrews (J. J.), Fisher (F.), Feeney, Dunn, Silberstein, Kaufman, Doyle (F.), Williams (Jno.), Gould, Duty, O'Connor (T. V.), Wharton, Van Lear, Lane, Schmidt (Fred), Davidson, Cannon, Hayes (F. J.), White (J. P.), Green, Lewis, Valentine, Carey, Schneider (G. J.), Bergstrom, Doid, Kearney, Anderson (C.), Berry (G. L.), Orr, McHugh, Burke, La Belle, Ryan (E. J.), Holt, Freel, Summer, Heberling, Stillman, Ross (L. J.), Koenkamp, Agethen, Curtis, Scott (M. G.), Hatch, Mountford, Toone, Stack, Iglesias, Christenson, Wiess, Wilk, Hoof, Crickmore, Williams (H.), Sutton, O'Dell, Smith (J. T.), Brown (J. H.), Brindell, Greene, Young, Gayton, Curran, Fricke, Parker, Jennings (E. O.), Ryerson, Fanning, Raven, Burns (T. E.), Mosher, Bush, Kuhn, Hester, Casey, Beck, Bruen, Harte, Browne, Lampa, Morris, Levi, Gay, Wendell, Quesse, Kester, Staunton, Walker (M.), Waplington, deKraft, Williams (T. J.), Ellicott, Welch (W. E.), Campbell (W. A.), Bell, Pinkston, Frazier, Faramore, Yarrow, Riordan, Byrne, Lancaster, Kincker, Sharon.

President Gompers: The Executive Council of the American Federation of La-

bor has received an application from the Oil Workers local unions for a charter. Several organizations have made protests against the issuance of the charter, and unless the protests are met it is not determined whether the charter shall be issued. The Executive Council recommends that the representatives of the organizations that made the protests meet with the representatives of the Oil Workers. The representatives of the Oil Workers met in St. Paul a few days prior to the opening of this convention and decided to organize an international union.

Delegate Snellings, Engineers: I received a notice from the American Federation of Labor a short time ago that there would be a conference held between the Engineers and the Electrical Workers on June 11th. Is that conference to take place?

President Gompers: It is to take place. I suggest that the representatives of the two organizations meet on this platform after the session adjourns.

Two representatives of the labor movement of Belgium are in the convention and I take great pleasure in presenting

Lieutenant Henri De Man and Professor A. G. Van Hecke.

Address of Lieutenant Henri De Man.

Mr. President: I take great pleasure in conveying to the representatives of the American Federation of Labor a message in behalf of organized labor in Belgium. It is a message of thanks for the policy your Federation has adopted during this war. I am particularly pleased to say that I am not the only representative of organized labor of Belgium who will have the pleasure of addressing you today. I think this is the first time in the history of the Belgian labor movement that representatives of its two sections—which so far have been antagonistic—have met on the same platform. Professor Von Hecke and myself represent these two different sections. I am not even going to tell you which section I represent and which section he represents, or even the names of the respective organizations; we are supposed to have forgotten them, and we have forgotten them. We forgot them on the evening of the 3rd of August, 1914, when Germany's invasion of Belgium brought us all together and allowed us to remember no other name and be true to no other denominations than the Belgian labor movement in Belgium.

We have spent a few weeks in this country and we have been able to see what power labor can reach when it is united, when it has not religious or political dissension to interfere with the efficiency of trade union action. We hope that lesson will not be lost for either of us. This war has destroyed a great many things and it will destroy a great many things more before it is finished; but there is also a constructive element, and that appears most clearly in the fact that this war has brought democracy and labor of the democratic nations much closer together. It has not only achieved that miracle of making the two sections of the Belgian trade union movement, which fought each other bitterly up to 1914, unite in a common effort of resistance against German invasion; but it has also brought European labor closer to the American Federation of Labor as representing the toilers of this country.

I think Mr. Frey expressed the sentiment of the labor men of Europe when he said that no man is more honored among us today than President Wilson, because we see in him not only the exponent of a national policy, but the spokesman of international democracy of which labor is a vital part. As your President and as your government are looked upon by us as the representatives of fighting democracy, Mr. Gompers, as the President of the American Federation of Labor, is looked upon by us as the exponent of the position of the world's labor in this war, and we always associate his name as representative of labor with the name of President Woodrow Wilson as representative of democracy in the larger sense.

Professor Van Hecke, who has been more closely associated with the civilian population so far than I have—I have been in the trenches—will tell you something about the part of Belgium, which is practically the whole of it, that is

occupied by the Germans. It is very bad. It is slow, systematic starvation despite what your country has been doing to provide us with a minimum of food. I only want to lay stress on this fact, that the main problem in occupied Belgium today is unemployment. Three quarters of our industrial population have been altogether unemployed for more than three years and a half. That unemployment is due largely to the wholesale and systematic destruction and the sapping of the roots of our prosperity by the German occupancy. What is particularly noteworthy is that it is voluntary unemployment; in fact, the labor world in Belgium is a spectacle of the hugest, most prolonged and general strike the world has even seen, because there is not a single one of these unemployed in Belgium who could not have got a job if he had cared to do war work for the Germans, to work on railways, to make roads, to make sand bags for fortifications, and so on. Professor Van Hecke will tell you some of the devices the Germans have employed to make them work, but in no case have they succeeded, and the whole of Belgium's labor, including the most extreme socialistic section, is as firm and united today on the policy of resistance to German oppression as it was on the third of August, 1914.

Mr. Frey, this morning, referred to what he called the small but noisy pacifist minority in most of the European countries. He may be right, with the exception of Belgium, because there is not a single pacifist in any section of the Belgian labor movement. There is a very good reason for that. There is only one reason. It is that having lived under German rule for three years and a half the Belgians know what it is to be ruled by kaiserism and militarism, and they are prepared to make any sacrifice rather than have their children live under the rule they are living under today.

Belgium labor has probably suffered more through this war than has any other class of the community, either in Belgium or abroad, and it is because of the fact that they have suffered so much that they have already made such sacrifices that they want to continue. I do not think that anyone who would talk to the Belgians, either in the occupied territory or in the trenches of a negotiated peace would meet with any success, that he would find anyone who would even listen to him.

The Germans, apparently, do not understand the reason of Belgium's resistance. The late Baron Von Bissing, the German governor of Belgium, once made the statement—made public after his death—that there was only one solution for Germany in regard to the rule they were to apply to Belgium. He was in favor of annexation of Belgium by Germany, but he quite realized that to go on ruling Belgium they would probably have to expel every Belgian and settle Belgium with German inhabitants. He said: "The Belgians are a psychological problem. Their opposition to Germany is beyond understanding to us Germans." Well, what was a problem

to Baron von Bissing may not be a problem to people like you who live in a democratic country and know what freedom and democracy mean, because you have enjoyed these things for many years. The Germans do not understand the sacrifices we are making for our free institutions and whatever democracy we have got, because they have not even tasted of freedom, and the nation that has not tasted of freedom does not know what sacrifices freedom is worth. If they knew a little about the history of our country they would know that Belgium has for more than six hundred years enjoyed municipal and provincial self-government with equal suffrage; that we are one of the oldest, if not the oldest, democratic countries in Europe, and that all through Belgian history it is a story of wars and revolutions against foreign oppressors. There is one thing our nation always stood for, and that is the maintenance of these democratic institutions, and that is especially from the point of view of Belgian labor, necessary to maintain that minimum of freedom and democracy without which it is not possible to fight for social reform or anything that will bring more happiness to the toilers.

If any class of the community is interested in this war, which is a war of defense of world democracy against autocracy, it is labor. No class needs democracy more than labor. And that is what makes us invincible in this war in spite of everything that has happened and what may happen in a few, I am afraid, very dark months that are before us. If this war was only a war of nations it would be different, but it is a civil war. The history of your country shows that in civil war the consciousness of the people of what they are fighting for and their determination to see certain things through which interest every individual, and not only the rulers of a few countries, that these are the only safeguards of victory.

Democracies have lost battles but they have never lost wars. Democracies are bound to lose battles, because never were democracies prepared for war. Every time a democracy has had to fight a war it has had to prepare for it during the war. A democracy always finds itself in the position of an amateur who fights a professional. In the beginning of the war the professional always wins, because he is better prepared and he knows some tricks that his opponent does not know; but very soon things change, the amateur learns some tricks of the professional, and he learns a few more, too, as I believe you are learning. In the long run what wins is the determination of every individual, not only in the armies, but every individual in the workshops, every individual in the civilian population. Your president pointed out yesterday that this is no longer a war of armies, it is a war of nations, and it is the nations that are the most democratic that are fighting for their own ideals that will win. And they will win with your help.

That is how we look upon this war, and in that light it is easy to understand how close it has brought us to each other. To a very large extent, to a growing

extent, this war is a war of labor. It is labor that will win the war, and it is for that reason, because you have taken such a firm and enlightened attitude in this war, you have rendered such a great service, not only to the cause of democracy but to the cause of labor. By taking the position which the American Federation of Labor has taken in this war you will have a leading position for a long time to come in the international labor movement. As we are looking toward you now for advice and help and encouragement, so we will look after the war is won, and I think you will then realize more than you do now how right Mr. Gompers has been and how right everybody has been who is responsible for the attitude that has been taken by your Federation.

Therefore my message is a message of thanks for the support and encouragement you have given us, and also a message of hope that the relations as suggested by Mr. Frey in his interesting report this morning, the relations between the labor movement in this country, as represented by your Federation, and the whole of the European labor movement will come closer and closer. And by strengthening these relations, by helping each other labor will, by the victory of the Allies in this war, enjoy the benefits of a government of the people, by the people and for the people in all countries.

Address of Professor A. G. Van Hecke.

Mr. President, Delegates to the American Federation of Labor: I am quite proud to be the interpreter, not only of the members of that section of the trade unions I represent in this mission, but of the whole Belgian nation, when I express my deep gratitude to your President, Mr. Gompers, for the opportunity he gave me to meet on this platform, under the auspices and with the approval of the American Federation of Labor, with my friend Lieutenant De Man, the representative of another section of our organized labor in Belgium. And I hope I will often have during this war, and also after this war, the pleasure of meeting my good friend De Man in order that we can give to Americans the best proof that since the war has broken out we have known only one thing—Belgium for the Belgians. We are confident that after the war we will follow in Belgium the splendid example you have given us here in America. All the laborers will be united in the same organization where the personal feelings in both a political and a religious way can be respected, as they are here.

Belgium today seems to be very paradoxical. Belgium has never been so small, and never has she been so large. There are three Belgians instead of one. There is still a free and unoccupied Belgium. In extent it is only a few square miles, but it is bordered in such a way that never will this free, small corner come under German rule. That free, unoccupied Belgium is our fighting Belgium, in the midst of which is our King, the head of the Belgian army. The borders of this free Belgium you know. On one side is the North Sea, and the North Sea, as well

as all the seas, is still controlled and will remain controlled by our friends, the English. The other side is resting upon the French frontier. In 1914 the French showed to us and showed to the world their heroic resistance and valor. What they did then on the Marne they are doing today. On the third side is a small river, the Yser, the smallest river we had in Belgium, so small that I believe it did not figure on the German military maps they prepared before the war, but it is before this small river their huge army has been stuck for four years. And in history it will remain the greatest humiliation for the German army and the German nation that never has it succeeded in conquering the whole of the Belgian nation.

Then there is exiled Belgium. All the Belgians whose homes were burned, who had lost their relatives, killed by German soldiers, had to leave their country. They are living in Holland, France and England. There is another Belgium—occupied and oppressed Belgium. Lieutenant De Man told you I lived for several months under German rule. I was in Louvain when the German army entered the city. My wife and myself were members of the Red Cross in a hospital in one of the institutions established by our Cardinal Mercier before the war. Five days after their army came into Louvain German soldiers fired upon other German soldiers. Then during four days and four nights they systematically burned more than sixteen hundred houses and killed more than eight hundred civilians. And then through their newspapers they told the whole world that if the library of the University of Louvain had been burned it was because the civil population had killed German soldiers. The truth is that German soldiers killed each other.

There is another paradoxical Belgium. In occupied Belgium a strike has been going on since the beginning of the German occupation, and that strike of our Belgian working men will last while a German soldier is on Belgian soil. The Germans would compel the Belgian laborers to work in their ammunition factories, but for the honor of Belgium I may say that there is not a Belgian who has helped the German army either with his brains or his hands. More than 125,000 laborers have been deported into Germany. They have come back exhausted, weakened and prepared to contract all kinds of diseases. The infantile mortality in Belgium is most depressing. Last year ladies from Holland had been authorized to go to Belgium and take some of our Belgian children to Holland. When the Belgian children came into Holland nine out of ten were suffering from tuberculosis. So we have three Belgians, fighting Belgium, exiled Belgium and occupied Belgium. But there is only one Belgian spirit—a spirit of unshaken confidence in the final victory.

Let me thank you, Mr. President, for your war policy. There is not a Belgian who will enter into negotiations with the Germans, no matter to what class or political party or religion he belongs. Between the Belgians and the Germans there is a gap which never can be filled, be-

cause already it has been filled with the blood of our sons. The other spirit in which the Belgians are living is a spirit of sincere gratitude toward the American people, and especially toward the American Federation of Labor. The names of President Wilson and Mr. Gompers are graven on the hearts of every Belgian. When yesterday I witnessed your parade, when I saw the banners with inscriptions—"We have done this," and "We have done that," if I had not been a Belgian I would have had no idea of your devotion to my compatriots, but I was in Belgium and witnessed something of what you did. You have given the Belgians food, clothes, money, but you have given more—you have given all you could, you have given the blood of your sons. We are united in the same cause. It is for this cause of freedom and democracy and justice that you have come into the world, it is to hasten the hour of victory that you are assisting us.

Before I leave this floor may I renew the hope that I expressed when I came here. It is that the memory of this meeting will remain in the hearts of all, and that when we come back into France that both Lieutenant De Man and myself, when we will have to report to our sections, may say to them that you have made no distinction between the two sections of organized labor we have in Belgium, that you have received us with the same hospitality, with the same sympathy, because you only met Belgians. And from out the trenches in which our soldiers are fighting, from out the countries in which our Belgians are living as exiles, from out the country where they are living under German rule there will be for you, Mr. Gompers, and for all the American Federation of Labor a prayer of thanks and of hope for the future.

Address of President Gompers.

May I be permitted to say to you Lieutenant De Man and to you Professor Van Hecke, that, as you have seen manifested by the delegates of this convention, the cordiality of their greeting to you is not only for themselves but for the great constituencies they represent, the rank and file that hold in their hearts so deep a sentiment for the people of Belgium that words fail to convey it. We have been made acquainted with the conditions of the people of Belgium, particularly since the ruthless manner in which this war has been conducted by the militarist machine of Germany. How deeply the impression has been made upon our minds and our hearts, how deeply the whole cruelty of it all has seared our very souls it would be difficult to express in words. Suffice it to know that the manhood and womanhood of America, urged on and supported by the American labor movement, proposed and proposes to be of service to the people of Belgium and to Belgium as a country.

America has been the asylum for the oppressed people of the earth. America and the labor movement of America have extended support and sympathy to the struggling people of every country on the face of the earth. When the people of a country were engaged in a fight for jus-

tice and for freedom, whatever influence and power the American Federation of Labor could give was given freely and unstintingly—and in no case more so than to the people of Belgium.

It may not be amiss to say, for all of you may not know it, that as part of the insidious propaganda conducted by the German government and its agencies in many parts of the world there was issued by the German propagandist school in Belgium a statement attributed to me—and supposedly expressing the views of organized labor of America—that I was satisfied that Belgium was not actually a people of their own growth and racial and national characteristics, that it would please us, and please me particularly, if the Belgian people would consent to a division of Belgium, part to be turned over to France and the other part to be held by Germany, and then in lieu of that the question of Alsace and Lorraine would be held in abeyance. It was said that those were the peace terms which I proposed for the settlement of the war! How absolutely false and what a pure fabrication it was those who know me best know. But to the people of Belgium it was intended to throw an apple of discord among them, to divide them and to lead them to believe that unless they accepted the proposition which I was supposed to have made, the American working people and the American government would withdraw their sympathy and support from them. When made acquainted with that state of affairs I took the earliest opportunity of repudiating it personally and officially and stamping it with the contempt that such a falsehood required should be done.

The world is making for a new thought and a new ideal, the world is in the making anew; a new concept, a new relationship must come out of it. For those of us who know some of the divisions existing in the labor movements of Continental Europe, of Belgium included, it is a source of gratification and satisfaction to find that two men representing two opposite divisions of the labor movement of Belgium before the war, now stand in a united position before the convention of the American Federation of Labor. There are many differences of opinion among the men and women of labor of America, but we do not believe that these differences are of such a character that we will divide our forces in hostile camps. And it is a hope which I know I can express for my associates and myself that the full fruition may come, not only during the war, but after its triumphant close, there shall be one united labor movement in Belgium and in all of Europe.

Perhaps one of the most potential reasons why the American Federation of Labor occupies the position of dignity and strength and influence it does is because we have not permitted ourselves to drift into hostile camps. We have our religious differences, our political differences, our differences of nationality much more acute than in any country of Europe or perhaps any other country on the face of the globe, but we are united in one common cause and purpose, and that purpose is to protect the rights and the

interests of the masses of labor of America, a purpose to go onward and forward in the promotion of those rights and interests.

We recognize in Belgium the wonderful spirit shown, the tremendous burdens borne and the great sacrifices which your people have had to make. Out of it all must come this new spirit and this new concept of man, and, like America—for America is not merely a name, it is not merely a country, it is not even merely a continent, America is an idea, an ideal—to live for justice, to strive for justice, and, if necessary, to die in the struggle to maintain justice. America is the apotheosis of all that is good and true and worthy in the life of the people of the world. And it has not a narrow meaning, fighting as we are, struggling as we are, making the sacrifices we unquestionably will have to make in the tremendous consecration of the world's struggle in the hope for a better and a brighter day, a day when there shall come this long hope and dream of the world when justice and right and freedom shall be enthroned, when all of us shall either emulate or compete with each other as to who can give greater service in this new, regenerated mankind and brotherhood the world over.

For the convention we thank you for your message and for your words of encouragement. We ask you to take back to your comrades in arms, to the civilian population of Belgium, to your comrades in arms of France and England and to our fighting boys of America the message. We are with you heart and soul, and we will never stop until Belgium is again Belgium in her own right and taking her position among the nations of the earth.

The chairman announced that Delegate Hutcheson would be unable to serve on the Committee on Report of Executive Council, to which he had been appointed, and Delegate Farrington would be substituted.

Resolution No. 2.—By Delegates D. D'Alessandro, J. B. Etchison, J. V. Moreschi, W. F. Dwyer and John Carley, of the International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union:

WHEREAS, The International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America have been granted jurisdiction over all common laborers; and

WHEREAS, Since the entrance of this country into the great war now involving the whole world, a large number of our members (common laborers) are now employed in the ship building industry; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor and some of the International Unions have issued charters to the Ship Building Laborers, who are forcing members of our locals engaged in the above named work to join their unions and relinquish their membership in the International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor instruct its organizers and

the National and International Unions to assist in organizing these common laborers under the banner of the International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That all Locals now chartered by the American Federation of Labor or any National and International Unions composed of men or the class of work mentioned in this resolution be turned over to the International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America.

Referred to Committee on Adjustments.

Resolution No. 3—By Delegate James A. Duncan of the Seattle, Wash., Central Labor Council:

WHEREAS, In order to conserve the best interests of the Nation during this most anxious period of its history, President Wilson by proclamation on April 8, 1918, appointed a War Labor Board, commissioned to (as far as possible) preserve harmonious relations between employers and employes, and laying down as one of the cardinal principles to be observed by said Board, "that the right of workers to organize in Trade Unions, and to bargain collectively through chosen representatives, is recognized and affirmed, and this right shall not be denied, abridged or interfered with by the employers in any manner whatsoever;" and

WHEREAS, Some 250 employes of the Western Union and Postal Telegraph Companies in the City of Seattle, Washington and some at other points who undertake to exercise their recognized American right to organize, or at least attend a meeting upon their own time, Sunday afternoon, April 28th, 1918, for the purpose of discussing the advisability of organization, were forthwith summarily discharged by the said corporation, in defiance of the War Labor Board, and in violation of the principles laid down by our President; and

WHEREAS, The Central Labor Council of Seattle and vicinity and Unions affiliated thereto, have sprung nobly to the aid of their locked out fellow unionists, rendering moral and financial assistance sufficient to sustain them throughout the six weeks period during which the War Labor Board has endeavored in vain to bring about an adjustment; and

WHEREAS, The Unionists of Seattle, realizing that the principle at stake in this controversy is as vital as that for which our brothers have gone in their hundreds of thousands to Europe to fight and to die if need be to maintain, have sworn to uphold this principle at all hazards, even going to the point of ceasing work if need be to force a show-down with these arrogant, unpatriotic and un-American corporations; now therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in its 38th Annual Convention assembled, pledge its utmost support to the locked out Telegraphers and heartily commend the Unionists of Seattle for their unswerving loyalty to the principles of Unionism and Democracy; and further be it

RESOLVED, That while a cessation of work in war essential industries at this critical time could only be justified as a last resort, insists that should such a contingency arise, the responsibility for such action must be placed upon, and borne by these unscrupulous and un-American corporations; and further be it

RESOLVED, That the Federation, in order to prevent further complications, and to conserve the best interests of the nation, respectfully and earnestly petition the President and Congress of the United States to make whatever arrangements may be necessary to immediately take over and operate the Telegraph System of the Nation.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 4—By Delegates Benjamin Schlesinger, J. Heller, I. Feinberg, Max Gorenstein, Mollie Friedman, and Alfred LaPorta, of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union:

WHEREAS, The ten weeks strike of the three thousand men and women, conducted in 1917, by the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union in the skirt, waist, dress, and kimono industry of the City of Chicago, was lost because of the present status of the law in the State of Illinois, which enables employers to use Courts of Chancery as a weapon to prohibit organized labor from exercising its constitutional right to peacefully picket; and were it not for the injunctions then issued that struggle would have resulted in a glorious victory for the Union, and would have established standards of wages and conditions of employment which would be an approximate approach to conditions in other organized industries; and

WHEREAS, The International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, at its convention held in Boston, Massachusetts, during May, 1918, adopted a resolution to again begin an energetic campaign in their trades in the City of Chicago for raising the present low standards of wages and for improving the conditions of labor; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, pledges its support to the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union in every effort it may make for accomplishing the purposes aforesaid, be the same through amiable negotiations with employers, for mediation by public-spirited men, or, as a last resort, by means of a strike, if the desired results cannot be accomplished by any other method.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 5—By Delegates J. A. Taylor, Machinists; Dan McKillop, L. Weyand, Boltermakers; Jacob Heller, Garment Workers; Arthur Burns, Molders:

WHEREAS, The fight for the principle of the basic Eight Hour Day demanded many sacrifices on the part of the workers and their families before it was generally recognized as just and necessary in order that the workers may have an opportunity to live and not be mere beasts of burden; and

WHEREAS, While this principle is now recognized by law as applying to all Government work, and is so enforced as applying to production for the Government in private plants as well, there is nevertheless an effort being made in some quarters to retain or restore the longer work day under the guise of patriotism, and to base wages on total earnings, including overtime, which, when compared with the reduced purchasing power of wages because of the rising cost of living, means an actual cut, in spite of the fact that the wonderful resources of the country and improved methods of production would permit both a further shortening of the work day and increased wages in normal times, thereby insuring a higher general standard of living and stopping the attempts of the few to mortgage the national vitality for the satisfaction of their greed for wealth; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That while we, the workers of the United States will do our utmost to win the war for Democracy, we will not stand for any reduction of our standard of living unless private wealth is first taken over for the nation's use; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That in accordance with the principles laid down in the preamble to the constitution of the A. F. of L. we will stand united and firm for the basic Eight Hour Day in all industries or occupations and such further measures as are found practicable for the improvement of the condition of the toiling masses.

Referred to Committee on Shorter Workday.

Resolution No. 6.—By Delegates J. H. Walker, John T. Dempsey, John Moore, of the United Mine Workers of America:

WHEREAS, Reports of two government hearings show by the confession of Newcomb Carlton, President of the Western Union Telegraph Company, that said company has for years maintained, and at the present time is maintaining, an organization of spies, whose work is so contemptible and low, to use the exact language of Mr. Carlton himself, that he would not associate with them in person nor talk about them in public; and

WHEREAS, The maintenance of a spy system by a private corporation while our country is at war with foreign powers constitutes a continuous and grave menace to the nation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the attention of the Attorney General and the military intelligence department of the general staff of the army be directed to this situation, so that the government may take whatever steps the national interests may demand to remove this menace; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be telegraphed Honorable Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States of America.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 7.—By Delegates Joe N. Weber, Owen Miller, Joe F. Winkler, D. A. Carey, of the American Federation of Musicians:

WHEREAS, In this national crisis, labor is doing its utmost share and is loy-

ally supporting the Government to prosecute the war, showing self-sacrifice on the firing line, as well as behind the line, and therefore has logically the right to look to the Nation to get in return its share for their children of those things which are essential to life and which make nations as well as individuals happier and more contented; and

WHEREAS, That which makes nations and individuals happier and more contented, is not merely material wealth, but includes also spiritual, like music and art, a kind of wealth that no enemy can take away or destroy; and

WHEREAS, Music is proven to be an essential part of civilized life and is a great ethical force in refining and elevating character, and considered in all civilized countries an asset necessary to happiness; and

WHEREAS, Music is a factor in diminishing crime and in bringing spiritual inspiration as well as to cause more contentedness in the homes of our laboring people; and

WHEREAS, The National Government, to whom we look for our national guidance, is essentially also charged with looking after the welfare of the laboring masses and to provide for musical education for their children; and

WHEREAS, Governments of foreign civilized countries spend annually large sums of money to encourage musical education of its citizens by providing national institutions where instruction is free to those who show talent in music; and

WHEREAS, It is estimated that before the war in Europe ten thousand young men and young women flocked to European countries to study music and art, seeking favors from foreign Governments in very many instances because their own Government did not extend to them encouragement to study in their native land; and

WHEREAS, A bill was introduced in Congress to establish a National Conservatory of Music and Art, to be supported and managed by the national government, which bill is now with the Committee on Education, House of Representatives, for consideration; and

WHEREAS, In the opinion of this Federation of Labor, such a National institution is absolutely essential in order to develop and encourage musical education in this country; and therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That Congress be hereby respectfully requested to pass the bill to establish a free National Conservatory of Music to be owned and managed by the Government, in Washington, D. C., and gradually also establish branches in other cities. Although we are now at war with foreign powers and need all our resources and energy to prosecute the war successfully, we should nevertheless look ahead for the time when peace will again reign in the world. The appropriation which Congress is being called on to grant would not be used until the war is over and the bill, if passed, will only serve for the present to make everything ready when peace comes; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be sent to every member in Congress; and, it is further

RESOLVED, That this Federation of Labor shall co-operate with and extend its moral aid to those who endeavor to bring about a successful result to get a free National Conservatory of Music established in this country, to be supported and managed by the Government, to make America independent of other nations in music and art and to make the United States the center for music and art for this hemisphere.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 8—By Delegates Benjamin Schlesinger, J. Heller, I. Feinberg, Max Gorenstein, Mollie Friedman and Alfred LaPorta, of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union:

WHEREAS, The low wages and inferior standards of work prevailing in the cloak, suit, skirt, waist and dress industry in the City of Cleveland, Ohio, is a constant menace to the organized workers of these trades all over the country; and

WHEREAS, The International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, at its convention in Boston, Mass., during May, 1918, adopted a resolution to begin an energetic campaign in the above mentioned trades in the City of Cleveland for raising the standards of wages and for improving the conditions of labor; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, pledges its support to the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union in its negotiations with the employers of the City of Cleveland for a peaceful solution of the grievances of the workers, and likewise in case a strike is found necessary for the enforcement of the just demands of the workers in these trades in the City of Cleveland.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 9—By Delegate A. J. Linck, of the Racine, Wis., Trades and Labor Council:

RESOLVED, That this, the Thirty-eighth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, urge all affiliated National and International Unions to take into membership women who are working at their respective trades, as owing to existing conditions the employers are putting women to work in the different crafts where they have never been employed before; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor is in favor of the women being organized as well as the men with equal pay, irrespective of sex.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 10—By Delegate A. J. Luick, of the Racine, Wis., Trades and Labor Council:

RESOLVED, That this, the Thirty-eighth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, urge all affiliated National and International Unions to do all in their power to establish the basic eight hour day with no hampering of war productions; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That when war production is no longer necessary, that the American Federation of Labor do all in its power to have all affiliated National and International Unions, through concerted action and mutual assistance, establish the eight hour day without overtime unless the necessity be extreme. This not to apply to organizations that have a work day of less than eight hours, but overtime to apply to all.

Referred to Committee on Shorter Workday.

Resolution No. 11—By Delegates Benjamin Schlesinger, J. Heller, I. Feinberg, Max Gorenstein, Mollie Friedman and Alfred LaPorta, of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union:

WHEREAS, The International Ladies Garment Workers' Union at its 14th Biennial Convention held in Boston, Mass., during May, 1918, adopted the following resolution:

"**WHEREAS**, The existence of several autonomous organizations of garment workers is a serious hindrance to the progress and success of organized labor in this industry; and

"**WHEREAS**, Experience has demonstrated that close and organic cooperation of all unions within the same general industry is most conducive to the success of labor's cause and most effective against the encroachment of the employing class; and

"**WHEREAS**, There are definite indications of a movement on the part of the manufacturers' associations in all branches of the garment industry to consolidate into one compact body; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 14th Biennial Convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, reiterating its consistent stand on this subject, urgently requests the American Federation of Labor to take immediate steps for the formation of a Garment Trades Department, within the American Federation of Labor."

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-eighth Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the above quoted resolution of the Convention of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, and that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor take immediate steps for the formation of a Garment Trades Department.

Referred to Committee on Executive Councils Report.

Resolution No. 12—By Delegates Benjamin Schlesinger, Jacob Heller, Max Gorenstein, Mollie Friedman, I. Feinberg and Alfred LaPorta, of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union:

WHEREAS, The Inter-Allied Labor Conference, composed of representatives of organized labor of England, France, Belgium and Italy, adopted, at Nottingham, England, a constructive program of social and economic regeneration, based upon the vital demands and aspirations of the working class after the present world war will have come to an end; be it, therefore,

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorses the program of this conference and pledges its participation in the future meetings of the Inter-Allied Labor Conference.

Referred to Committee on International Labor Relations.

Resolution No. 13—By Delegate W. L. Funder Burk of the Stove Mounters' International Union:

WHEREAS, The Michigan Stove Company, the Peninsular Stove Company, the Art Stove Company and the Detroit Stove Works, all of Detroit, Michigan, have since February 8, 1918, been operating their mounting and assembling departments upon a strictly non-union basis, and since this date have persisted in denying the right of certain of their employes to become members of organized labor and refused to deal with them as such; and

WHEREAS, The above named firms have also refused to concede to the members of the Stove Mounters' International Union an advance in wages equal to the average of increases that have been granted members of the union by all other stove manufacturing concerns throughout the country; and

WHEREAS, The Stove Mounters' International Union and the local union at Detroit have done everything within their power to bring about an amicable adjustment of matters, even to the extent of having a conciliator of the Department of Labor effect an adjustment, which the above named firms have refused to consider; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this, the Thirtieth Convention of the American Federation of Labor declare that the action of the stove manufacturers of the city of Detroit, Mich., is not in accord with the spirit of the times, when all fair-minded concerns are conceding the right of workers to organize and are recognizing the justice of paying wage increases equal to advances granted by competitors; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor does not recommend to organized labor, or its friends, Garland stoves, ranges and furnaces, manufactured by the Michigan Stove Co.; Peninsular stoves, ranges and furnaces, manufactured by the Peninsular Stove Co.; Laurel stoves, ranges and furnaces, manufactured by the Art Stove Co.; or Jewel stoves, ranges and furnaces, manufactured by the Detroit Stove Works, all of which plants are located at Detroit, Mich.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts.

Resolution No. 14—By Delegate G. F. Hardy, of El Paso (Texas) Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, Our country is engaged in this world war for the protection of democracy, and we have pledged our government both our moral and financial support; and

WHEREAS, In the State of Texas there is a law against barber work being done on Sunday; and

WHEREAS, Barbers in cantonnments and government reservations are required to work on Sunday in the communities where such cantonnments and reservations are located; and

WHEREAS, The disregard of the State Sunday law creates conditions unfair to the civilian barbers, and as the government has recognized in these communities, where the cantonnments and reservations are located all crafts except the barbers, we therefore feel that the barber is being unjustly discriminated against; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in annual convention assembled, do protest to the Hon. Newton D. Baker, secretary of war, against the unfair manner in which the barbers are being discriminated against, as this is uncalled for and is liable to create new conditions and upset standards that the barbers have worked for years to establish; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we appeal to the Hon. Newton D. Baker, secretary of war, to investigate this matter and to use whatever efforts that he may see fit to use against the injustice of Sunday slavery for the barbers; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be forwarded to the Hon. Newton D. Baker, secretary of war, by the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor upon the close of this convention.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 15—By Delegate John P. Frey, of the International Molders' Union of North America:

WHEREAS, We have been informed that an order has been issued by some authority providing that American soldiers in France must request that cigarettes be forwarded to them before they can be sent by friends and relatives; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be and is hereby instructed to take immediate steps to have such order rescinded, as it is an unjustified hardship upon our brave boys who are now risking their lives in defense of the nation's liberties.

JAMES WILSON, MALINDA SCOTT,
JOHN P. FREY, AGNES NESTOR,
WILLIAM SHORT, WM. JOHNSTON,
MARTIN F. RYAN,
GEORGE BERRY,
CHESTER M. WRIGHT,

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 16—By Delegate G. F. Hardy of the El Paso (Texas), Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor, by constitutional provisions of its laws, requires all local unions holding charters from National and International Unions affiliated with the A. F. of L., to join chartered Central Labor bodies of the A. F. of L.; and

WHEREAS, In many instances the said local unions comply with this law by merely paying the monthly affiliation dues, but evade the law by not being represented in said central bodies by their delegates; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Committee on Laws be and is hereby instructed to amend said law in the constitution of the A. F. of L. to read that each local union must have one or more delegates present at each and every regular meeting of said Central Labor body, who shall

report back to their local union such business as transacted by said Central Labor body.

Referred to Committee on Law.

Resolution No. 17—By Delegates John H. Pruett of the American Association of Masters, Mates and Pilots; Geo. F. Freitas, I. L. A.; William S. Brown, N. M. E. B. A.:

WHEREAS, Certain conditions exist in the ports of New York, N. Y., Seattle, Wash., and San Francisco, Cal., which are very detrimental to the welfare of the American Association of Masters, Mates and Pilots, and also to the best interests of organized labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That a special committee of three be appointed, one from the Central Federated Union of New York City, one from the Central Labor Council of Seattle and one from the City Labor Council of San Francisco to investigate these matters and report as to what, in their opinion, is the best course to pursue in order to prevent, if possible, a continuance of this state of affairs; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the committee arrange to meet with the delegates of the Masters, Mates and Pilots' Association at this convention for the purpose of ascertaining the facts regarding the conditions complained of; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the convention reindorse the two resolutions known as No. 9 and No. 10, presented to the convention of the A. F. of L. held at Buffalo, N. Y., last year by the delegate representing the American Association of Masters, Mates and Pilots, which resolutions were unanimously adopted.

Referred to Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

Resolution No. 18—By Delegate Thomas F. Burns, of the Central Labor Council of Tacoma, Wash.:

A resolution to be presented for endorsement by the Central Labor Council of Tacoma, Washington, whereby the American Federation of Labor will be petitioned to give a square deal to colored labor and favorably consider an application for an International Charter to organize colored railway men by colored men.

WHEREAS, The influence of world affairs on the present and future condition of the masses of laborers is such as to make necessary a closer and more kindred feeling of sympathy and purpose on the part of all who labor; and

WHEREAS, This spirit of oneness of purpose can and will only be most completely achieved when the benefits derived by the efforts of Organized Labor are not predicated on race, or creed, or sex, or color, but rather shall be the common lot and heritage of all; and

WHEREAS, In the past, because of a lack of realization on the part of the organized white laborer, that to keep the unorganized colored laborer out of the fold of organization, has only made it easily possible for the unscrupulous employer to exploit the one against the other, to the

mutual disadvantage of each, resulting always in creating that undemocratic and un-Christian thing—race prejudice—and its foul by-products, riot and mob rule, as during the mine troubles in the Pacific Northwest in the early 90's; as more recently on the Puget Sound during the Longshoremen's strike; in Pennsylvania and at East St. Louis, Illinois; and

WHEREAS, It is the duty and should be the privilege of every man or woman to labor under such conditions and at such terms, free from restraint because of sex or color or race or creed, as will be conducive to his or her contributing such strength as to effectively aid our common country to successfully wage the battles of war, and to meet the problems of peace; be it

RESOLVED, That we, the undersigned colored railway employes being typical colored laborers, do hereby petition the Central Labor Council of Tacoma, Wash., to give its endorsement to the plea for a plain, square deal for the colored American laborer; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Central Labor Council of Tacoma, Washington, be and is hereby petitioned to instruct its delegate to the forthcoming convention of the American Federation of Labor to give his support to such, and any application for an International Charter to organize colored railway employes as might be made by said employes, if presented either during the session of the convention or if presented to the properly constituted committee or body after adjournment of the convention.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 19—By Delegate Thomas F. Burns, of the Central Labor Council of Tacoma, Washington:

WHEREAS, The courts of the United States are the most serious menace to the constitutional rights of the American people; and

WHEREAS, The power now exercised by the courts to declare laws passed by a legislative body unconstitutional, was expressly denied the judiciary by the convention that framed our Federal Constitution; and

WHEREAS, The constitutional rights of the American people are not secure while an irresponsible oligarchy is permitted to exercise the powers above enumerated. Democracy does not, and cannot exist while such unlimited powers are wielded by judges responsible to nobody. The American people have permitted the judiciary to assume and usurp all governmental functions, and judicial legislation is now so common as to scarcely excite comment. The Supreme Court has extended its powers to the extent of changing the entire meaning of a law by judicial construction as was done in a famous anti-trust case where the Court said that a "reasonable" combination in restraint of trade would be allowed by the Court, whereas, the law outlaws ALL combinations in the restraint of trade; and

WHEREAS, There are problems in modern industrial life that must be solved by the ordinary machinery of popular

government. If the courts continue to hamper the people in the exercise of that sovereign power, then the courts must be controlled by the people; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, that we demand that Congress shall immediately prepare and submit to the American people, through the proper channels, an amendment to the United States Constitution, providing for the election of all Federal Judges, with short terms of office, and placing the power to recall Federal Judges in the people, the only place that power should reside.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 20—By Delegate Timothy A. Reardon, San Francisco Labor Council:

WHEREAS, The trade unionists of the world and particularly of the United States of America have always been ready to make every effort and sacrifice necessary to maintain the principles and ideals they seek to establish for the preservation and uplift of humanity, in truth, to make the world a better place to live in; and

WHEREAS, In the present world crisis the American labor movement realizes, as never before, that the future of its aspirations and activities—the very existence of civilization, liberty and democracy—depend upon the utter defeat of Germany and the uprooting of its desires to supplant these ideals and blessings by its own depraved system of militarism, world dominion and autocracy; and

WHEREAS, To win this battle for human rights and freedom, it behooves every member of our movement—not to hesitate, but to do his share to the limit, to make every sacrifice required, and to cooperate intelligently and steadfastly with the government and all other agencies working for the winning of the war and the betterment of mankind; and

WHEREAS, Next in importance to the support and duty we owe to the government itself in responding to every demand it makes upon us, the government also desires a loyal and efficient support of the American Red Cross, the greatest and noblest of all agencies administering to suffering humanity, irrespective of race, nationality or religion; and

WHEREAS, The American Red Cross, in the performance of its work and its ability to serve, is dependent entirely upon voluntary contributions from all the people, and it requires, at this critical period and time of universal hunger, devastation and atrocities of war, financial support of such volume and constancy as will enable the institution to carry on its work uninterruptedly and with proper efficiency everywhere in its immense field of operation, a task to which the organized labor movement of America is willing to contribute its full quota and deems it a patriotic duty so to do; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, recommends to every affiliated organization that it levy upon each mem-

ber thereof, during the continuance of the war, an assessment of one per centum of gross earnings, and that the moneys thus realized be turned over to the American Red Cross as labor offering in the cause of humanity and mercy.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 21—By Delegate H. B. Perham, of the Order of Railroad Telegraphers:

WHEREAS, The managing officials of the two principal telegraph companies in the United States have recently discriminated against their employes on account of their attempt to organize for the purpose of collective bargaining by discharging them in large numbers in various cities; and

WHEREAS, The grievances of the employes having been referred to the War Labor Board, which body appointed mediators to look into the matter and make recommendations, the said mediators having performed their duty and made recommendations favoring the contentions of the employes, which the managing officials decline to carry out; and

WHEREAS, The managing officials assume the attitude of defiance to authority, arrogantly flouting public opinion, and in other ways abusing the powers and privileges that the people have conferred upon them, even going to the extent of provoking a nation-wide strike among their employes; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled respectfully represent to the President of the United States that the Western Union Telegraph Company and the Postal Telegraph Cable Company should immediately be taken under Government control for the period of the war and as long thereafter as may be deemed advisable. And that a copy of this paragraph be immediately wired to the President of the United States.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 22—By Delegate Andries Meyer of the Diamond Workers' Protective Union of America:

WHEREAS, The International Jewelry Workers' Union has accepted diamond workers as members of their organization; and

WHEREAS, The Diamond Workers' Protective Union of America is the only organization affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, that has jurisdiction over diamond workers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention instruct the International Jewelry Workers' Union to cease taking diamond workers into their organization and to withdraw all union cards issued by them to diamond workers.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 23—By Delegate Wm. F. Quesse of the Flat Janitors' Union No. 1432 of Chicago, Ill.:

WHEREAS, The laws of the American Federation of Labor pertaining to strike benefits for Federal Locals compels them

to try to settle with their employers first, and if not successful they must report to the American Federation of Labor who will send a representative to assist them and try to settle with the employer, and if he fails he will report back to the American Federation of Labor and then they will give their consent to strike; and

WHEREAS, The circumstances surrounding the work of the Chicago Flat Janitors, who live in the buildings where they work, and when they have a grievance with their employers, their family and furniture are thrown out in the street immediately and their chances of winning the strike are jeopardized; and

WHEREAS, We have found it impossible to comply with the laws of the American Federation of Labor and win strikes and receive the strike benefit that the local and Federal labor unions are entitled to; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Chicago Flat Janitors' Union, Local No. 14332 of the American Federation of Labor, be allowed to waive their right to the strike benefit and that they be allowed to affiliate with the American Federation of Labor by paying five (5) cents for the general fund and five (5) cents per month for the American Federationist, and that they take care of their own strike benefit.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 24—By Delegate A. McAndrew, of the Tobacco Workers' International Union:

WHEREAS, The Government in order to properly and plentifully supply its land and naval forces with tobacco and cigarettes, has taken over the output of some of the subsidiaries of the American Tobacco Company, commonly termed the "Tobacco Trust"; and

WHEREAS, There are thousands of tobacco workers employed in the various factories whose output the Government now controls who have not yet been organized, the organization of whom the respective managements discourage and prevent through coercion and other methods repugnant to the men and women employed; and

WHEREAS, It is a well known fact that the American Tobacco Company and its subsidiary branches have manifested a persistent opposition to organized labor, refusing to recognize it in any form; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to use its good offices in an effort to organize the tobacco workers employed in the plants controlled by this corporation, more especially in those branches where the output of their products the Government has commandeered.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts.

Resolution No. 25—By Delegate A. McAndrew, of the Tobacco Workers' International Union:

WHEREAS, The union label is one of the most important factors for the maintenance of union factory conditions, as it gives the purchaser of products a means of identifying the Union-made article; and

WHEREAS, The practice of demanding the Union Label is not receiving the at-

tention it should, thereby causing a great waste of time, energy and money, in the work of agitation on the part of the unions having labels, who are trying to keep them before the public eye; and

WHEREAS, The tobacco products bearing the Tobacco Workers' union label are not receiving the patronage to which they are entitled, a greater demand for which would be the means of organizing many thousands of the unorganized Tobacco Workers throughout the United States and Canada; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, as delegates to this 38th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled in Saint Paul, Minn., pledge our united effort in creating a greater demand for tobacco, cigarettes and snuff bearing the union label and that on our return to our respective unions we will make a special effort amongst the membership of our local unions to the end that a greater demand shall be created for tobacco, cigarettes and snuff bearing the union label.

Referred to Committee on Labels.

Resolution No. 26—By Delegate David L. Gould, of the Amalgamated Lace Operatives of America:

WHEREAS, Efforts have been made through conferences to bring about the amalgamation of the United Textile Workers of America, the National Mule Spinners' Union, and the Amalgamated Lace Operatives, all of which have failed; and

WHEREAS, During said conferences there have been statements made to the effect that the United Textile Workers would stand by Resolution No. 96, adopted by the delegates assembled in the Buffalo Convention of the American Federation of Labor, giving the impression to the representatives of the other organizations involved that there was a feeling existing that they (the United Textile Workers) were not willing to amalgamate, but had an earnest desire to absorb said organizations, and such absorption is not desired by the membership of said organizations; and

WHEREAS, It is a fact that the Textile Workers throughout the country are very poorly organized and that there has been considerable defection from the ranks of the United Textile Workers; especially is this so in the Eastern part of the country; and

WHEREAS, We feel that the only solution of the difficulties now confronting the Textile Workers in general, which will establish them on a sound basis and enhance the labor movement amongst this class of workers, is to bring about the establishment of a Textile Department within the Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor stand instructed by this convention to take such steps as are necessary to bring about the formation of a Textile Department within the American Federation of Labor, which will embody the various organizations now affiliated with the Fed-

eration of Labor, and which will eventually bring all Textile Organizations not at present within the jurisdiction of the Federation of Labor into and under such jurisdiction.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 27—By Delegate James O'Connell, of the International Association of Machinists:

WHEREAS, The Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers compel Metal Trades mechanics and their helpers in or about the mines to become members of that organization; and

WHEREAS, The Metal Trades Craftsmen belong to and have been given jurisdiction over their respective craft organizations by the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, As a result of this unwarranted violation of the principles of trade autonomy, much dissatisfaction and discontent is always in evidence in the mining localities; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled instruct the officers of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers to turn over to their respective organizations all men that rightfully belong to and come under the jurisdiction of the several Metal Trades organizations within ninety days after the adjournment of this convention; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That failure of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' Union to carry out the instructions contained herein, that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to take such means as in their judgment is warranted to secure the end sought by this resolution.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 28—By Delegate G. F. Hardy, El Paso, Texas, Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, We, the City Firemen's Union No. 51, of the City of El Paso, Texas, present resolutions adopted and passed by Local No. 51, to the convention of the American Federation of Labor to be held at St. Paul, Minn., in June 1918; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, We ask the untiring effort and cooperation of all the labor organizations of the United States to present a bill to the legislature to pass a law for the two platoon system for all regular paid firemen all over the United States. We are not asking for anything that is not due us. We, as a class of laboring men, taking care of the lives and property of all the people of the United States, know in our own hearts if this petition for the two platoon system for the firemen was properly presented to the good people of the United States, they would grant it with open arms. ***

Referred to Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

Resolution No. 29—By Delegate Wm. Z. Foster, of the Chicago Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The organization of the vast armies of wage earners employed in the steel industries is vitally necessary to the further spread of industrial democracy in America; and

WHEREAS, Organized Labor can accomplish this great task only by putting forth a tremendous effort; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the executive officers of the American Federation of Labor stand instructed to call a conference, during this convention, of delegates of all international unions whose interests are involved in the steel industries, and of all the State Federations and City Central bodies in the steel districts, for the purpose of uniting all these organizations into one mighty drive to organize the steel plants of America.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 30—By Delegate Chas. Dold, of the Piano and Organ Workers' International Union of America:

WHEREAS, Owing to the ever increasing cost of living commodities the employees of the Lyon & Healy Piano Company, Chicago, Ill., members of the Piano and Organ Workers' International Union of America, on September 25th, 1917, made a request for an increase in wages of 15 per cent, the wages at that time ranging from 22c to 38c per hour; and

WHEREAS, At the same time a further request for the abolition of the contract, better known as the sweating system, still in vogue at the Lyon & Healy factory was made; and

WHEREAS, The requests of these employees were met by a peremptory discharge of ten of their number which resulted in a strike, which is still on, involving approximately 300 persons; and

WHEREAS, The firemen, engineers, painters, teamsters and other employees of the Lyon & Healy Company were locked out because they refused to work under police protection; and

WHEREAS, Numerous efforts have been made to adjust this difficulty by the Piano and Organ Workers' International Union, the Chicago Federation of Labor, the Illinois State Industrial Board and the Labor Department of the United States, offering conciliation or arbitration; and

WHEREAS, The Lyon & Healy Piano Company, through the Illinois Manufacturers' Association, acting for the Lyon & Healy Company in this controversy, flatly refused to in any way recognize or deal with organized labor or representatives thereof, or to recognize the right of the wage worker to collective bargaining, thus frustrating all efforts for adjustment; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be and the same is hereby instructed to endeavor to bring about an adjustment of this difficulty as soon after the close of this convention as possible, either through conciliation or arbitration; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That in the event of failure on the part of the Executive Council to bring about an adjustment, the proper

officers of the American Federation of Labor stand instructed to make known the facts in the case to all affiliated organizations and labor in general.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts.

Resolution No. 31—By Delegates J. T. Carey and Geo. J. Schneider, International Brotherhood of Papermakers:

WHEREAS, The International Brotherhood of Papermakers has had its union watermark label on the market for a number of years, and has been consistently urging the use of paper so watermarked by all users of paper; and

WHEREAS, There are many organizations now using the paper who have complained about the inferior quality of the paper; and

WHEREAS, There are many other organizations who have refused to use the union watermarked paper, setting up the claim that they wanted a better grade of paper at the prevailing prices of other grades; and

WHEREAS, Recognizing the demand for higher grades of paper, the officers of the International Brotherhood of Papermakers have been making diligent efforts to obtain an agreement that would make possible the use of the union watermark label upon various kinds of high grade papers; and

WHEREAS This effort has at last been crowned with success and an agreement reached with the largest manufacturer of really high grade papers in the country whereby these high grade papers may now be purchased bearing the union watermark label of the International Brotherhood of Papermakers, thus eliminating all the objections and excuses for not using union made paper; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 33rd Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor urges upon the American Federation of Labor, its various departments, affiliated international and national unions, state and city central bodies, the labor movement generally, and all its friends, that hereafter they see to it that they use no paper for any purpose that does not bear the union watermark label of the International Brotherhood of Papermakers; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Union Label Trades Department be, and hereby is, requested to send out a circular letter to all the international and national unions, the various departments, the state and city central bodies, and all local unions, whether affiliated directly with the American Federation of Labor or with international and national unions, urging them to see to it that hereafter they use only paper with the union label watermark of the International Brotherhood of Papermakers.

Referred to Committee on Labels.

Resolution No. 32—By Delegate Wm. S. Brown of the National Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association:

WHEREAS, During the month of July, 1916, a charter was issued by A. B. Gibson, then National President of the National Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association, to several Marine Engineers in the port of New York, and while he was

acting within his constituted authority as prescribed by this institution in issuing a charter, the Marine Engineers, to whom the charter was issued, by their obligation to the M. E. B. A. were not permitted to affiliate with another subordinate association of the order, therefore this charter was recalled, but later in the year another was issued which, in turn, was recalled or revoked by the 42nd Annual Convention, in session at Washington, D. C., on January 24th, 1917. Notwithstanding the fact that a subordinate association of the Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association existed in the port of New York, in fact the largest sub-association in the order, a number of men, many of whom held a Marine Engineers' license, but were employed in occupations entirely foreign to marine engineering, attempted to continue in force the organization whose charter had been recalled by our National Association. The existence of this clandestine organization was very precarious, until the declaration of war by the United States against the German Imperial Government, when this outlaw organization began to increase their membership materially, on account of conditions arising through our pledge to President Wilson to assist in every way possible to prosecute the war to a successful termination which excluded the possibility of our taking the necessary steps to adjust this matter in a manner satisfactory to the National Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association; and

WHEREAS, The organization of non-union marine engineers existing in the port of New York and known as Ocean Marine Engineers' Association is rapidly increasing its membership, for which there are several reasons, and is causing the Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association to be placed in a peculiar position on account of a provision of our constitution which provides as follows:

"Section 3 of Article IX—Members shall not hire or sail with engineers who are not members of the M. E. B. A., or, with members who cannot produce a receipt showing that their arrearage for dues does not exceed six months; unless permit to hire or sail with such engineers is granted by the subordinate association having jurisdiction over the port where such necessity may arise. All members on land and water must employ for his assistants brother members, if qualified members for such service, are available."

WHEREAS, The Shipowners of the United States as well as departments of the U. S. Shipping Board are encouraging the growth of the Ocean Marine Engineers' Association of the port of New York by discriminating against Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association, and while we are desirous of assisting our Government in supplying marine engineers for the American Merchant Marine, and using the funds of our organization for the successful prosecution of the war, yet we do not intend to allow another organization of marine engineers to come in and profit by our loyalty and patriotism to our country; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor assembled, urge a full and complete investigation of the partiality shown to Ocean Marine Engineers' Association (which is not affiliated with the

A. F. of L.) by the Recruiting Service of the U. S. Shipping Board with the view of eliminating this discrimination; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the condition prevailing in the port of New York is not conducive to obtaining the results desired or expected by the Government in this crisis, through organized labor, and that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to have the conditions complained of removed.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 33—By Delegate W. D. Mahon:

WHEREAS, President Wilson, in his address to Congress on May 27th, said: "Additional revenues must manifestly be provided for. It would be a most unsound policy to raise too largely a proportion of them by loan." And again, "There is abundant fuel for the light in the records of the Treasury with regards to profits of every sort. The profiteering that cannot be got at by the restraints of conscience and love of country can be got at by taxation. There is such profiteering now and the information is available and indisputable." And again, "The people of this country * * * are ready and willing to bear any burden * * * necessary * * * in order to win it (the war). We need not be afraid to tax them if we levy taxes justly. They know that the war must be paid for and that it is they who must pay for it;" and

WHEREAS, Experience of the present war and the history of all wars demonstrates that failure to levy taxes to the limit during the war forces the financing of the war by unnecessarily large bond issues and other borrowings. These borrowings place an unjustifiable burden upon the people, especially upon the workmen who pay a disproportionate share of the cost because the borrowing policy defers payments until a time when they must be borne by taxation upon production; and

WHEREAS, Excessive borrowings result in inflation and consequently in unnecessarily high prices of commodities, reducing the purchasing value of wages; and

WHEREAS, The United States can secure by taxation, sufficient revenue to fully meet the policy outlined in the message of the President; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor heartily endorses the policy set forth in the President's message to restrict loans and to levy taxes upon the profiteers; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor urges Congress to levy taxes on war profits, swollen income and on land values to an extent that during the period of the war will provide by taxation at least fifty per cent of the expenditures of the government in any one year.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 34—By Delegate A. R. Linn of the International Brotherhood of Foundry Employes:

WHEREAS, The President and Secretary of the American Federation of Labor have materially assisted the International Brotherhood of Foundry Employes to increase its membership; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers and members of the International Brotherhood of Foundry Employes extend to the officers of the A. F. of L. their appreciation and thanks for the assistance rendered.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 35—By Delegates Andrew C. Hughes and James J. Doyle of the Coopers' International Union:

WHEREAS, At the Baltimore Convention of the A. F. of L. a resolution was offered by the representatives of the Coopers' International Union protesting against the action of the International Longshoremen's Union for granting a charter to the Dock Coopers of the Port of Greater New York; and

WHEREAS, At a hearing held before the Adjustment Committee the representatives of both international unions were advised by the committee to meet and confer mutually, to the end that harmony might prevail and a correct appreciation of each organization's rights be adhered to; and

WHEREAS, The President of both International Unions adjourned immediately to New York City, and there, in company with representatives of both sides, entered into a working agreement which called for the immediate revocation of charter issued by the I. L. A. and recognized the trade rights of all coopers working on the docks of that port; and

WHEREAS, This agreement was then ratified by the convention of the American Federation of Labor which was in session at Baltimore; and

WHEREAS, The I. L. A. did revoke the charter known as I. L. A. Dock Coopers' Local, but immediately issued another charter now known as I. L. A. Cargo Repairers' Local, which is a direct defiance of the intent of the working agreement entered into and signed by both International Presidents; and

WHEREAS, I. L. A. Cargo Repairers' Local, through the instrumentality and antagonism of its business agent and other business agents of the I. L. A. have defied the mandate of the A. F. of L. and refused to abide by the terms of the working agreement and have many times threatened to strike the piers if members of the Coopers' International Union were given or kept in employment on the Government Docks at Hoboken, The Cunard, Quebec, and Mallory Lines; and

WHEREAS, The I. L. A. local known as Cargo Repairers is but a makeshift to confuse ship superintendents and stevedores who desire to have their ship coopers cared for by craftsmen of long experience; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the A. F. of L. in convention assembled do hereby direct the I. L. A. to immediately cancel charter known as Cargo Repairers and that the terms of the written working agreement be lifted up to.

Referred to Committee on Adjustments.

Resolution No. 36—By Delegate Timothy A. Reardon of the San Francisco Labor Council:

WHEREAS, The workers in the sugar refining industry in most parts of the

United States remain in a deplorable and unorganized condition; and

WHEREAS, In the opinion of Sugarworkers' Union No. 10519, endorsed by the San Francisco Labor Council, the present time is favorable to the organization of this class of workers and to the extension to them of benefits equal to those now enjoyed by sugarworkers through organization in San Francisco; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention hereby directs its incoming Executive Council to devote the necessary efforts of the American Federation of Labor to organize the sugarworkers in every unorganized center of the sugar refining industry.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 37—By Delegate Henry Sands, of the International Brotherhood of Roofers, Composition, Damp and Waterproof Workers of the United States and Canada:

WHEREAS, The Hodcarriers and Building Laborers are organized in New Jersey, and almost without exception they are not affiliated with the A. F. of L., but belong to an independent State Organization; and

WHEREAS, A number of efforts have been made to have them affiliated with the International Hodcarriers and Building Laborers' Union; and

WHEREAS, Such efforts by Committees from Local Building Trades Councils have been a failure in the past; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this State Building Trades Council of New Jersey ask the Building Trades Department to take some action to get these laborers in their respective International Union.

COMMITTEE REPORT: Your Committee on Organization recommends that Resolution No. 8 be concurred in and copies thereof be forwarded on to the coming Convention of the Building Trades Department, also the American Federation of Labor Convention to be held at St. Paul, Minn.

The Committee Report was approved and adopted by the Convention.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 38—By Delegate John F. Stevens, Boston Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, In all the industrial centers of the state there was a marked shortage of wholesome dwellings for the laboring people before the outbreak of the war; and

WHEREAS, The existing shortage has been greatly increased by the building of ships, the manufacture of munitions and other war activities which have suddenly and enormously increased the population in various parts of Massachusetts, notably Quincy, near the Squantum and Fore River shipbuilding plants; Watertown, Boston, Lowell and other centers; and

WHEREAS, The building of dwelling houses has nearly ceased in the state because of the high cost of materials and difficulty in borrowing necessary funds; and

WHEREAS, The Bethlehem Steel Corporation, which operates the Fore River

and Squantum plants, appears to be wholly opposed to a sufficient supply of new housing, particularly as regards the Squantum plant, and appears to insist upon the building of temporary barracks or dormitories; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor protest against the building of temporary housing, and particularly the building of barracks or dormitories, in any part of the United States, and instruct the Executive Committee to do all in its power to prevent the erection of buildings which will deprive men of home life and degenerate into unfit tenements, and to advocate the construction of well built, wholesome habitations of permanent value in quiet, healthful surroundings somewhat removed from the plants, and that would be a credit to the communities in which they are placed.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 39—By Delegate Claude O. Taylor, Grand Rapids Trades and Labor Council:

WHEREAS, It has been demonstrated that the private detectives and detective agencies, who are employed or employ their operatives primarily when workers are endeavoring to better their conditions, or making just demands, in the capacity of spies, in an effort to create dissension among the members of trades unions, can be classified only as men of the lowest and most despicable character, and have manifested this by their actions when employed to join labor organizations for the purpose of destroying them, have no regard for justice or humanity; and

WHEREAS, The work of a spy, whether used in a trade union or in the employ of those who would destroy our governmental institutions, is a trade that can only be followed by persons who would sell themselves for any purpose, and the despicable trait of the spy employed to disrupt trade unions was graphically set forth in the report of the Executive Council's report to the San Francisco Convention of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, These enemies of the workers are at present engaged in many instances in endeavoring to disrupt unions and by so doing are lending aid to the enemies of our country, for every activity of theirs tends to impede and harass the results attained by continued employment on the part of the workers, which work is so essential to the winning of the present war against autocracy, and their elimination by the Federal authorities at this time would aid in this great struggle; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the incoming Executive Council be instructed to take up this matter with the Federal authorities, with a view to ridding our country of this spy menace that is working a hardship on the workers under the guise of private detective agencies in various industrial centers throughout the country.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 40—By Delegates T. V. O'Connor, Geo. F. Freitas, Simon P. O'Brien, Thos. P. Woodland, Wm. S.

Brown and John H. Pruett of the International Longshoremen's Association and endorsed by delegates representing the various organizations whose names are attached hereto:

WHEREAS, For several years past resolutions have been introduced and acted upon by delegates in attendance at conventions of the American Federation of Labor, relative to the jurisdictional dispute existing between the International Association of Steam and Operating Engineers and the Licensed Tugmen's Protective Association, (an affiliated branch of the International Longshoremen's Association); and

WHEREAS, When the American Federation of Labor issued a charter to the Marine Engineer's Benevolent Association, giving them jurisdiction over certain marine work, this charter carried with it the specific understanding that the agreement in existence since 1907 between the M. E. B. A. and the L. T. P. A. would in no manner be changed, or affected, thereby recognizing the rights of both these organizations to all marine work; and

WHEREAS, Since the issuing of this charter to the M. E. B. A. the International Association of Steam and Operating Engineers have continued to infringe upon the rights and work of members of the L. T. P. A. even to the extent of threatening employers of members of the L. T. P. A. that the members of the Building Trades Council of Chicago, Ill., would refuse to permit members of organizations affiliated therewith to handle any of the sand produced by members of the L. T. P. A.; and

WHEREAS, This threat has so far resulted in one of these Companies signing up an agreement with the International Association of Steam and Operating Engineers for the delivery of their sand, which work has always been done by members of the L. T. P. A. and rightfully belongs to them; and

WHEREAS, Similar threats are being made to other Companies; and

WHEREAS, We believe this convention should take this matter up and instruct the International Association of Steam and Operating Engineers once and for all that the work which has always come under the jurisdiction of the L. T. P. A. and M. E. B. A. shall still be considered as belonging to them, as it was when the American Federation of Labor issued the charter to the M. E. B. A. (recognizing the existing agreement between these two organizations), and that the International Association of Steam and Operating Engineers shall, and must, refrain from further threats or infringement upon the rights of the members of these organizations in future; and, be it

RESOLVED, That the decision of this convention on this matter carry with it instructions that the existing agreement between the L. T. P. A. and the American Association of Masters, Mates and Pilots be affirmed.

Referred to Committee on Adjustments.

Resolution No. 41.—By Delegates Thos. Sweeney, D. G. Biggs and John B. Lennon:

WHEREAS, The Journeymen Tailors' Union of America, by referendum vote, decided to abolish piecework and establish a weekly wage system and an eight hour day on and after September 1919; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor render such support to the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America as is in their power to establish the eight hour day and weekly wage system.

Referred to Committee on Shorter Workday.

Resolution No. 42.—By Delegate J. M. Conley, Dubuque Trades and Labor Congress, Dubuque, Iowa:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has endorsed woman suffrage because it is a just and right principle that in a democracy no adult person shall be excluded from political rights on the sole ground of sex; and

WHEREAS, The House of Representatives has passed the Federal Suffrage Amendment and the resolution to submit the question has been repeatedly delayed in the United States Senate for an unreasonable length of time; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled at St. Paul, Minn., on this 11th day of June, 1918, petition that the Suffrage Amendment be brought out immediately for consideration by the Senate, and be favorably acted upon by the members.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 43.—By Delegate Harry V. Dill, Trades and Labor Assembly of Kenton and Campbell Counties, Kentucky:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor and all its affiliated unions is entitled to the hearty support of all religious institutions and religious publications, owing to the fact that organized labor, through its efforts in securing for the toiling masses of this great country of ours better living conditions, justice, freedom and democracy to a much larger degree than was possible through any other agency, which demonstrates the feasibility and desirability of a practical religion; and

WHEREAS, There is located in the City of Cincinnati a religious institution known as the Methodist Book Concern, which operates a large printing department, where many kinds of religious publications are produced for distribution throughout the United States as well as foreign countries, where Bibles and books of all descriptions are printed and where a large general printing plant is in constant operation; and

WHEREAS, The management of the said Methodist Book Concern has for years past refused to recognize organized labor and employ members of the printing trades unions to operate its printing department, and in fact have so far acted unfavorably on all appeals from local and international printing trades unions to enter into friendly business relations with them; continuing in the attitude of antagonism and resentment to all appeals

for cooperation by this branch of organized labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, places itself on record against the policy of the management of any religious institution that persistently refuses to cooperate with organized labor, and the Methodist Book Concern, of Cincinnati, in particular. And it hereby pledges its delegates to the inauguration of a campaign through proper committees of the local unions and central bodies, for the purpose of bringing to the attention of the general labor movement, as well as officials and members of the Methodist Church in the various cities and towns, the non-union and unorganized conditions existing in the printing department of the Methodist Book Concern, of Cincinnati, and the attitude of the management of this institution in refusing to cooperate with organized labor to the extent of entering into friendly business relations with the printing trades unions in the operation of their printing department; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention pledge its hearty support to the efforts of the printing trades unions of Cincinnati, Ohio, in their efforts to unionize the printing department of the Methodist Book Concern.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts.

Resolution No. 44—By Delegates T. V. O'Connor, T. P. Woodland, Geo. F. Freitas and Simon P. O'Brien, International Longshoremen's Association:

WHEREAS, The United States Government has placed in effect a certain plan of insurance covering its soldiers and sailors; and

WHEREAS, We deem this plan just and equitable and highly desirable to the many thousands of shipyard workers whose services to the U. S. Government is akin to that of the land and sea forces, in that to a great extent they are helping to win the war in which this Government is now engaged, and for that reason alone should be allowed to participate in the said plan of insurance; and

WHEREAS, It is our belief that many thousands of the above mentioned class of workers would avail themselves of an opportunity to carry this insurance could they but be permitted to pay the premium as they pay their labor dues (through the proper officer of their local); now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That it is the earnest desire of the Shipyard Laborers, Riggers and Fasteners' Local 38-"A"-2 I. L. A. that proper steps be at once taken by the Metal Trades Council, and the Central Labor Council of Seattle; the District Council of the Shipyard Laborers, Riggers and Fasteners; the International Longshoremen's Association, Washington State Federation of Labor, American Federation of Labor, to the end that laws be enacted by the Congress at Washington making it possible to extend the insurance plan aforementioned to cover the shipyard workers holding membership in labor unions; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to each of labor bodies mentioned above at earliest possible date.
Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 45—By Delegates John F. Hart, Dennis Lane, T. A. McCreesh, Fred Schmidt, Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America:

WHEREAS, For the past two years or more, the American Federation of Labor has given special attention to the organization of Butcher Workmen, and through their assistance and thorough cooperation, we have increased our membership in great numbers, and through the cooperation and assistance of President Gompers, Secretary Morrison and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, we have secured, through arbitration, an eight-hour day, with increased pay for one hundred thousand packing house workers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, extend to President Gompers, Secretary Morrison and the Executive Council, our deep appreciation and thanks for the assistance and cooperation rendered us in securing better wages and working conditions for the members of our organization.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 46—By Delegate W. B. Gay, Rock Island Federal Union No. 15214:

RESOLVED, This body shall grant the Federal Labor Union of the Rock Island Railroad System, or any other Railroad System who may so desire to enter, a system organizer whose duty is to organize Local Federal Unions and form a system organization. To my knowledge we have no organizer in north Missouri whatever; be it further

RESOLVED, That this body gives the Federal Labor Unions of the Rock Island System, or other systems, a grievance man to represent our interests before the United States Wage Commissioners of Railway Employees, now in session at Washington, D. C. To my knowledge the Rock Island labor on the Missouri Division are the lowest paid men on any system, their minimum rate being 26c per hour. So far our government raise is but a small per cent. We are working from ten to twelve hours for day, no overtime, no time and one-half time for Sundays or holidays. Under the present high cost of living this rate is not sufficient to provide for the comfort and welfare of our dependent ones. Aside from this low rate of pay, we are proud to say that the Rock Island men have shown their spirit of loyalty to their country when the call came for the Third Liberty Loan. This system is today 100 per cent strong in Liberty Bonds, also large contributions for the Red Cross. Again we urge this body to assist us in every possible way they can in getting a better wage rate and better working conditions.
We appeal to the Executive Council for their support and immediate action, also instruction in regard to system or-

ganization for the Local Federal Unions. Our purpose for system organization is to affiliate ourselves together for our mutual benefit and protection, when at any time we have any grievance in regard to wage rate contract or any other difficulty we go before the officials of our system in a body, not as one individual class. So while we cannot hope to be successful when working individually, by combining our efforts the most skillful and beneficent results may be attained.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 47.—By Delegates Philip Bock and Leopold Buxbaum, Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association:

WHEREAS, The 37th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor instructed the Executive Council to draw up a plan of amalgamation between the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union and the International Photo Engravers' Union, and the Lithographers International Protective and Beneficial Association; and

WHEREAS, The form of amalgamation as recommended by the Executive Council, if carried into effect will disrupt the present unity in the lithographic industry, where all are organized in the one union, it will divide the working forces of a lithographic plant, thereby giving to the employers an advantage where grievances present themselves. It will in no manner be beneficial to the lithographers, while permitting the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union and Photo Engravers' Union to remain intact and in no manner being affected by this form of amalgamation; and

WHEREAS, The Lithographers' International Union, by its action in establishing an organization on industrial lines, has proven to the labor movement that such a form of organization meets the full approval of its representatives, providing said amalgamation is such in all that the word implies; and

WHEREAS, The Lithographers' representatives, willing and anxious to prove to the satisfaction of skeptics the sincerity of the above declaration, hereby offer the proposition to the International Printing Pressmen's Union and the Photo Engravers' International Union, parties to the controversy, to amalgamate with the two above named Unions, or with either one or the other of the two, providing the plan meets the approval of one of the unions and not of the other, under one board of international officers and under one set of laws; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the plan of amalgamation as offered by the Executive Council be set aside and in its stead, the plan herein proposed receive the consideration and approval of this convention.

Referred to Committee on Executive Council's Report.

Resolution No. 48.—By Delegates J. A. Taylor, Dan P. McKillip and N. F. Birch:

WHEREAS, The Government Employment Service has proved a most valuable factor in solving labor problems arising as a result of the war and tends to stabil-

ize conditions and establish a more complete co-operation between employers and employes, especially when operated under agreement like that established in Seattle, Washington, which is in complete accord with Resolution No. 154, passed by the A. F. of L. on November 19, 1917, and also the declaration of "principles and policies which should be observed by all Boards or Commissions of a Government character," etc., passed by the A. F. of L. on November 23rd, 1917; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the above mentioned employment service, in accordance with the Seattle plan, be heartily endorsed, and that the Department of Labor be urged to install the same system in all employment offices wherever practicable and that the workmen and their representatives everywhere be instructed to insist on and do their utmost to see that all employment offices under any department whatsoever shall be governed as nearly as possible according to the following rules:

(a) The Unions shall furnish the labor required on request by employers as far as possible, through the central office.

(b) That the unions furnish instructors to train mechanics for emergency service, as may be required.

(c) That the Examining Board of the unions shall pass on the qualifications of all applicants selected locally, and issue proper permits to successful candidates.

(d) That persons placed from any outside source, and employes advanced to higher grades of work under the general co-operation or agreement between employers and trades unions to rapidly develop skilled mechanics, are all employed on a basis of war-time emergency.

The temporary permit shall be in force until revoked by the craft granting it, and preference shall be given to union members of all cases when men are laid off, promoted, demoted, transferred, or otherwise affected in their standing.

(e) It is agreed that not less than the minimum wage shall be paid in supplying labor, and this office shall conform to and carry into effect, the decisions of the U. S. Shipbuilding Labor Adjustment Board.

(f) Recognizing the need for re-distribution of labor after the war, it is urged that the War Employment Emergency service be maintained to handle this problem.

(g) In the interest of carrying out the essential war program of the nation such regulations shall provide that all employment offices maintained by the employers for the purpose of securing and distributing labor, and by the trades unions for the purpose of furnishing labor, shall be combined into a central government office, in order that there may be a complete centralized system for securing and distributing available labor. All agreements between unions and employers to be safeguarded or modified by mutual consent to conform with this agreement in all matters pertaining to the subject of supply and distribution of emergency labor.

(h) Nothing in this agreement shall be construed to interfere with the rights of employes to organize.

(i) It is advisable that production shall not cease because of an apparent injustice

or oversight in a decision, for it is necessary to the Nation's protection, as well as to the welfare of the trades unions and employers, that there shall be no cessation of work, except as a last resort after all means of mediation and appeal have been exhausted.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 49—By Delegate James Duncan:

That the word "January" in Article V, Sec. 4 of our Constitution, and the word "January" in the middle portion of Sec. 7 of Article XV, and elsewhere in A. F. of L. documents where the word may similarly occur, be changed to read "August," thus to uniformly conform to the change in dates of holding conventions.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 50—By Delegate Samuel Gompers of the Cigarmakers:

WHEREAS, The Island of Porto Rico, as a result of the war with Spain, came under the control of the United States Government in 1898, and was governed directly by federal representatives until 1917; and

WHEREAS, Congress by enactment of the so-called "Jones Bill," provided for the people of the Island citizenship and local self-government with the right to choose their representatives in both branches of the Insular Government; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled that it is the sense of this convention that to continue the policy of keeping the Island of Porto Rico in the Bureau of Insular Affairs of the War Department as a part of the military arm of the national government, is repugnant to every principle of our democratic form of government, especially now when one hundred thousand young men of that Island have registered under the selective draft act to make the world safe for democracy; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That inasmuch as the people of Porto Rico, having been granted a civil form of government in harmony with our territorial form of government, and being a law-abiding and peaceful race of people, that this convention, through its officers, requests of the President of the United States to transfer the official governmental business of that Island from the Bureau of Insular Affairs to a civic department, and in our judgment the Department of the Interior, which department has always had official supervision over all our territorial forms of government.

Referred to Committee on Executive Council's Report.

Resolution No. 51—By Delegates Dan P. McKillop, Chas. F. Scott and Louis Weyand:

WHEREAS, The B. M. Iron Shipbuilders and Helpers of America, during the present abnormal demand for ships and the corresponding necessary temporary increase in men required, have relaxed their trade restrictions and have permitted and even encouraged workmen from allied trades and unskilled men to enter on

service in the shipyards, during the national crisis; and

WHEREAS, Certain employers and organizations are taking advantage of this abnormal demand for men in the industry of shipbuilding, and the patriotism of the organization, to violate the jurisdictional rights of the B. M. Iron Shipbuilders and Helpers, thereby unnecessarily complicating the re-adjustment after the war, which will in any case be a sufficiently serious problem because of the excess number of men already provided, as compared with normal demands; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the jurisdiction rights of the B. M. Iron Shipbuilders and Helpers of America be recognized to include all steel, iron or other metal plates and shapes entering into the construction of hulls and equipment of ships of any type, in accordance with the constitution of that organization; including concrete ships, strapping of wooden ships and all composite vessels of part metal construction (excepting such work as is already recognized as properly belonging to other organizations affiliated with the A. F. of L.), and that all honorable means be taken to prevent either employers or other crafts from taking advantage of the patriotism and willingness to serve the nation already proven by the Boiler-makers, Shipbuilders and Helpers of America.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 52—By Delegate Will R. Boyer, International Broom and Whisk Makers' Union:

WHEREAS, The Southwestern Broom Manufacturing Company has discharged men in their employ for holding membership in the International Broom and Whisk Makers' Union; and

WHEREAS, The above Company is paying the lowest scale of wages of any employing broom manufacturer in the Country, and refuse to grant their employees a living wage; and

WHEREAS, The said employing broom manufacturer, while working on a Government contract, did refuse to meet with a representative of the Department of Labor of the U. S. Government, or to comply with the request of the Mediator of the Department, to treat with their employees; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, declare the attitude of the Southwestern Broom Manufacturing Co. to be unfair and urge all members of the trade union movement to demand and insist on union label brooms when making a purchase.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts.

Resolution No. 53—By Delegates Matthew Woll, R. E. Woodmansee, J. M. Conley, Walter N. Reddick, Frank Feeney, W. E. Bryan, John Golden, C. L. Baine, Hubert S. Marshall, David J. Berry, Samuel O. Tobin, P. J. Morrin, B. A. Langer, Jere L. Sullivan, B. F. Brown, Jacob Fischer, R. G. Stewart, Claude O. Taylor, James Wilson:

WHEREAS, The general labor press of our country has proven its worth to

the cause of trade unionism, and the papers now being published in the industrial centers are giving the workers a medium in which their just claims and their position in labor controversies can be read by the public, and they have in thus rendering assistance to the organized workers, greatly restricted their income, which is so essential to the life of these publications; and

WHEREAS, These labor papers have and are espousing the cause of the trade unionists, not alone in the economic field, but in the support of our government in its present crusade against autocracy, and further assisting the workers by the use of their columns to show what the organized toilers are doing in this great cause in the matter of the supreme sacrifice on the battle front, the financing of the war, and the work at home that is so essential to the protection of our soldiers and sailors; and

WHEREAS, In the face of all the good thus accomplished for the organized workers, and the continual sacrifices made, these labor papers should receive stronger support from the rank and file of the trade unions in their various localities; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates to this Thirty-eighth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, pledge our moral support to the labor press, and urge the officials of the international unions affiliated, to use their good offices in an endeavor to persuade the members of their organizations to grant a more hearty support to the labor papers in their localities, who are doing so much to advance the cause of trade unionism and humanity.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 54—By Delegates M. Snellings, J. G. Hamahan, H. M. Comerford and E. L. Edgerton of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers:

WHEREAS, The 36th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in Baltimore, adopted a recommendation that the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen should become amalgamated with the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers; and

WHEREAS, The International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen have wilfully and consistently refused to accept this recommendation, although the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers have repeatedly made overtures to that end; and

WHEREAS, The International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen have persistently insisted upon building up their organization with seceding members from the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers; and

WHEREAS, By so doing they have created a condition that is detrimental to the labor movement in this great war crisis; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to revoke the charter of the International Brotherhood of Steam

Shovel and Dredgemen at the expiration of ninety days, unless they have complied with the recommendations of the Baltimore Convention before that time.

Referred to Committee on Executive Council's Report.

Resolution No. 55—By Delegate Rose Yates, of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks:

WHEREAS, The railroads of the United States, under the pretense that they cannot secure sufficient male workers, are hiring women for track work, light repair work on cars in yards, check, receiving and delivery clerks in freight houses and on team tracks and other places of danger and which are unfit places for women to work; and

WHEREAS, The claim that there is a scarcity of men workers is unfounded and untrue, there being plenty of male labor that can be secured for such work; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the 38th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that the Director General of Railroads, Honorable W. G. McAdoo, be and is hereby urgently requested to appoint a committee, some of whom shall be women, familiar with railroad work, to investigate the necessity of using women in such work, and to report back to him their findings, together with such recommendations as they may deem appropriate.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 56—By the Cigarmakers' Delegation:

WHEREAS, The United Cigar Stores Company, a trust with a chain of stores extending from coast to coast, in which it sells cigars and tobaccos, made in its system of controlled cigar and tobacco factories, 95% or more of the employees of which are underpaid, unorganized workers, struggling under long, excessive, exhausting hours of toil, in a hopeless desperate attempt to maintain life, has recently extended its efforts to control and monopolize the outlet for cigars and tobacco by establishing lunch counters, soda and soft drinks departments in its existing chain of stores, and by securing space in drug stores, hotels, pool rooms, former saloons, corner stores and every available possible place; and

WHEREAS, Ninety-five per cent. or more of the sales of the United Cigar Stores Company is non-union, non-labeled products and is slowly taking the place of union made labeled cigars to the great detriment and financial loss to union cigarmakers and several other unions and organized workers thereof; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to this convention of the American Federation of Labor be and are hereby urged to take note of the facts set forth in the foregoing, and that they and all friends be and are hereby earnestly urged to insist upon union made cigars bearing the union label of the Cigarmakers' International Union.

Referred to Committee on Labels.

Resolution No. 57—By Delegates Luther C. Steward, Chas. F. Nagl and E. J. Newmyer, of the National Federation of Federal Employees:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor and its affiliated bodies have repeatedly urged upon the lawmakers of this country the essential justice and economic need of equal suffrage for women and men; and

WHEREAS, The military needs of the country are drawing millions of men out of industry and women are filling their places; and

WHEREAS, This substitution of voteless women for voting men inflicts upon us, the working people of the nation, an acute injustice by cutting down our voting strength and our share in the control of our Government; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled considers this injustice no longer tolerable, and demands in behalf of the working people of the United States that the United States Senate take immediate action to enfranchise the women of this nation by passing the federal woman suffrage amendment, now pending in that body.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 58—By Delegates Luther C. Steward, Chas. F. Nagl and E. J. Newmyer of the National Federation of Federal Employees:

WHEREAS, The 4,000 women operatives employed in the U. S. Bureau of Engraving and Printing at Washington are paid but \$1.92 to \$2.24 per day; and

WHEREAS, This scale represents for the majority of these women no increase for fifteen years, although the pay of the greater portion of the male force of the Bureau has been increased since the war began, and the pay of the women operatives is less than the wage paid to unskilled male labor in the Bureau; and

WHEREAS, The Director of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing and the President of the United States have recommended that Congress appropriate sufficient funds to bring the pay of the women operatives up to a minimum of \$920 per year; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 38th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor hereby urges upon Congress the importance of bringing the wage scale of Government Departments into conformity with the Government's announced policies of equal pay for equal work of women and men and a living wage for all; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That to this end this convention hereby specifically urges Congress to grant the increase in pay for the women operatives of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing recommended by the Director of the Bureau and the President of the United States.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 59—By Delegates Wm. P. Clarke, John B. O'Brien and John F. Kennedy of the American Flint Glass Workers' Union of North America:

RESOLVED, That the word "January" where it appears in the third line of Section 4, Article V, page 8 of the constitution be stricken out, and insert the word "August."

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 60—By Delegates Dan P. McKillop and Chas. F. Scott, of the Brotherhood of Boilermakers and Iron Ship Builders of America:

WHEREAS, The excess number of workmen required to correspond with the abnormal demand for ships due to the war, and the certainty that these men will not be needed in the ship building industry when conditions return to normal after the war, impose on us the duty of solving the problem of how to provide for all of these men, and also to protect the old-timers, who have so unselfishly sacrificed their trade for their country; and

WHEREAS, This problem must be handled on a national scale to be effective, and resolution No. 154, passed by the Buffalo Convention of the American Federation of Labor, was intended to bring about such a result, which has not yet been done; and

WHEREAS, Instead, without regard to apprentice rules of the International Organizations affected or any plan for re-adjustment, in fact, most of the new men being led to believe that the industry is permanent, unnumbered thousands have been placed on jobs in Navy Yards and private plants, and since the establishment of the first Government Training School at Newport News, on November 15, 1917, hundreds of instructors have been trained who in turn are training workmen; and

WHEREAS, In justice to the new men, as well as the old, and in order to avoid misunderstanding and unnecessary turmoil, and so as to reduce to the minimum the damage already done by training systems under private control, designed to flood the labor market, a clear cut agreement should now be entered into, providing for a system for handling the training of temporary workmen; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the training plan adopted at Seattle, Washington, which is already approved by President J. A. Franklin, of the Boilermakers and Iron Ship Builders and Helpers, by Mr. Densmore, the Director of Labor of the Department of Labor; by Mr. MacNary, Head of the Industrial Training Department of the Shipping Board; by Mr. William Blackman, Director of Labor of the United States Shipping Board, and by the Local Unions involved in the district covered thereby, be approved, as follows, the rules to apply in every district where emergency training is being carried on or undertaken:

PROPOSED PLAN FOR TRAINING WAR EMERGENCY LABOR.

The agreement entered into between the Department of Labor, the U. S. Shipping Board, the employers of the Puget Sound District and the employes, signed at Seattle on December 14, 1917, contains the following clause—Paragraph 8, Section (b):

"That the unions furnish instructors to train mechanics for emergency service, as may be required."

In accordance therewith, the following plan was approved at the regular meeting of the Metal Trades Council of Seattle and vicinity, held on February 26, 1918, and is hereby submitted for action by affiliated Unions:

(1) That the unions find out to what extent the U. S. Shipping Board and Department of Labor is willing to finance and assist in maintaining headquarters for the above purpose, consisting of perhaps two classrooms, a library, an assembly hall connected therewith and lecturers and instructors needed.

(2) The school shall be accessible only to Union members in good standing, who shall recognize the seniority rights of present workmen in employment and promotion in the trades they receive instructions in.

(3) Members applying for the privilege of receiving such instructions may be organized in an auxiliary and required to pay dues for the maintenance of the institution.

(4) The school shall be under the direct control of the Metal Trades Council and the Council shall be responsible to the Department of Labor for such financial assistance as the Government may render.

(5) The instructors and lecturers of the school shall be selected by the local unions of the crafts involved.

(6) Examining Boards of the Unions shall pass on the qualifications of all applicants, and issue proper permits to successful candidates, in accordance with the agreements previously referred to; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the President of the Metal Trades Department and such other representatives of Labor as may be selected for that purpose be and hereby are instructed to, immediately following the adjournment of the convention of the American Federation of Labor, take up these matters with proper government officials and enter into a suitable agreement in accordance with this resolution.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 61—By Delegates Luther C. Steward, Chas F. Nagl and E. J. Newmyer of the National Federation of Federal Employees.

WHEREAS, The employes engaged in certain lines of work at the U. S. Navy Yards have received only one general increase in salaries and wages since July 1, 1917, while other employes at the Navy Yards have received three distinct increases in their salaries and wages, during the same period of time, all of which readjustments were influenced primarily by the increased cost of living; and

WHEREAS, The increased cost of living affects all employes alike, and we believe that whatever forms the basis for a re-adjustment of salaries and wages for one class of employes should be taken into consideration and given the same weight when readjusting the salaries and wages of other employes under similar conditions; and

WHEREAS, The Navy Department insists on carrying classified employes on a wage schedule separate and distinct from the schedule on which other employes are carried, and refuses to make adjustments of salaries and wages for all employes alike; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor is hereby instructed to use every endeavor to secure for the classified employes in the Navy Yards the following concessions from the Navy Department:

1. Periodical readjustments of wage scale in the same proportion as other Navy Yard employes.

2. A flat increase of \$1.52 per day over rates in effect February 1st, 1918, which increase will fairly approximate the rising cost of living.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 62—By Delegates J. A. Taylor, of the International Association of Machinists and Dan P. McKillop of the Brotherhood of Boilermakers and Iron Ship Builders of America;

WHEREAS, Next to winning the war for democracy, the most serious problem facing us is the readjustment of industry which must follow the war; and

WHEREAS, Some of the industries in which there is an abnormal condition, caused by unusual circumstances, such as never before existed in the history of man and may never recur again, have to be considered on the basis of world demands of trade in normal times, to determine a reasonable basis from which to forecast conditions likely to develop, as, for instance, in the industry of shipbuilding; and

WHEREAS, The best records available show that before the outbreak of the present war there were too many ships for normal demands and too many workmen in the industry who could not be

permanently employed, which number has already been increased out of all proportion to the normal requirements, while the production of ships based on pre-war production, compared with the estimated capacity of the present shipyards of the United States, is approximately forty times the pre-war production in the United States, and approximately seventeen times the total tonnage required to replace the world's losses by shipwreck and ordinary wear and tear, based on the records for three and one-half years following the outbreak of the war; and

WHEREAS, The world's net tonnage loss is approximately three million tons, which is already being replaced faster than the ships are being sunk by submarines or mines, the month of April showing a net gain of 40,000 tons, while the production is constantly increasing, and will shortly exceed the normal demand, when we may expect a partial stoppage of the industry and consequent unemployment for the great majority of the workers engaged therein, shortly after the war; and

WHEREAS, The workers generally have patriotically cooperated with the Government in doing everything possible to speed up the construction of ships in this crisis, and have trained or consented to the training and placing of thousands of excess mechanics and helpers, and placing women in some lines of work, who will not be needed when the emergency is past; and

WHEREAS, Similar conditions exist in other industries, making the solution of the problem of common interest to all, and we could not defend our position with our brothers and sons now fighting for world democracy if in their absence we failed to protect their rights to decent conditions at home; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the A. F. of L. urge upon the Government the necessity for immediately evolving a program for re-adjustment of industry after the war in order to avoid the chaos, suffering and friction which will otherwise result, and in order for the present to encourage enthusiasm and hearty co-operation on the part of the workmen which will naturally result from the knowledge that they will get a square deal and will, therefore, result in increased production; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we recommend that a commission of five members be appointed, connected with the Department of Labor, on which commission Union labor shall predominate, whose duties it shall be to consider and recommend to the President, through the Secretary of Labor, and to execute, as directed by him, means whereby the re-adjustment may be accomplished, and that we particularly recommend that the excess labor provided be used to reduce hours of work without deduction of pay, to provide greater comfort and safety in carrying on the work; that the Government and employers recognize seniority rights in employment and assist in restoring temporary employes to their former occupations, and that public works be undertaken and other means be found to provide means of making an honest, comfortable living for these workers and the returning soldiers, if necessary by taking over the industries by the people and operating them for the public welfare.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 63—By Delegates Wm P. Clarke, John B. O'Brien and John F. Kennedy of the American Flint Glass Workers' Union of North America;

Referred to Committee on Executive Council's Report.

Resolution No. 64—By Delegates Luther C. Steward, E. J. Newmyer and Chas F. Nagl, of the National Federation of Federal Employees; Thos. F. Flaherty of the National Federation of Postal Employees; Edw. J. Gainor, National Association of Letter Carriers; E. J. Ryan, Wm. Collins, Walter J. Brown of the Railway Mail Association:

WHEREAS, The report of the U. S. War Labor Conference Board, of March 29, 1918, declared, among other things, "The right of workers, including common laborers, to a living wage," and "in fixing wages a minimum rate of pay shall be established which will insure the subsistence of the worker and his family in health and reasonable comfort;" and

WHEREAS, There has been an abnormal increase in the cost of living in the past three years, but the wages of most Government employes have not been correspondingly increased, notwithstanding the fact that the wages of practically all employes in the commercial world have been increased; and

WHEREAS, In order for the Government to establish proper wage standards among private employers it should become a model employer itself and set an example for private employers by the adoption of a living wage standard for its employes; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the 38th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled at St. Paul, Minnesota, that Congress should immediately take favorable action on the Nolan and Johnson bills (S-3878 and H. R. 152) for establishing a minimum wage for Government employes, and that further legislation should be enacted whereby the wages of all Government employes not affected by said bills are given a substantial increase.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 65—By Delegates Thomas F. Flaherty of the National Federation of Postal Employees and Edw. J. Gainor, of the National Association of Letter Carriers:

WHEREAS, The Eight Hour Law, regulating the hours of work for post office clerks and city letter carriers, provides that only in emergencies shall overtime be imposed, and for such overtime the regular rate of pay shall be paid; and

WHEREAS, It is the trade union principle, a principle now almost universally in effect in private industries, on Government contract work and in many branches of the Government service, that overtime work must be compensated for at a higher rate of pay; and

WHEREAS, In the absence of any such penalty for work in excess of eight hours in the postal service, the practice has developed of imposing excessively long hours of work daily upon the experienced men instead of keeping the working force recruited to a proper standard; and

WHEREAS, This excessive overtime is breaking down the health and morale of the men in the service, it is the direct cause of the resignation of many employes, and is impairing the efficiency of the service; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 38th convention of the American Federation of Labor pledges its support to the Affiliated Postal Employees in their efforts to insure a more strict observance of the letter and spirit of the postal Eight Hour Law by securing legislation establishing a rate of time and a half for all work in excess of eight hours.

Referred to Committee on Shorter Workday.

Resolution No. 66—By Delegates Edw. J. Gainor of the National Association of Letter Carriers; E. J. Ryan, Wm. Collins, Walter J. Brown of the Railway Mail Association; Thos. F. Flaherty of the National Federation of Postal Employees; Luther C. Steward, E. J. Newmyer and Chas. F. Nagl of the National Federation of Federal Employees:

WHEREAS, The retirement of superannuated Civil Service employes upon service annuities is now generally recognized as justifiable from both a humane and a business standpoint; and

WHEREAS, The United States Government is one of the few in the world that makes no provision for the retirement of its aged civil service workers resulting in one of two conditions; men are heartlessly dismissed after years of faithful service or they are retained upon the pay-roll when no longer able to render efficient service; and

WHEREAS, The compensation of Government employes is insufficient to permit of adequate savings for voluntary retirement in old age; and

WHEREAS, All political parties in their platforms have pledged their support for the enactment of retirement legislation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 38th Convention of the American Federation of Labor does hereby go on record as favoring an equitable retirement law for superannuated government employes, as contemplated by the McKellar-Keating Bill now pending before Congress, and that the Executive Council is hereby instructed to use every means at its command to secure the enactment of such legislation by the 65th Congress.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 67—By Delegates Frank Fisher, James J. McAndrews, Gus E. Brisman, Martin T. Joyce, Jas. P. Noonan of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; O. E. Jennings, of the Trades and Labor Union, St. Louis, Mo., and Herman Derolph of the Federation of Labor, Cleveland, Ohio:

WHEREAS, A serious situation had developed in some localities of the Northwest due to rival claims regarding the operation of electric cranes, and the general electrical apparatus in generating plants and substations; and

WHEREAS, This contention has seriously hampered the work in some of the Government plants in the Northwest, now engaged in necessary war production and engendered contention and ill-feeling among all of the trades engaged in those industries; and

WHEREAS, Since the organization of the Electrical Workers and their affiliation with the American Federation of Labor, this work has been recognized as coming within their jurisdiction and no contention existed thereon until within the past two years, when the Hoisting and Portable or Steam and Operating Engineers saw fit to encroach upon this jurisdiction with claims for the operating of all electric motors and other electrical machinery; and

WHEREAS, The other affiliated trades coming in contact with this work have and do recognize the work in question as coming properly under the jurisdiction of the electrical workers, many locals of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers being composed entirely of electric craftsmen and maintenance men; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the operation and maintenance of electric generating stations, substations and electric cranes come properly under the

jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 68—By Delegate Harry V. Dill of the Trades and Labor Assembly of Covington, Ky.:

WHEREAS, The American Book Company, one of the largest school text book publishing houses in this country, located in Cincinnati, Ohio, is and has been for many years non-union in every department, the management having refused time and again to act favorably on the request of representatives of the international and local printing trade unions to enter into friendly business relations with organized labor and to employ members of the printing trade unions; it is, therefore

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled hereby pledge itself to familiarize organized labor and its friends of the persistent hostile attitude of the American Book Company, and urges all affiliated organizations to a program of publicity that will fully inform every member of organized labor and their friends, as well as the general public, of the hostile attitude of the American Book Company toward organized labor; and, it is further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, as well as the officers of all trade unions, central bodies and state federations, be urged to inform the Boards of Education throughout the country, and in every community, or any other official body in whom power is vested to purchase school text books, that many of the largest and best school book publishers are operating their unsound business conditions fair to organized labor and employing members of the printing trades unions, and urging these Boards of Education to cooperate with organized labor and the printing trades unions in the purchase of all school books and supplies from establishments that are fair to organized labor.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts.

Resolution No. 69—By Delegates B. S. Lancaster of the Shipyard Labor Union; F. T. Chinn Jr., of the Central Labor Union, New Orleans; Geo. W. Millner, of the Coal Trainmen Union, No. 15,277; Thos. P. Woodland, President Central Labor Union, New Orleans, La.; J. B. Clinedinst Virginia Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, We, the colored delegates representing Local Unions in Mobile, Alabama, and New Orleans, La., affiliated directly with the American Federation of Labor, and being familiar with the strong sentiment in favor of organized labor now prevailing among the colored people in and around Mobile, Ala., due mainly to the establishment of new shipbuilding industries by the Government at this and other points along the East, together with a deal of encouragement from our white brethren; and

WHEREAS, There is quite a large number of our people in this district unorganized, and the time and conditions make it very necessary that they be organized and educated in the labor movement; and

WHEREAS, We believe that a colored brother, familiar with above named facts, appeared as organizer to work among our people in the Mobile District, will bring satisfactory results to all concerned; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we the delegates of the Shipyard Laborers' Union, Mobile, Ala., and New Orleans, La., do hereby request this convention to grant and so recommend that a colored

organizer be appointed for Mobile District, or territory prescribed by the Executive Council, including Mobile; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the same conditions apply to all southern States and that colored organizers be placed in each State.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 70—By Delegates E. J. Ryan, Walter J. Brown, W. M. Collins of the Railway Mail Association:

WHEREAS, The working hours of railway mail clerks are being lengthened at a time when the hours of workmen everywhere are being shortened, and as these men complain that an uncommon and unwarrantable hardship is thus being imposed upon them, that their health and safety are being sacrificed; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has always contended and has at length successfully demonstrated, that neither efficiency nor economy is promoted by such methods—a fact which has been strikingly proved and candidly admitted again and again; and

WHEREAS, We believe that such harsh policies are unwise and unjust, in that they deprive the worker of sociologically needful and rightfully earned leisure; be it, therefore,

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor request the Congress to establish a standard day for railway mail clerks by the enactment of a law in which the hours to be required of them shall be specifically and clearly defined.

Referred to Committee on Shorter Workday.

Resolution No. 71—By Delegates Luther C. Steward, E. J. Newmyer and Chas. F. Nagl, of the National Federation of Federal Employees; Thos. F. Flaherty of the National Federation of Postal Employees; Edw. J. Gainer, of the National Ass'n of Letter Carriers; E. J. Ryan, Wm. Collins, Walter J. Brown, of the Railway Mail Association:

WHEREAS, Under the provisions of the Act of Congress of March 15, 1898, employees of the Federal Government are required to work not less than seven hours per day, and under the same bill heads of departments are authorized to require longer hours of service when the exigencies require; and

WHEREAS, The Legislative, Executive, and Judicial Bill, as adopted by the House of Representatives on March 15, 1918, contains a provision whereby Government employees are required to work a minimum of eight hours per day, the effect of such requirement being to increase by more than fourteen per cent their present hours of service, with substantially no increase whatever over their present wages for such increased hours; and

WHEREAS, Sponsors of this bill have stated, with a view of obtaining the support of organized labor, that they are merely trying to establish for all Government employes the eight-hour day for which organized labor stands; and

WHEREAS, The effect of the proposed bill is not to establish the maximum eight-hour day of organized labor with time and one-half for overtime, but it is a minimum eight-hour day, with no pay whatever for overtime; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the 38th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled at St. Paul, Minnesota, that we denounce this proposed legislation, not only because it is an

insult to patriotic Government employes, many of whom constantly work long hours overtime for which they receive no extra pay, but because we believe it is a covert attack on the standard eight-hour day with pay and one-half for overtime for which organized labor stands; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to inform all members of Congress that organized labor is unalterably opposed to this proposed vicious legislation, and to take the appropriate means for defeating the same.

Referred to Committee on Shorter Workday.

Resolution No. 72—By Delegates Anna Weinstock of Neckwear Workers' Union No. 15200 of Boston, Mass., and Louis D. Berger, Neckwear Makers' Union, Local 11016 of New York:

WHEREAS, The membership of Locals 11016, 6939 and 15265, of New York, and Locals 15,200 and 15,685 of Boston, and Local 15,794 of Chicago; all affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, have unanimously decided, after canvassing carefully the situation with reference to the neckwear industry that the interests of the neckwear workers in the United States could be best served by the formation of an International Union under the supervision of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, There are at this time nine Local Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor composed of neckwear workers and which local unions are functioning in New York, Boston, Chicago, San Francisco and St. Louis; and

WHEREAS, There are several other centers in the United States where men's neckwear is manufactured and such centers are entirely unorganized; and

WHEREAS, Experience has taught that the way to organize the neckwear workers is to put the work of organization into the hands of specialized organizers; and

WHEREAS, The combined membership of the local unions in the city of New York alone are approximately 2,000 and favorable working conditions were obtained for such workers in the city of New York; and

WHEREAS, The unorganized state of centers like Philadelphia, St. Louis, Chicago, and Boston, are a constant menace to the neckwear workers in New York and in such shops in other cities where the workers labor under such union conditions; and

WHEREAS, The Local Unions in New York City have repeatedly been called upon by the needs of the trade in general throughout the country to expend large sums of money, and in fact have expended large sums of money, as for instance, in the city of Boston the sum of \$6,000, expended within a period of twelve weeks, and constantly are expending large sums of money for organization work and which money is in a measure wasted because of the fact that there is no systematized campaign possible to be laid out. The Local Unions in New York do organization work when in time of difference between them and their employers and find that the employers have recourse to other localities to have their work performed; and

WHEREAS, The eight Local Unions now existing are able to finance and promote the organization of all the neckwear workers in the United States and Canada, as is evidenced by the fact that though there is no international union the local unions expend large sums of money for organization purposes; be it, therefore,

RESOLVED, That the delegates to this, the 28th annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, instruct the President of the American Federation of Labor to issue a call within six months to the nine local unions of neckwear workers for a convention, at which convention an International Union shall be organized under the supervision and in conformity with the constitution of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Executive Council's Report.

Resolution No. 73—By Delegate Wm. B. Foster, of the Chicago Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The Western Union Telegraph Company and the Postal Telegraph Company have locked out over one thousand of their employes for attending union meetings or for membership in the Commercial Telegraphers' Union of America; and

WHEREAS, This action on the part of the telegraph companies is now threatening the nation with a strike affecting every community; and

WHEREAS, The National War Labor Board has recommended a settlement that would avert this calamity if agreed to by the Telegraph Companies; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled deplore the necessity of the Telegraphers to strike at this time for the right to organize, and that the President of the American Federation of Labor is hereby instructed to appoint a committee of five from this body to present the facts of this struggle to the President of the United States and to prevail upon him to take such steps as he may deem necessary to give the commercial telegraphers their rights as American citizens, and to prevent an extension of this lockout, which seems necessary unless the telegraph companies are forced to yield.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 74—By Delegates Luther C. Steward, E. J. Newmyer and Chas. F. Nagl, of the National Federation of Federal Employees; Thos. F. Flaherty of the National Federation of Postal Employees; Edw. J. Gainer, National Ass'n of Letter Carriers; E. J. Ryan, Wm. Collins, Walter J. Brown, of the Railway Mail Association;

WHEREAS, Under present conditions the salaries, wages, titles, hours and conditions of service of employes of the Federal Government are in some instances fixed by Congress, in some instances by heads of department, while in some instances they are fixed by selected wage boards; and

WHEREAS, These conditions result in different standards of salaries and wages being paid for similar services in the several branches of the Government, different titles and designations of employes performing the same kind of work, and different hours of service for employes of the same grade and salary; and

WHEREAS, This lack of standardization throughout the Government service furnishes a just cause for general dissatisfaction among the employes because of the inequalities in pay as well as the many instances of excessive hours of service, all of which conditions very materially reduce the efficiency of the service; and

WHEREAS, The Federal Government should be a model employer, and we believe that steps should be taken to remedy the present unsatis-

factory conditions relating to hours of service, rates of pay, and otherwise; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the 38th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled at St. Paul, Minn., that Congress should enact the necessary legislation providing for a Federal Personnel Commission upon which the employes shall have adequate representation and which commission shall have full authority to make investigations concerning the salaries, wages and conditions of employment of all employes in the civil establishments of the United States Government and of the Government of the District of Columbia, so as to develop the standardization of duties, wages, salaries, hours, efficiency ratings, titles, and submit recommendations to Congress concerning same; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to use its best efforts to obtain favorable action on this resolution at the next session of Congress.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 75—By Delegates Wm. P. Clarke, John B. O'Brien and John F. Kennedy of the American Flint Glass Workers' Union of North America:

WHEREAS, A decision was rendered by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, November 18, 1906, and later sustained by the Minneapolis convention held during the same month, subsequently approved by the Norfolk and Denver conventions and embodying emphatic instructions to the Executive Council to issue a charter to the American Flint Glass Workers' Union under certain definite conditions, which conditions were complied with and the charter issued with a clear and distinct understanding (in writing) to the effect that the said American Flint Glass Workers' Union was awarded jurisdiction over "The making of all moulds to be used for moulding glass ware."

After the issuance of said charter, October 21-1912, and previous to the Seattle Convention held in 1913, three additional separate and distinct decisions were rendered, each of which affirmed the action of the Executive Council in granting a charter to the American Flint Glass Workers' Union, which provides for exclusive jurisdiction over "The making of all moulds used for moulding glass ware."

The dispute continued, however, and was brought to the attention of the Seattle convention in 1913, and thoroughly aired before the Adjustment Committee, which committee reported as follows:

"Your committee reports that it has considered, in connection with this resolution, that part of the report of the Executive Council under the caption, 'Flint Glass Workers-Machinists', on Pages 91 and 92. It finds that jurisdiction over the work of making moulds for moulding glass-ware is vested in the American Flint Glass Workers' Union, and your committee recommends that this exclusive jurisdiction be recognized by all organizations affiliated to the American Federation of Labor." (See Page 329 Seattle Proceedings).

In substantiation of the report of the committee, its chairman, John Mitchell, stated:

"I desire to call the attention of the convention to this fact: no organization affiliated to the American Federation of Labor was admitted under the same conditions as was the Flint Glass Workers' Organization. It is the only organization whose jurisdiction in exact terms was defined

and endorsed by a convention of the American Federation of Labor prior to their admission." (From notes of official stenographer, and Page 330 of the Seattle Proceedings.)

When the report of the Adjustment Committee at the Seattle convention was under discussion, Wm. H. Johnston, President of the International Association of Machinists, presented a substitute for the report, reading:

"That a committee of three be appointed, one each by the two trades in interest and one by the President of the American Federation of Labor, said committee to visit the shops located at Alton, Ill., Toledo, O., and all other shops in question, if it deems necessary; the committee to be appointed prior to the adjournment of this convention and arrange to visit such shops and render its decision on or before March 1, 1914; the committee to have full authority, and its decision shall be in full force and effect from date agreed upon; said decision to become a matter of record and contained in the report of the Executive Council to the 1914 convention."

The foregoing substitute, it being an appealing one, naturally won favor and was adopted (over the protest of the representatives from the American Flint Glass Workers' Union) in lieu of the report of the Adjustment Committee. A tribunal was selected in keeping with the provisions of President Johnston's substitute and an exhaustive investigation was made which resulted in another clear cut decision in favor of the American Flint Glass Workers' Union, which decision met with the unanimous approval of the committee on Executive Council's Report at the Buffalo convention and later received the endorsement of the Buffalo convention proper. (See pages 124 and 387 of the proceedings of the Buffalo convention.)

In the face of all this, Wm. H. Johnston, President of the I. A. of M. and author of the substitute heretofore quoted, wrote Wm. P. Clarke, President of the American Flint Glass Workers' Union, saying in part:

Under no circumstances will the International Association of Machinists accept the conclusions brought out by the investigation, and the I. A. of M. will positively not go along with the conclusions reached.

In the face of the eleven (11) decisions herein referred to, the officers and members of the I. A. of M. have disregarded the spirit and the letter of Section 11, Article 9, page 16 of the constitution of the American Federation of Labor where it states:

"**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."

For their refusal to comply with the eleven decisions that have been rendered giving the American Flint Glass Workers' Union exclusive jurisdiction over the making of all moulds used for moulding glass ware, and because of their repudiation of the intent and purpose of the substitute presented by President Wm. H. Johnston, which substitute brought forth the decision that was confirmed by the Buffalo convention, as well as the violation of Section 11, Article 9, Page 16 of the constitution; be it

RESOLVED, That those in authority to speak for the International Association of Machinists be compelled to declare their intention to abide by the decision of the tribunal appointed at the solicitation of President Johnston, which decision

was approved of by the Buffalo convention; and upon their failure to announce in writing to the President of the American Federation of Labor their intent to strictly abide by and put into effect the decision in all its phases by July 1, 1918, shall, along with all other members of the said organization, stand suspended from membership in this American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Executive Council's Report.

Resolution No. 76—By Delegate Wm. Bailey of the Detroit Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The City of Detroit, Mich., has become one of the most important manufacturing cities in America; and

WHEREAS, Organized Labor in Detroit and Michigan is suffering from the importation of colored labor in large numbers, 10,000 becoming residents of Detroit in 1917, and a larger number is expected in 1918. This large influx of unorganized labor has had a very bad effect on the organized labor movement of Detroit and vicinity; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor place a colored organizer to work in the city of Detroit and vicinity to assist the local labor movement in organizing this class of workers.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 77—By Delegate Goldie M. Spencer of the Battle Creek Federal Labor Council:

WHEREAS, Women are replacing and often displacing men in industry at this time, and these women are recruited from the families of the working men; and

WHEREAS, These women must be taught the fundamental principles of organization and it is impossible to teach them after their entrance into industry; and

WHEREAS, Organized Labor must safeguard the industrial interests of its male workers who are leaving their places to fight for the cause of a World Democracy; and

WHEREAS, If every man in Organized Labor would have his wife, daughter, mother or sister in the ranks of organization, this body would be doubled and even trebled in size; be it

RESOLVED, That this convention in regular session does use its utmost influence to induce International, National, and Local Organizations to organize auxiliaries wherein these women may be taught what organization is and what it means and when these women enter the industrial field they may come to membership in the organization that has jurisdiction over their craft.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 78—By Delegate Timothy Healy, of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen:

WHEREAS, Our beloved Country is engaged in war for democracy and for the right of nations, both great and small, to govern themselves; and

WHEREAS, One of the great streams of American blood comes from Ireland whose people have given so profusely of their lives to found, defend and perpetuate our institutions of self-government; and

WHEREAS, Even today the great Armies of America, both upon the field of war and in the walks of industry, are composed so largely of men of Irish blood; and

WHEREAS, Ireland is a Nation (whose identity is clearly defined and readily distinguished among the nations of the earth as one which above all others has battled for Sovereignty); and

WHEREAS, The representatives of labor in Great Britain have recently set forth a program for the future peace of the world, defining as a cardinal feature thereof the right of every nation to determine its own destiny and government, which we, as Americans rejoice to endorse; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, First: That we the representatives of American Labor in convention assembled respect the claim of Ireland as one entitled to the recognition of our country, both as consistent with our object in the war, and especially because of the ties which bind America to Ireland;

Second: That as a separate nation Ireland be recognized as having all the rights and as being charged with all the duties of one of the family of nations, and that in such aspect she be approached by our government to cast her lot with the Allies in the defence of liberty; to raise an Army to be placed under the supreme command of the Commander of the Allied forces, and to do whatsoever else she may do for the great cause at stake; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of these resolutions be presented to our great President Woodrow Wilson, and to the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States, with the request that they take all necessary steps to enforce their purport as part of the permanent policy of this our Country.

Referred to Committee on International Labor Relations.

Resolution No. 79—By Delegates Chas. F. Flaherty, of the National Federation of Postal Employees; Edw. J. Gainer, National Association of Letter Carriers; Luther C. Steward, E. J. Newmyer and Chas. F. Nagl of the National Federation of Federal Employees; E. J. Ryan, W. M. Collins, Walter J. Brown of the Railway Mail Association:

WHEREAS, Federal employees, through the administrative regulations of certain departments, have been denied leave of absence to care for important duties devolving upon them as officers in organizations of affiliated Government employees, thus in many instances necessitating their resignation from the service and operating in general as serious handicaps to the existence and progress of such unions; and

WHEREAS, Unless an organization is permitted to properly function, the right to organize is in itself of little value, and arbitrary and unnecessary ruling denying leaves of absence are in effect the denial of the right to organize, which was granted to civil service employees in the Act of Congress of August 24, 1912, known as the "Anti-Gag Law;" and

WHEREAS, Necessary leaves of absence could be granted employees engaged in the work of their respective organizations without either injuring the service or impairment of its efficiency; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor urge upon Congress the enactment of legislation which shall provide for the retention of the civil service status by the officers of unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor who are called upon to absent themselves from their official duties and their re-instatement in the service at a salary no less than that received by them at the time such leave of absence is granted; and, be it further

RESOLVED; That leaves of absence, either temporary or extended, shall be granted the officials of affiliated unions to conduct the work of their organizations without prejudice to their official standing in the Government service.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 80—By Delegate Michael Egan, of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Our Country has engaged in a great war in support of the great principles of liberty, justice, equality, and the rights of the people of all countries and nations to determine and choose for themselves a system and method of government which will insure to them the greatest degree of liberty, prosperity, and happiness; and

WHEREAS, The labor movement of this country has loyally supported our Government in the present war, for the purpose of making this world safe for democracy; and

WHEREAS, The inhabitants of Ireland, a great liberty loving people with a distinct nationality and a country who have been contending and fighting for generations against the oppressive and objectionable form of government forced upon them by England, with whom we are now an ally engaged in this world war; be it

RESOLVED, That this convention endorse the war principles as expressed by President Wilson giving the people of all countries the right to determine and choose for themselves their methods of government; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we request the Congress of the United States and our President to urge upon the British Government, in harmony with the principles of freedom and democracy to give to the Irish people immediately their independence and the right to select their own form of government, so that the great fighting men and women of Ireland may continue to battle against the enemies of freedom and democracy as free men and women under their own government and their own flag.

Referred to Committee on International Labor Relations.

Resolution No. 81—By Delegate Thomas F. Flaherty, of the National Federation of Postal Employes:

WHEREAS, Thousands of postal employes throughout the postal service are compelled to work nights under conditions inimical to their mental and physical well-being; and

WHEREAS, The Postal Department grants no recognition by either a wage or a time differential of the admitted hardships of night work; and

WHEREAS, The Affiliated Postal Employes are endeavoring to eliminate unnecessary night work in the service by securing a reduction in the daily working schedule of fifteen minutes in every hour worked after 6:00 p. m. and prior to 6:00 a. m., a legislative reform beneficial to the men and the service; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention endorse the efforts of affiliated postal workers to minimize night work in the service and instruct the Executive Council to co-operate in securing from the 65th Congress the needed legislation.

Referred to Committee on Shorter Workday.

Resolution No. 82—By Delegates John P. Frey, Dan Regan of the International Molders' Union of North America; Paul Scharrenberg, Andrew Furuseth, Patrick Flynn, J. Vance

Thompson, of the International Seamen's Union of America; M. H. Crane, Oil Field Workers' No. 15612; O. D. Pinkston, Oil Field Workers' No. 15691; C. O. Moore, Oil Field Workers' No. 15503; J. J. Butler, Oil and Gas Workers' No. 15644; Charles M. Feider, of the Journeymen Barbers' International Union; T. A. Reardon, of the San Francisco Labor Council:

WHEREAS, The 37th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, at Buffalo, declared that unless new trials were granted to Thomas J. Mooney and Warren K. Billings, convicted upon charges in connection with the Preparedness Day bomb outrage in San Francisco, "there will remain the firm conviction that a grave miscarriage of justice has been allowed with the knowledge of the authorities;" and

WHEREAS, Since that time the President's Mediation Commission, headed by the Secretary of Labor, has at the order of the President, investigated and reported upon the so-called Mooney case, and has urged that new trials be made possible which will remove the existing suspicion that these trade unionists were convicted through perjured testimony; and

WHEREAS, The President of the United States has twice called upon the Governor of California to assist him in removing from the minds of the people of this and other countries the cause for this suspicion of the courts of California, by granting a pardon to Thomas J. Mooney; and

WHEREAS, Thomas J. Mooney remains under sentence of death, and the Governor of California gives no sign of willingness to pardon him in order that a new and fair trial may be had; and

WHEREAS, Public sentiment with regard to the Mooney conviction has so developed that the execution of the sentence of death upon him would inevitably create the belief that justice can no longer be secured through the orderly process of some of our courts, but that they have become the instruments through which personal or group animosities are gratified; now therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 38th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor express its keen regret that the Governor of California has not heeded the wishes of the Chief Magistrate of the Nation in the case of Thomas J. Mooney; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we respectfully ask the President of the United States to exercise the power vested in him as Commander in Chief of the armed forces of the United States under the emergency of war, to safeguard the morale of the American people in this crisis by preventing the execution of our fellow trade unionist, Thomas J. Mooney, unless and until a new and fair trial shall have determined him guilty of the crime charged against him.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 83—By Delegates Luther C. Steward, E. J. Newmyer and Chas. F. Nagl, of the National Federation of Federal Employes; Thos. F. Flaherty, of the National Federation of Postal Employes; Edw. J. Gainer, of the National Association of Letter Carriers; E. J. Ryan, Wm. Collins and Walter J. Brown, of the Railway Mail Association:

WHEREAS, The Federal civil service laws are defective in not making provision for granting employes the right to appeal from the judgment of officials in disciplinary cases, involving demotion or dismissal; and

WHEREAS, This lodging of arbitrary power in the hands of officials frequently results in injustices being inflicted upon employes and tends toward the upbuilding of a bureaucracy in our government institutions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 38th convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct the Executive Council to co-operate with the representatives of affiliated organizations of civil service employes in securing the enactment of legislation, granting civil service employes the right to a hearing and to an appeal from the judgment of officials in cases involving demotion or dismissal.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 84—By Delegates Luther C. Steward, Chas. F. Nagl, and E. J. Newmyer of the National Federation of Federal Employes:

WHEREAS, The United States internal revenue gaugers, storekeepers and storekeeper gaugers are in the classified civil service; and

WHEREAS, They are seriously affected by the war revenue law as well as by economic regulations of the present administration because of the closing of distilleries, resulting in their being thrown out of employment; and

WHEREAS, These classes of officers have been appointed either by blanket order or through civil service examination, and are well qualified for other positions not only in the internal revenue service but also in other branches of the Government service; and

WHEREAS, The Commissioner of Internal Revenue has made application to the United States Civil Service Commission, through the Secretary of the Treasury, for 3,000 employes for the purpose of carrying into effect the war revenue law; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to take up the matter with the Secretary of the Treasury, the Commissioner of Internal Revenue and the U. S. Civil Service Commission, with a view to having these civil service employes transferred to any positions within the Internal Revenue Service or in any other Government service in preference to new appointees, as such transfer would be wholly in the interest of efficient administration and to the benefit of the tax-paying public.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 85—By Delegates Luther C. Steward, Chas. F. Nagl and E. J. Newmyer of the National Federation of Federal Employes:

WHEREAS, The internal revenue service collects the bulk of the income of the Federal Government; and

WHEREAS, The Internal Revenue Service is one of the few divisions of the Federal Government to which civil service classification does not wholly apply; and

WHEREAS, Men and women appointed to positions in the Internal Revenue Service, either through political appointment or as result of civil service examination, have served faithfully and should be retained with full belief and assurance as to tenure of office; and

WHEREAS, The present conditions whereby employing and discharging rests with the pleasure of the respective collectors of internal revenue constitutes a serious detriment to the tax-paying public through a lessening of official service, as well as being an undue hardship upon the employes; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be instructed to make every effort with a view to securing the enactment of laws by Congress which will provide for civil service classification of these employes.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 86—By Delegate Michael Egan, of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, There is an organization formed known as the Liberty Defense Union with headquarters 138 West 13th Street New York City; and

WHEREAS, The purpose of said Liberty Defense Union as explained by its founders is for the purpose of raising funds, and through publicity and other methods defending those who, in the disguise of defenders of free speech and free press, have been placed under arrest, charged with disloyalty, giving comfort to our Country's enemy, and who are charged with betraying our Government and its people, while secretly serving as hired agents and spies of foreign governments who are at war with our Country; and

WHEREAS, An attempt is being made to solicit funds from the Trade Unionists throughout this country by making it appear that the decision of the courts of those who are to be tried for offenses against our Government will have a direct bearing on the rights and liberties of our working people in the future; and

WHEREAS, The list of officers of the so called Liberty Defense Union has many well known enemies of our labor movement and our Country, many being fanatics, anarchists, socialists or revolutionists, etc., who have earned a reputation for their anti-Americanism and antagonism to trade unionism, and who if posing as trade unionists are rank hypocrites and impostors, who are using the trade unions movement as a foot stool and who are boring from within the labor movement, with the hope of destroying the same in harmony with the policy of destructive revolutionists; and

WHEREAS, This convention of the American Federation of Labor and its officers is the only body who is authorized to speak for the American Labor Movement; be it

RESOLVED, That we serve notice on the Liberty Defense Union to discontinue to misrepresent the laboring people of this country, that they discontinue the soliciting of funds under false pretense of defending labor, and that the executive officers of the American Federation of Labor be directed to take legal proceedings against the officers and general committee of the so called Liberty Defense Union for soliciting moneys under false pretense and misrepresenting the American Labor Movement; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Federal Department of Justice be called upon to make a rigid investigation of the activities of the so called Liberty Defense Union, its officers, members and contributors and ascertain to what extent German Government money and influence has been used, also ascertain whether or not the said officers or members are loyal or disloyal to the United States of America.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 87—By Delegates Chas. F. Nagl, Luther C. Steward and E. J. Newmyer of the National Federation of Federal Employes:

WHEREAS, The employes who are engaged in the Custodian Service in all of the Federal Buildings are the most underpaid of all the

Government employes and have not been awarded any increase in wages at any time during the past ten years, except the 10% increase granted for the current year only, since which period the cost of living has been doubled; and

WHEREAS, Although a readjustment of wages has been effected as applied to practically every other branch of the Government service, the men and women employed in the Custodian's Department have pleaded in vain for an increase in wages that will enable them to support themselves and their families in reasonable comfort; and

WHEREAS, Many of the workers, such as charwomen, elevator men, laborers, marble polishers, watchmen, and window cleaners have found it necessary to take on additional employment outside of the Custodian Service in order to earn a mere livelihood; and

WHEREAS, An example of the injustice shown to the above named class of workers can be seen in the following scale of wages, now being paid to men and women employed in the Custodian Service of the Government:

Charwomen.....	\$27.08	per month
Laborers.....	55.00	per month
Window Washers.....	55.00	per month
Elevator Conductors.....	60.00	per month
Marble Cleaners.....	60.00	per month
Watchmen.....	60.00	per month
Cabinet Makers.....	65.00	per month
Oilers.....	70.00	per month
Stenographers.....	75.00	per month
Engineer-Helpers.....	83.33	per month
Foreman.....	83.33	per month

and -

WHEREAS, The foregoing scale of wages is so much lower than that being paid outside of the Custodian Service of the Government that it is difficult to obtain workers for the Federal Buildings; because in order to procure employment in the Custodian Service the workers are required to undergo a civil service examination demonstrating unusual efficiency; and many employes, such as the elevator men and watchmen, out of their meager wages, at their own expense, furnish the uniform they are required to wear; and

WHEREAS, None of said employes receive any extra compensation for Sunday or Holiday work, such as is usually conceded to workers employed outside of the Federal Service. Many of said employes are now working faithfully from twelve (12) to fifteen (15) hours every day, having no time for recreation or for the enjoyment of home comforts; and

WHEREAS, It is inconceivable to believe that Congress has any true knowledge of the wage scale and conditions under which the employes in the Custodian Service are now working; or that it desires to subject these workers to the low standard of living forced upon them by a wage scale wholly out of proportion to the present high cost of the means of subsistence; and

WHEREAS, The Honorable Secretary of the Treasury and his numerous department heads have repeatedly recommended a just increase in wages for these employes, and have urged Congress to grant an appropriation sufficient to cover such an advance in the wage scale, because of an insufficient appropriation made by Congress in 1917, the already underpaid employes in the Custodian Service in all Federal buildings in the United States were compelled to lose two weeks time without pay; and

WHEREAS, All of the foregoing is a plea for a just recognition of the service performed by the workers employed in the Federal buildings, and

for a wage that will enable them to live according to American standards; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of American Federation of Labor be instructed to forward a copy of this resolution to each and every United States Senator and Congressman, and to urge the members of the Senate and House of Representatives to take immediate action in the matter granting an appropriation sufficient to meet an increase in the wages of these employes, as has been recommended by the Honorable Secretary of the Treasury and his assistants.

Referred to Committee on Executive Council's Report.

Resolution No. 88—By Delegates Timothy Healy, C. L. Shamp, J. W. Morton and W. J. Brennan, of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen:

WHEREAS, At the 18th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in December, 1898, a charter was granted to the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen, which was composed of water tenders, firemen, boiler washers, helpers and coal passers; and

WHEREAS, At meeting of the Executive Council held January 23, 1903, it was agreed that the jurisdiction over oilers be granted to the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen; and

WHEREAS, At the last convention of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen, held in May, 1917, at the urgent request of thirty-five per cent of our members now working under wage agreements and classified as oilers, that they be given proper recognition by including them in our official title; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the 38th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor that they grant the request of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen to add the name "Oilers" to the official title with the distinct understanding that this change does not make any extension of jurisdiction, but is for the protection of a component part of our present membership.

Referred to Committee on Executive Council's Report.

Resolution No. 89—By Delegates Wm. H. Johnston of the International Association of Machinists; E. J. Stack, of the Oregon State Federation of Labor; J. T. Carey and Geo J. Schneider, of the International Brotherhood of Papermakers; John P. Burke of the International Brotherhood Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers:

WHEREAS, The strike of papermakers and the pulp and sulphite workers and machinists in the mills of the Crown Williamette Paper Company of Camas, Washington, and Oregon City, Oregon, and the Hawley Pulp & Paper Company of Oregon City, has, because of the fact that the mills are located in an important war industry area, affected and is still affecting labor of that district; and

WHEREAS, The attitude of the said companies is so notoriously un-American, in that their policy in recruiting strike breakers from farms and even from war industries, their use of the police powers, the courts, and other governmental agencies of the states and cities in which their plants are located, is causing unrest in all lines of industry; and

WHEREAS, The condition is not conducive to national efficiency now so greatly needed; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 38th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor authorize and instruct the Executive Council to request immediate action on the part of the National War Labor Board with a view to adjusting the strike; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That in event of a failure, that the products of the Crown Willamette Paper Company and The Hawley Pulp & Paper Company be placed on the unfair list of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts.

Resolution No. 90—By Delegate Thos. G. Spellacy of the International Association of Fire Fighters:

WHEREAS, The Fire Fighters of Mobile Ala., who have struggled for years for living conditions commensurate with their duties in the hazardous position as Fire Fighters; and

WHEREAS, The Fire Fighters of Mobile, Ala., in seeking relief have affiliated themselves with the International Association of Fire Fighters, directly affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and the officials of Mobile, Ala., in order to discourage the said affiliation, have dismissed the Fire Fighters of Mobile, thereby placing in danger important government property; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled petition the government of the United States, for the best interests of government property which has been placed in danger by the employment of inexperienced men to take over the Fire Department of Mobile, Ala., for the period of the war and employ none but experienced men who are mentally and physically qualified to fill the important positions of Fire Fighters.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 91—By Delegates P. Harry Jennings, Massachusetts State Branch and Martin F. Joyce of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers:

WHEREAS, It has been proven that a long work day is especially detrimental to the health of women and children operatives and, if allowed to continue, tends to incapacitate the operatives and is also detrimental to the health and welfare of the future manhood and womanhood of our great country, the conservation of which is now a most important problem; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council is instructed to prepare and have introduced into the next session of Congress a Bill, which will be so drawn as to avoid the technicality recently raised on the Child Labor Law, calling for a 48 hour week for all women and children who are employed on products which enter into Interstate trade.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 92—By Delegates P. Harry Jennings of the Mass. State Branch and Martin T. Joyce of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers:

WHEREAS, The vast changes going on in economic organization, brought about by the participation of millions of our men engaged on the battlefields of Europe, thus drawing into industry a vast number of women who, it is believed, will grow in number as the war continues; and

WHEREAS, Many unfair and unscrupulous employers are taking advantage of this condition to lower the wage standards and to pay women less wages than they paid the men whose places these women are taking, and believing that many thousands of these women will remain for a long period in industry; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor stands for equal pay for equal work, believing that these women should receive the same wages as those received by the men whose places they have taken in order to help in the prosecution of this war and the elimination of the Hun; and

WHEREAS, We believe that the best interests of the labor movement demand that a strenuous and continuous effort be made to organize these women into the trade union bodies of their respective crafts; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we call upon the officers and organizers of the affiliated international and national unions to make every effort to bring these women into the organizations of the respective crafts to which the men, whose places they have taken, are members.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 93—By Delegate J. E. Giles of the Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 11773, Washington, D. C.:

WHEREAS, There have been nation wide movements in the direction of assisting in every way possible to ameliorate the living conditions and comfort of our soldiers in France; and

WHEREAS, There is a particular and urgent need of tobacco to add to the mental well-being and contentment of these soldiers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That, notwithstanding the fact that the Tobacco Workers' International Union has started a fund for this purpose, the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, goes on record as endorsing this laudable movement, and requests every organization affiliated therewith to contribute one dollar or more, and in addition, each member of organized labor one dollar or more, said amounts to be sent to the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor, at Washington, D. C., in sufficient time to have our fighting boys receive the tobacco at Christmas time, as coming from the trade unionists of the United States of America.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 94—By Delegate J. E. Giles of the Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 11773, Washington, D. C.:

WHEREAS, The needs of organization among office workers are such that no material progress can be made without the assistance of an International of Office Workers; and

WHEREAS, A majority of the membership of the eighteen locals already affiliated with the American Federation of Labor are desirous of securing a charter as an international; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, issue a charter to such an international, with the jurisdiction now granted to the several local unions.

Referred to Committee on Executive Council's Report.

Resolution No. 95—By Delegate J. E. Giles, of the Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 11773, Washington, D. C.:

WHEREAS, The House of Representatives has adopted the National amendment to the constitution providing suffrage for women, and the said amendment is now pending in the Senate; and

WHEREAS, The principle of woman suffrage is a part of the program of the A. F. of L.; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the A. F. of L. go on record in support of the amendment for woman suffrage, and that the A. F. of L. through its legislative activities exercise every attempt to assist its passage.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 96—By Delegates E. J. McGivern, J. A. Mullaney and P. H. McCarthy:

WHEREAS, The International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employes, sometimes referred to as the International Alliance of Stage Employes, is continually violating the jurisdiction of the several trades engaged in the building industry and affiliated with this American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, In the City and County of Los Angeles, California, this International has so grossly violated the laws herein referred to that the Central Labor Council of that city has repeatedly endeavored, through committees and otherwise, to bring the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employes before referred to, to a sense of its duty regarding the labor movement of America; and

WHEREAS, The said Central Labor Council has failed in its efforts; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That, this, the 38th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, insist on the International Alliance of Stage Employes living up to and within the laws, rules and regulations governing the jurisdiction of the said International by the American Federation of Labor; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That in the event of the said international failing to comply with this request, that it live within its own jurisdiction, that its charter stand revoked by the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution 97—By Delegate Robert P. Brindell of the Central Federated Union, New York City:

WHEREAS, Mr. Fitzpatrick, President, and Mr. Noekels, Secretary, of the Chicago Federation of Labor, did at the Buffalo Convention of the American Federation of Labor, charge the Central Federated Union of Greater New York and vicinity with conspiracy with the United Booking Offices at New York, to destroy the White Rats Actors' Union of America; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 38th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor be hereby urged and requested to devise ways and means for the purpose of thoroughly investigating this charge.

Referred to Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

Resolution No. 98—By Delegate James F. Brock, of the Laundry Workers' International Union:

WHEREAS, The necessity of organizing the women workers of the country under normal conditions is important; and

WHEREAS, During the abnormal conditions in the affairs of the American people, the women are commencing to branch out into industries taking the place of men workers; and

WHEREAS, The protection of our women as well as the wage standards of the nation is important; be it

RESOLVED, That the 38th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct its Executive Council to devise ways and means and put them into effect to more effectually organize the women workers of this country, and especially in the laundry industry, so as to protect their interest and maintain the wage standards in the laundry industry and other industries where women are mostly employed.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 99—By Delegates S. S. McDonald, Frank Mihollan and Peter Morgan, of the North Dakota Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, During the past year the State Federation of Labor of North Dakota has done everything possible to more thoroughly organize the State, doubling their membership; and

WHEREAS, There is still a large field inland that we are unable to reach, owing to our inability to finance the continued employment of an organizer; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Officers of the American Federation of Labor be urged to send into the State of North Dakota, or select the most competent member of that State for as long a period as the finances will permit, and that International Unions render the same assistance in behalf of their respective trades and callings.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 100—By Delegate Urban Fleming, of the Spinners' International Union:

WHEREAS, The Buffalo convention of the American Federation of Labor adopted a resolution, the intent and purport of which would seem to indicate a desire on the part of the delegates to that convention that something be done to bring into closer affiliation the various textile organizations now existing, said resolution providing for conferences and the proposing of some workable plan of amalgamation on the part of the Executive Council; and

WHEREAS, Several conferences were held by some of the textile unions interested and several plans of amalgamation proposed by them, which were rejected by the representative of the United Textile Workers, who assumed the position that the other organizations must either surrender the American Federation of Labor charters voluntarily and affiliate their local organizations with the United Textile Workers or have their charters revoked by the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The resolution adopted at Buffalo distinctly provided that the Executive Council be represented at the conferences and that "the terms of amalgamation be formulated by the officers of the American Federation of Labor;" and

WHEREAS, The officers of the American Federation of Labor have failed to propose any plan of amalgamation, and all plans otherwise suggested that would have a tendency to ultimately bring all existing textile organizations into the American Federation of Labor fold, as well as bring about the organizing of the tremendous number not yet organized, were arbitrarily rejected by representatives of the United Textile Workers; and

WHEREAS, It is the apparent intent of the resolution adopted at Buffalo to bring about the thorough organizing of the textile industry, which has unfortunately so far not become effective; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be, and hereby is, ordered to have the conditions existing in the textile industry and among the organizations now in existence thoroughly investigated to the end that a real constructive plan of amalgamation may be arrived at and proposed to the textile unions; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That until such time as such a comprehensive investigation and plan has been proposed by the Executive Council there shall be no suspensions or revocations of charters by the American Federation of Labor or its officers.

Referred to Committee on Executive Council's Report.

Resolution No. 101—By Delegates John F. Stevens, of the Boston, Mass., Central Labor Union; P. Harry Jennings, of the Massachusetts State Branch; Martin T. Joyce, of the United Brotherhood of Electrical Workers:

WHEREAS, During the past few years great efforts have been made to obtain the approval and support of organized labor to a scheme for Social Health Insurance, promoted by persons and organizations who have no affiliation with the Labor movement; and

WHEREAS, Owing to the intensive and costly campaign which the promoters of this scheme have carried on during the past two years, at one time seeking to have this legislation adopted in twenty-eight different states, suspicion has been aroused that this scheme is supported by those who, for years, have sought to disrupt and retard the cause of the workers; and

WHEREAS, The Executive Council in their report, submitted to this convention, have pointed out the necessity of investigating this matter; and

WHEREAS, We believe that the best interests of the Trade Union movement demands that an immediate investigation be made of this matter in order that the workers may be authoritatively advised of the benefits or dangers of this scheme and the advisability of supporting or rejecting it; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council are hereby instructed to make an immediate investigation of this question and to point out its dangers or benefits with their recommendations thereon as soon as possible, and the Executive Council are further instructed to ascertain, if possible, what are the financial resources of the persons and organizations promoting this scheme and what relation they may have with those interests who are opposed to the best interests of the Labor movement; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the report of the Executive Council on this subject and their recommendations thereon be printed in the American Federationist when completed.

Referred to Committee on Executive Council's Report.

Resolution No. 102—By Delegates John F. Stevens, of the Boston, Mass., Central Labor Union; P. Harry Jennings, of the Massachusetts State Branch; Marlin T. Joyce, of the United Brotherhood of Electrical Workers:

WHEREAS, During the past winter the workers of New England States suffered great privation and loss in wages due to the shutting down of industries owing to the lack of coal; and

WHEREAS, The workers of New England are principally employed on industries needed in the carrying on of the war; and

WHEREAS, Appreciating the aid and assistance rendered by President Samuel Gompers during the past year; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention instruct the incoming Executive Board to co-operate with the officials of the Labor movement of the New England States to render them such aid as may be possible to secure a proper supply of fuel for the needs of the New England States.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 103—By Delegates of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America:

WHEREAS, Numerous complaints have been received from local Unions of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America that the War Department, the Navy Department, the Emergency Fleet Corporation, Government officials and private contractors doing work for the Government have refused to pay the prevailing rate of wages and to live up to Union conditions that it has taken years of effort to establish; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor was given assurance that the standard rate of wages and the established conditions in the various trades in the different localities would be recognised and maintained; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor and its affiliated International Unions are a unit in their loyalty to our Government and our Country and in their whole-hearted support for the winning of the war and are doing, and will continue to do, their utmost to press the struggle to a successful issue; and

WHEREAS, In virtue of the assurances given, we are justified in expecting that on all Government work, whether done directly by the departments or through private contractors, not less than the prevailing rate of wages shall be paid and Union rules regarding hours of labor and payment for overtime shall be respected; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be, and are hereby, instructed to co-operate with the officers of the Building and Trades Department, that this understanding between the Government and organized labor may be carried out and, if necessary, that they take up the matter with the secretaries of the several departments and with President Wilson in order that the spirit and purpose of this resolution may be accomplished.

Referred to Committee on Building Trades.

Resolution No. 104—By Delegates of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America:

WHEREAS, In order to provide for the housing and training of the men of the National Army, the Government was compelled to establish cantonment camps and to erect a great number of buildings and to have them ready for occupancy in the shortest possible time and, in order to do this, was forced to defer the painting of the exterior and the finishing of the interior; and

WHEREAS, The exposure of the buildings to the winter storms and the summer sun has already rendered them unsightly, and will soon cause them to become dilapidated and unsanitary and unfit for habitation; and

WHEREAS, This valuable property, costing hundreds of millions of dollars, could be preserved indefinitely and made sanitary, wholesome and attractive by the expenditure of a comparatively small sum of money; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Officers of the American Federation of Labor be directed to urge the authorities at Washington to make provision for the protection of the health of our soldiers and for the preservation of these buildings by painting them upon the outside and by taking the measures necessary to render them sanitary upon the interior.

Referred to Committee on Building Trades.

Resolution No. 105—By Delegates of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America:

WHEREAS, Resolution 123 of the 37th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor was referred to the President of the American Federation of Labor with instructions to arrange a conference within ninety days after the adjournment of the convention to bring about an adjustment of the differences between the parties in interest, the said resolution reading as follows:

"WHEREAS, All painting of ships comes under the jurisdiction of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America; and

"WHEREAS, The members of the International Longshoremen's Association in the port of New York persist in infringing upon the jurisdiction of said Brotherhood, despite repeated protests; and

"WHEREAS, Several attempts have been made by the officials of the said Brotherhood to arrange a conference between representatives of the two International Unions, without result; now, therefore, in view of the premises; be it

"RESOLVED, That this, the Thirty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, does hereby direct the International Longshoremen's Association to instruct the officers and members of the local unions to desist from further trespass upon the jurisdiction of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators, and Paperhangers of America."

WHEREAS, The efforts of the President of the Federation of Labor to arrange the conference provided for have been unsuccessful, and the practices complained of have been persisted in; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-Eighth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor direct the officers of the International Longshoremen's Association to instruct the officers and members of its affiliated local unions to desist

from further trespass upon the jurisdiction of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators, and Paperhangers of America.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 106—By Delegate James J. Daly of the Ceramic, Mosaic and Encaustic Tile Layers and Helpers' International Union:

WHEREAS, The Ceramic, Mosaic and Encaustic Tile Layers and Helpers' International Union has been affiliated with the American Federation of Labor for the past 25 years; and

WHEREAS, The Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union has only been affiliated with the American Federation of Labor for a period of two years, and seeks by threats, coercion and intimidation to apportion to themselves jurisdiction over the work of the Ceramic, Mosaic and Encaustic Tile Layers' International Union, and to this end has continually infringed upon the jurisdiction rights of this organization as granted and recognized by the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union are hereby ordered to refrain directly or indirectly from such practices; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union are hereby ordered to recognize the jurisdiction claim of the Ceramic, Mosaic and Encaustic Tile Layers and Helpers' International Union, as granted to them by the American Federation of Labor, and to further comply with the provision of Section 11, of Article IX or stand suspended after a period of thirty days from the adjournment of the convention for failure to comply.

Referred to Committee on Executive Council's Report.

Resolution No. 107—By Delegates of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America:

WHEREAS, It has been reported that the men in the United States military service are painting buildings in the training and other camps, and vessels in the transport service, which reports upon investigation have been shown to be well-founded; and

WHEREAS, The Government has given assurances that enlisted and drafted men should not be employed to do painting and other work of a like nature; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be directed to urge upon the War Department, Navy Department and other departments to discontinue this practice that, if persisted in, will result in the disempowerment of civilian citizens.

Referred to Committee on Building Trades.

Resolution No. 108—By Delegates John Golden, Thos. F. McMahon, and Sara A. Conboy of the United Textile Workers:

WHEREAS, Through a recent decision handed down by five justices of the Supreme Court of the United States, the Federal Child Labor Law has been declared unconstitutional, thus ruthlessly destroying the efforts of years of organized labor and its friends to secure the enactment of

a law that would amply protect and safeguard the children of the nation against industrial exploitation; and

WHEREAS, We, the delegates to the 38th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, still believe that a Federal child labor law is essential as being the best means to eliminate the course of child labor in every state in the Union where child labor obtains; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Delegates to this convention go on record to urgently request Congress to immediately enact a Federal child labor law that will accomplish the desired end, namely, the abolition of child labor in every state in the Union.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 109—By Delegate James A. Duncan of the Seattle Central Labor Council:

WHEREAS, By reason of a peculiar combination of circumstances the workers of our country are today in a more equitable position to bargain as to conditions under which they will dispose of their skill and labor power, than at any time in the history of modern history, which position is eminently desirable to be preserved and improved; and

WHEREAS, Speculation is rife as to what conditions will be after the present war, which speculation can and should be dispelled by thorough organization and economic education of the workers which would give a positive guarantee of security for the future; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 38th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct its Executive Council to plan and carry into effect the most intensive campaign of organization within its power, and urge and aid all International, State and Central bodies to do likewise; and, further be it

RESOLVED, That all Internationals, and through them their affiliated local unions, be urged to as far as possible and practicable remove all barriers to the fullest freedom of movement (consistent with the best interests of labor), from one craft union to another, under whose jurisdiction individuals are competent to work; and further be it

RESOLVED, That local unions feeling that unnecessary burdens are placed upon their members who desire to transfer to other craft unions, from which redress cannot be readily obtained, be invited to avail themselves of the good offices of the Federation in an effort to bring about a better condition.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 110—By Delegate Wm. H. Johnston, of the International Association of Machinists:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has repeatedly gone on record against the introduction in the Armies and Navy Yards of the United States of the Taylor system and similar systems of shop management; and

WHEREAS, A drive appears to have recently been made by associations of manufacturers and Chambers of Commerce against the reenactment of legislation which for several years has been incorporated in appropriation bills passed by Congress, followed by the Senate of the United States on May 22nd, 1918, eliminating from the Naval Appropriation Bill the portion of this legis-

lation which prohibits premium and bonus systems of payment, while leaving the portion which prohibits the use of stop watch time study; and

WHEREAS, A very high degree of efficiency, which has been demonstrated is attainable without the use of such drastic systems of shop management; and

WHEREAS, The President of the United States and the Council of National Defense have urged legislatures not to lower the standards of labor or withdraw any of the safe guards which have been thrown around it during the period of the war; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 38th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor reiterate its former position against the introduction of these systems of so called "Scientific Management," and urge Congress to restore the language above referred to which was eliminated from the Naval Appropriation Bill in the Senate and to incorporate the same Anti-Taylor System proviso in the appropriation bills which have carried it heretofore; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Speaker of the House and President of the Senate be advised of this action.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 111—By Delegates Nathan P. Birch of Newsboys' Union No. 15834 and Dan P. McKillop of the Brotherhood of Boiler Makers and Iron Ship Builders:

WHEREAS, Certain functions of a governmental nature are assumed by private detective agencies, which are useless, parasitical enterprises, whose agencies are principally directed to the breaking up of organized labor, and the homes of workers; and

WHEREAS, The employes of these private detective agencies are more apt to spend their energies in manufacturing evidence, for which a price will be paid, than in endeavoring to establish and discover real evidence; and

WHEREAS, Organized labor has suffered and does suffer grievous wrongs at the hands of these perjuring, lying, sneaking enterprises; and

WHEREAS, These private detective agencies are often used to cause strikes and violence and tend only to promote discord in the nation when there should be the utmost harmony and co-operation, and are often illegally used by employers to prevent the orderly processes of our courts being carried out; and

WHEREAS, The Government of the United States has signified its intention that all persons shall be engaged in useful labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we request the Department of War to include in unessential and useless work the nefarious business of private detective agencies, and that the Congress and Senate of the United States be urged to immediately enact legislation abolishing private detective agencies and making the government the sole enforcer of the laws of the nation, and that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor is hereby instructed to prepare and introduce in Congress a Bill for this purpose.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 112—By Delegate Chas. B. Stillman of the American Federation of Teachers:

WHEREAS, We now have no national educational system, but merely a collection of state

systems, varying widely in standards and effectiveness; and

WHEREAS, The existing Bureau of Education under the Department of the Interior has been so starved financially that it has been unable to perform adequately even the very restricted functions permitted it; and

WHEREAS, War conditions are arousing the public to a consciousness of the need for a national educational policy to secure co-ordination among the states, and to promote national welfare, efficiency and unity; and

WHEREAS, Education is essential to our national life, and is so intimately connected with all matters of public policy that with labor and agriculture it should be directly represented in the deliberations of the President's Cabinet; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the President and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed by this convention to take measures to secure the creation of a Federal Department of Education, headed by a Cabinet officer.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 113—By Delegate J. W. Hays of the International Typographical Union:

WHEREAS, This great republic is founded upon the principle that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed; and

WHEREAS, We have entered into the world war not for our own aggrandizement or for any material benefit, but in order to secure a just and lasting peace by establishing throughout the world the rule of democracy and by safeguarding the rights of all nations, great and small; and

WHEREAS, President Wilson announced as the fundamental principle upon which this country will insist in the coming reconstruction of Europe that no nation shall be forced to live under that sovereignty which it does not like; and

WHEREAS, The Bohemians, together with their nearest kindred the Slovaks, have ever since the beginning of the war manifested their aversion to Austria and their deep detestation of the Hapsburg rule, and through their representatives in the Vienna Parliament, demanded the establishment of a free and democratic Bohemia; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, that Bohemia ought to be free and independent; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we appeal to the President of the United States and to our representatives in congress that the entire weight of the United States in the future peace congress shall be exerted in favor of Bohemian independence; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to the President of the United States, to the Vice-President as presiding officer of the senate, to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and to the chairmen of the committees on Foreign Affairs of the two houses of Congress.

Referred to Committee on International Labor Relations.

Resolution No. 114—By Delegates A. Avins of the Brotherhood of Painters and Louis D. Berger, of Neckwear Makers' Local No. 11016:

WHEREAS, The United Hebrew Trades have

been for the last thirty years and are now an indispensable factor in organizing the immigrant elements of labor and bringing them into the fold of the American labor movement; and

WHEREAS, The United Hebrew Trades complied with the decision of the San Francisco Convention of the American Federation of Labor, and unseated the delegates of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers; and

WHEREAS, It is impossible for the United Hebrew Trades to take part in the controversy between the United Garment Workers and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, for by such action it would cause such dissension in its own ranks and such resentment among those immigrant labor elements which it organizes that the usefulness if not the very existence of the United Hebrew Trades will terminate; and

WHEREAS, The order of the Executive Council in accordance with the decision of the Buffalo convention to the International Organizations to withdraw their local unions from the United Hebrew Trades will bring dissension in the ranks of the labor movement in New York, weakening its position during this critical time; be it, therefore

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-eighth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor reconsider the action of the Buffalo convention with regard to the United Hebrew Trades; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention decide that the United Hebrew Trades be not molested as long as they remain loyal to the American labor movement and do not seat any organizations opposed to the American Federation of Labor, leaving them, however, the freedom to determine themselves the composition of their own organization.

Referred to Committee on Executive Council's Report.

Resolution No. 115—By Delegate Chas. B. Stillman, of the American Federation of Teachers:

WHEREAS, War conditions are daily making increased demands for skill and trained intelligence; and

WHEREAS, Teachers, and especially teachers of shop and technical subjects, with the highest motives, are leaving their classes in increasing numbers to enlist in the various branches of the military service, both as volunteers and as subjects of the selective service act, or to answer the call for skilled men in industry; and

WHEREAS, In a long war such as we are now fighting, a teacher, by developing a greatly increased efficiency and productive capacity in hundreds of the fighters and workers of next year and the years following, is contributing incomparably more toward the winning of the war than by offering his services as an individual unit, however strongly the latter course may appeal to him; and

WHEREAS, The schools of the country are being progressively crippled their inability to replace trained teachers, especially those trained to teach shop and technical subjects; and

WHEREAS, The slightest consideration of the needs of the critical period of the reconstruction to follow would more than double the force of the above statements; and

WHEREAS, We should profit by the experience of our allies, who have been compelled to recall teachers with other skilled men from the trenches; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the President and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed by this convention to urge upon the government the discouragement of voluntary enlistment of teachers, in military service or in industry; and the placing of teachers, especially of teachers of shop and technical subjects, in a deferred classification under the selective service act, or the adoption of some other policy as a war-emergency measure which will enable the schools to offer the skilled instruction essential to the maintenance and increase of our national efficiency.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 116—By Delegate Wm. H. Johnston, of the International Association of Machinists:

WHEREAS, A Bill (H. R. 7638) has been reported from the Naval Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives and is now on one of the calendars in the House, the object of which is to give employes in the Navy Yard Service permission to accept cash in lieu of their present grant of thirty days leave, per year, with pay, the effect of which will be to deprive them of necessary rest and enable local managers to force them to give up their leave periods; and

WHEREAS, Harmonious relations are at the present time existing between the employes of the Navy Department and this department which it would be inadvisable to disturb; and

WHEREAS, The Department has at the present time authority to require the men to work overtime, even to the extent of seven days in the week, thus making it unnecessary to deprive them of intermittent periods of rest; and

WHEREAS, This privilege constitutes one of the most cherished privileges and safe guards that have been thrown around labor employed in the Government service, and which has enabled the Government to obtain, with the assistance of organized labor, an adequate working force; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-eighth Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as opposed to the passage of this bill on the ground that it is an unnecessary lowering of the standard of labor in the Government service; that it is contrary to good policy and that it will not have a tendency to improve the efficiency of the workmen; and, it is further

RESOLVED, That the Speaker of the House and President of the Senate be advised of this action.

Referred to Committee on Shorter Workday.

Resolution No. 117—By Delegate Geo. B. McGovern of the Yonkers, N. Y., Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, In the report of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, under captions "Rehabilitation Bill," "Victims of Industrial Accidents" and "Compensation to Orphans," analogous subjects are discussed; and

WHEREAS, The practical experience of the unfortunates by industrial accidents would be of assistance in the rehabilitation of soldiers and maintenance of orphans due to war; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor appeal to the Hon. Woodrow Wilson as President of the United States to inaugurate

a nation wide survey by means of a drive in the simplest practical manner which may occur; such as a postal card mailed to a local center containing name of industrial victim, kind of injury, previous occupation, present occupation and respective salaries, orphan's source of support and cost.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 118—By Delegate Geo. B. McGovern, of the Yonkers, N. Y., Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The preamble to the constitution of the American Federation of Labor sets forth the principle that there exists a struggle between capital and labor; and

WHEREAS, The capital in the United States is largely under the guidance of the banks and bankers; and

WHEREAS; The control of the capital of the country should be in the hands of the worker; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor do everything in its power to urge the purchase of Government Bonds and investigate the possibility of making the national banks, national banks of the people.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 119—By Delegate Geo. B. McGovern, of the Yonkers, N. Y., Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Compensation has been fixed by statute in dollars which had a purchasing power believed to insure just compensation and maintenance for sufferers in the war for Democracy; and

WHEREAS, The cost of living is subject to change; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor use its utmost efforts to establish such a definition of terms already fixed that such terms will provide equivalent value in after war conditions.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 120—By Delegates Thos. L. Gregson of the Calumet Joint Labor Council; Wm. Z. Foster of the Chicago Federation of Labor; and H. W. Raven of the South Chicago Trades and Labor Assembly:

WHEREAS, There exists in and about the City of Chicago, a condition worthy of serious consideration by this body, a condition directly opposed to, and most detrimental to the best interest of this great American Labor movement; and

WHEREAS, The Commonwealth Edison Co. of Chicago have most consistently and successfully opposed the organization of its employes, and under ordinary conditions the unions at interest have been able to keep the Company fairly within its own confines, but under the present condition and the appointment of several of the Company's officials to prominent governmental positions, the Company has taken advantage of these officials, positions and prestige to obtain contracts on government work in com-

petition with fair contractors and employers, to the serious detriment of our interests; and

WHEREAS, The Company does not meet the prevailing conditions in the district, and is discriminating against the unions to the extent of maintaining a spy system and discharging such employes as dare speak favorably of the unions or communicate with union officials relative to bettering their condition; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention condemns such action on the part of the Company, and instruct the officers of the American Federation of Labor to make a thorough investigation and take such action as they deem advisable to suppress these autocratic policies as practised by the said Company.

Referred to Committee on Organisation.

Resolution No. 121—By Delegates Matthew Woll and Peter J. Brady of the International Photo Engravers' Union of North America:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor, in order to fully safeguard the child life of our nation of today, the adult citizen and worker of tomorrow, has to its fullest capacity endeavored for years to have Federal legislation enacted prohibiting interstate commerce in articles, or commodities of trade produced by child labor or into which child labor entered; and

WHEREAS, Congress, in response to this appeal to prevent the further exploitation of child life for commercial greed, to protect the children of our Nation in their right to life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness, and to guarantee them the opportunities of development of body and mind, did enact a law prohibiting the interstate commercializing of the products of child labor; and

WHEREAS, The United States Supreme Court, in passing on the constitutionality of this law, very recently held that this Act of Congress was unconstitutional, thereby seemingly indicating that the rights of States were greater and more important than the appeal of humanity; that the opportunity to exploit child labor was more sacred than the constitutional provisions that the children—the wards of the nation—shall be safeguarded in their rights to life, liberty and pursuit of happiness; it is, therefore,

RESOLVED: That the American Federation of Labor dissents from and disapproves of the interpretation and construction placed by the United States Supreme Court on the constitutionality of the Act prohibiting the commercializing of child life and child labor through interstate commerce. We hold that the Supreme Court of the United States erred in that the rights of the children of our nation to life, and pursuit of happiness and opportunity to development of body and mind are paramount to all other rights. We declare that to permit the taking of the life and labor of our children for private gain is the taking of the most precious and most noble of all the resources of our land, and never intended for the exploitation by man, and that the interpretation and construction of our constitutional provisions in the interests of commerce, in violation of the rights of humanity, are inconsistent and in direct conflict with the ideals of human justice, and the most noble traditions of a free people; and, it is further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor requests and urges President Woodrow Wilson and Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. William McAdoo, General Director of the railroads of this country, to immediately cause an order to be issued, having for its purpose prohibiting the transportation of all articles or commodities

manufactured or produced by child labor, or into which child labor has entered, along similar lines as were contained in the law held unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court; and, it is further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council and the officers of the American Federation of Labor are hereby authorized and directed to cause such legislative proposals to be prepared and presented to Congress, for the early enactment into law, as will result in firmly establishing for all time the true concept of our people to the constitutional right to fully and adequately safeguard the childhood of our nation, forever prevent the exploitation of child labor, and bring into actual existence the constitutional ideals and provisions that the guarantees to life, liberty and pursuit of happiness, the demands of humanity, shall receive prior and greater consideration to the rights of property.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 122—By Delegates Matthew Woll, Peter J. Brady of the International Photo Engravers' Union; M. G. Scott, Max S. Hayes, Frank Morrison, Hugh Stevenson of the International Typographical Union; George L. Berry, Jos. C. Orr, Chas. O. Isaacson, Wm. H. McHugh, Chas. L. Strunk, of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union; A. P. Sovey, Walter N. Reddick, of the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; Jas. J. Freel, Chas. A. Sumner, of the International Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union:

WHEREAS, Less than two-thirds of the required news print paper is manufactured in the United States, and the production of news print paper being seriously curtailed, due to the government's necessities and requirements of power, fuel, oil, tankers, transportation, etc.; and

WHEREAS, Credible information indicates that a substantial percentage of present exports of print paper from this country and Canada is going to newspapers and publications unsympathetic to the cause of our country and the interests of our allies; it is, therefore

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled that the War Trade Board of the United States and the War Trade Board of Canada be requested to immediately prohibit all exports of news print paper from the United States for the duration of the war to other than Allied nations.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 123—By Delegates Matthew Woll and Peter J. Brady of the International Photo Engravers' Union; M. G. Scott, Max S. Hayes, Frank Morrison and Hugh Stevenson of the International Typographical Union; George L. Berry, Jos. C. Orr, Chas. O. Isaacson, Wm. H. McHugh and Chas. L. Strunk of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union; A. P. Sovey and Walter N. Reddick, of the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; Jas. J. Freel and Chas. A. Sumner of the International Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union:

WHEREAS, The new postal law effective July 1, 1918, especially hampers and embarrasses the

public and labor press of America in the dissemination of news at a time when information regarding the progress of the war, the activities of the workers and the participation of American troops in the war is most vitally important to citizens in every part of the United States; and

WHEREAS, There are few families who have no member of their family or relative in war service, and to whom the most important information of the day is news regarding the events of the war; and

WHEREAS, The tendency of the some provision of the new law will be to create zones of thought destructive to a national unity and act as a stimulant to the promotion of sectionalism which will result in the limitation and circumscription of the interchange of expressions of public opinion and thought throughout the United States, and will tend to encourage the development of a sentiment inimicable to the purpose of the government in zones largely alien in thought; and

WHEREAS, The radical change involved in the zone law will establish oppressive and destructive methods in the delivery of publications and with the establishment of six postal zones will involve inconvenience and delays to both publications and postal service by the creation of eighteen instead of three weightings now in vogue; and

WHEREAS, Over six hundred publications in the United States have already suspended publication and many others are facing an almost unbearable burden; and

WHEREAS, The enforcement of these sections of the law will affect detrimentally many of the 31,000 printing shops in this country, throw out of work thousands upon thousands of men and women employed in the printing industry, and deprive millions of men and women, boys and girls of their source of education, information and recreation by enormously restricting their reading matter and penalizing those distantly situated from the source of the production of reading matter; and

WHEREAS, Canada and Great Britain, in dealing with postal matters, international and otherwise, have deliberately and carefully exempted publications from higher rates of postage during the war, to preserve the widest spread and most accessible means of stimulating patriotism and education in patriotic self-sacrifice during the war; and

WHEREAS, The United States Government has guaranteed the owners of railroads and steamships that they shall suffer no financial loss because of government control; it is, therefore

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled hereby protests against the enactment and the enforcement of the sections of the war revenue law, relating to the zone system, and increase of postage on second class mail. That we view the system of rates provided in the war revenue law not a legitimate war tax, but as a destructive charge against the fundamental operations of a great and valuable industry, that we urge immediate repeal of these sections because they will not increase revenue but destroy business from which the government seeks revenue, and that we demand that profits and incomes of publishers be taxed instead, and, if need be, that all profits be taken over by the government; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we tender to the printing trades unions and to the press of the United States our aid and assistance in any way that we can in securing for them justice and fair dealing by the withholding of the enforcement of these sections of the war revenue law, and by their entire elimi-

nation, so that this subject may be dealt with by Congress from the standpoint of service rather than for war revenue; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of these resolutions be sent immediately to President Woodrow Wilson, Postmaster General Burleson, to all members of Congress, and to all affiliated unions, with the request that the voice of labor in this matter be given immediate and prompt consideration and attention.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 124—By Delegate H. Derolph, Cleveland Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The conditions and wages of the Laundry Workers of the City of Loursaine and Elyria, Ohio, are very poor and we think the time is opportune for organizing the laundry industry, after having several letters from the women employed in these places; and

WHEREAS, For the uplift of those who toil, in getting better wages and more sanitary conditions under which to live; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor send a representative to these cities, but in case they cannot do so that this matter be referred to the Laundry Workers' International Union with instructions to do their utmost to comply with the request. Any information they might desire can be had by applying to the delegate from the Cleveland Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 125—By Delegates W. A. Campbell and T. F. Bell, Oil Field Workers' Locals Nos. 15605 and 15676:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor, throughout its entire history, has in keeping with its clearly stated purpose, striven to better the conditions of every man, woman and child of the laboring class, by securing for the adult better wages, shorter hours and more humane working conditions, thereby making it possible for the children of the working class to secure and enjoy such physical and mental training as is provided for by the establishment of our splendid educational institutions; and

WHEREAS, In the development of our country and the establishment of the great manufacturing concerns in the various States, who by the employment of children have defeated the purpose of our Government, made useless the institutions provided for their education, blighted their prospects, dwarfed their bodies, stunted their intellect, and destroyed the hopes of their parents in their future; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has consistently, through its National officials, the officials of the several State Federations, in its annual convention, both State and National, by passing strong resolutions and appointing legislative committees to secure such legislation as would prevent the employment of children in these manufacturing institutions; and

WHEREAS, More or less satisfactory child labor laws have been secured through such efforts, in various states, thereby fulfilling the purpose of the Government, the hopes of the parents, and saving the children from physical, mental and in many cases moral ruin; and

WHEREAS, All these efforts and achievements were recently brought to naught by a decision of

our Supreme Court, declaring such child labor laws unconstitutional; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we memorialize our Congress, urging such immediate Federal legislation as will save our children from the dire results as described above and prevent their tender bodies from being coined into gold by the profiteering class, depriving them of all the blessing guaranteed by and provided for, so necessary to the child happiness and usefulness to our country on reaching manhood and womanhood; finally, be it

RESOLVED, That the fact be emphasized that this is the voice of organized labor throughout the United States as represented in this convention.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 126—By Delegate Herman Derolph, Cleveland Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The service of the American Bell Telephone Company as represented by the Cleveland Telephone Company, a local concern, has been consistently reiterating a condition which causes loss to subscribers, in time and efficiency, and which gives aid and comfort to the enemies of the United States of America; and

WHEREAS, At this time we are expected to stand up and be counted for or against the government, and we are expected to lend every assistance to bring this war to a successful conclusion; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Cleveland Federation of Labor in regular session assemble to hereby protest against the un-American and un-patriotic actions of the aforesaid Company; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we instruct our regular elected delegate to the St. Paul convention of the American Federation of Labor to introduce a resolution in the convention, demanding that the Federal authorities immediately proceed to investigate the aforesaid condition in the City of Cleveland with the object in view of compelling the said company to give to their subscribers service that will add to our efficiency in our endeavors to bring this war to a successful conclusion; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy be sent to President Wilson for his cooperation and use in bringing about this desired result, and that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor use their good influence at Washington with the powers that be to get the desired results.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 127—By Delegate James F. Brock, Laundry Workers' International Union:

WHEREAS, The preamble of the American Federation of Labor declares for woman suffrage; and

WHEREAS, The increasing number of women in industry makes it necessary at this time that every assistance should be given them which would strengthen them in their struggle for justice and would prevent them from being used to lower or break down the standards of their brothers in industry; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this, the Thirty-eighth Convention of the American Federation of Labor, reaffirms our indorsement of woman suffrage and that we pledge ourselves to do all in our power to bring about the national enfranchisement of women at the earliest possible moment.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 128—By Delegate Chas. B. Stillman, American Federation of Teachers:

WHEREAS, Increases in teachers' salaries when secured at all, have kept pace neither with the decline in the purchasing power of the dollar, nor with increases secured in private employment; and

WHEREAS, As a result teachers have been forced out of the school by the thousand, by sheer economic pressure (one authority, Dr. T. D. Coffman, of the University of Minnesota, estimates a present shortage of 100,000 teachers), their places frequently remain vacant, and being filled when at all, by untrained and inexperienced recruits; and

WHEREAS, We are facing a situation where the calling of fathers to war service and of mothers to industry weakens parental influence, has already increased juvenile delinquency, and makes it imperative that the schools act increasingly in the place of the parent; and

WHEREAS, In this world crisis the ultimate national need is for educated manhood and womanhood, a need which will not be found any less urgent in the reconstruction to come; and

WHEREAS, Because of the prevailing pitifully inadequate salaries paid teachers, not only are present teachers being forced out of the profession, but young men and women are refusing to prepare to enter, as shown by the alarming records of normal schools and colleges, making the future prospect for our schools, even darker than the present; and

WHEREAS, Existing school revenue provisions in the various states were originally designed to meet the needs of the traditional "common schools" alone, and those revenue provisions, already inadequate, have necessarily failed to meet the demands of the modern expansion of our school system; and

WHEREAS, In the fields of vocational and agricultural education, the value of the stimulus to the States of the Federal appropriation available to a State on its meeting standards and requirements imposed by Federal authorities, and on the appropriation by that State, of equal amounts, has been proved by experience; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the President and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed by this convention to urge all State and Local Central Bodies to take early measures to secure in their respective states and localities a thorough-going re-organization and increase of school revenues on a war emergency scale; and a liberal revision upward of teachers' salary schedules to meet the increased cost of living and the growing appreciation of the value to the community and to the nation of the teacher's service; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the President and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed by this convention to initiate and support Federal legislation appropriating one hundred million dollars to be apportioned by a federal Department of Education if one is created, or that failing, by a Federal Board upon which organized labor and education shall be represented, such fund to apply only to the payment of salaries of public school teachers in a state (including teachers of physical education and of English to adults under public school supervision) after such state shall have satisfied the Federal Department or special board that adequate standards are to be maintained and shall have appropriated an equal amount.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 129—By Delegate Anna Weinstock, Necktie Workers' Union No. 15200:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor, through its label department, issues labels to be appended to merchandise or articles made under union conditions printed on paper and also on cloth; and

WHEREAS, The labels printed on paper can be made a means of committing frauds upon the public, since such labels can be pasted on merchandise not manufactured under union conditions; and

WHEREAS, The only real evidence that merchandise had been manufactured under union conditions is possible where the label is actually sewed on at the specific place in the course of making the article; be it, therefore,

RESOLVED, By the Thirty-eighth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that no paper labels should be issued through the Label Department of the American Federation of Labor to be used on such articles to which a cloth label can be attached by sewing on at the time of making the article.

Referred to Committee on Labels.

Resolution No. 130—By Delegate D. D'Alessandro, President, International Hod Carriers Building and Common Laborers' Union of America:

WHEREAS, Intercommunication by means of missions for the purpose of promoting a helpful understanding among themselves has been resorted to with growing frequency by the allied countries opposed to the Teutonic powers; and

WHEREAS, The notably beneficial results obtained by the American Labor Mission which has just returned from Great Britain and France have proved an additional illustration of the necessity of a constant exchange of views among the organized wage-workers of the allied countries, since new necessities arise with the events marking the progress of the world war; and

WHEREAS, The laboring masses of these countries are at present confronted with an urgent need of mutual enlightenment and assistance, as they perhaps more than any other social element would be sufferers through a Hun victory; and

WHEREAS, Italy has remained unvisited by representatives of the American labor movement, and Italy's almost superhuman efforts in the war have been obscured by the disaster brought about by German peace propaganda at once insidiously plausible and incredibly treacherous; and

WHEREAS, Not a particle of doubt can reasonably be entertained by loyal Americans in the satisfactory outcome of a visit to Italy by an American Labor mission; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, be, and hereby is, authorized to go to Italy at his earliest

convenience, there to maintain the principles of our Federation, in peace as well as in this war, this convention feeling assured that his name would convey to Italy hope and encouragement and that his message would also be testimony to the confidence entertained by Americans in every walk of life in the continued loyalty of Italians to the cause of the Allies, in their persistence in the war at every sacrifice, and in their unity with the British, the French and the Americans in the ideals of a democracy and liberty which it is our hope shall finally prevail throughout the entire world.

Referred to Committee on International Labor Relations.

Resolution No. 131—By Delegates Dan P. McKillop, Boiler Makers and Shipbuilders and Helpers, and Wm B. Foster, Chicago Federation of Labor: and

WHEREAS, The Mooney case, so-called, and his being sentenced to death, is generally accepted among men as an example of miscarriage of justice, and is attracting international attention because such a thing is possible in the country famous as the land of equality, freedom and justice for all; and

WHEREAS, The record in the case seems to show that it was decided on evidence since found to be perjured, which was so reported by a commission appointed by the President of the United States, headed by the Honorable William B. Wilson, Secretary of the Department of Labor, which commission recommended, after a thorough investigation, that a proper regard for the principle of justice and respect for the law demands a new trial be held, which was so requested of the Courts and Governor of California by the President of the United States, without avail, seemingly only because the technicality of the law prevents the Court from rectifying its mistake in accepting doubtful or perjured evidence as long as the formalities of the law were followed; and

WHEREAS, The execution of any human being on perjured or insufficient evidence, is murder, and the law of God, as well as the law of man says: "Thou shalt not kill;" therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, that we stand behind the President in his demands for justice in the Mooney case or any similar case, and that we will do anything necessary to prevent Mooney's execution in the present status of the case, and to assure to him the right of a fair, speedy and impartial trial, as guaranteed to all persons within the jurisdiction of the United States by the constitution and laws of our country.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

At 3:15 p. m. the rules were suspended and an adjournment taken to 9.30 a. m., Wednesday, June 12th.

THIRD DAY---Wednesday Morning Session

The Auditorium,

St. Paul, Minn., June 12, 1918.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 a. m., Wednesday, June 12th, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—Kline, Franklin, Sovey, Peerce, Corcoran, Boyer, Hutcheson, Baker, Conway, Desepte, Feeney, Dunn, Brennan, Rickert, Largent, Manning, Daley (M. C.), Nestor, Williams (Jno.), Gould, McSorley, Duty, O'Connor (T. V.), Wharton, Savage, Van Lear, Lane, Schmidt (Fred), Cannon, Hayes (F. J.), White (J. P.), Green, Moore (J.), Lewis, Valentine, Carey, Dold, Donlin, Hede, George, Kearney, Anderson, Berry, Orr, McHugh, Strunk, La Belle, Ryan (E. J.), Helt, Frecl, Summer, Heberling, Stillman, Ross (L. J.), Konenkamp, Agethen, Curtis, Scott (M. G.), Hatch, Mountford, Toone, Inglesias, Weiss, Wilk, Hoof, Ely, Crickmore, Conley, Williams (H.), Moncur, Hutton, O'Dell, Brown (B. F.), Smith (J. T.), Brown (J. H.), Brindell, Greene, Curran, Fricke, Parker, Rynerson, Fanning, Fallon, Bush, Kuhn, Hester, Casey, Beck, Bruen, Harte, Browne, Lampa, Morris, Wendell, Quesse, Staunton, Walker (M.), Waplington, de Krafft, Williams (T. J.), Elliott, Welch (W. E.), Paramore, Riordan, Byrne, Rincker, Hall (F.), Bondfield, Moore (T.), Fitzgerald, Berry (D. J.).

Secretary Morrison read the following communications:

New York, June 11, 1918.

Mr. Frank Morrison, Secretary, American Federation of Labor Convention.

I greatly regret that pressure of work in connection with the various commissions on which I am serving will prevent me from attending the St. Paul Convention of the American Federation of Labor. Please extend to delegates my earnest good wishes. I trust that the deliberations of the convention may result in the greatest good for our people and our country.

JOHN MITCHELL.

Cleveland, Ohio, June 11, 1918.

Frank Morrison,
Secy. A. F. of L. Convention, St. Paul, Minn.

On account of the fact that organized labor is expected to give its all to bring this war to a successful conclusion we, the officers and members, demand that we be represented at all peace conferences.

Signed,
J. A. GROVES,
Chairman Grievance Committee,
Cleveland Federation of Labor.

The Committee on Credentials made a supplementary report, recommending the seating of Miss Agnes Nestor, Glove Workers, with 7 votes; Nels Nelson, Minneapolis Trades and Labor Assembly, 1 vote; Jerry Williams, Tennessee State Federation of Labor, 1 vote. The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

President Gompers: By reason of the fact that the date of the convention of the American Federation of Labor was changed, and by reason of the fact that the British Trades Union Congress holds its election for fraternal delegates in September to attend our convention, which heretofore has been held in November, I communicated with the British Trade Union Congress Parliamentary Committee and urged that fraternal delegates be elected. The Parliamentary Committee acted for the Congress and selected two fraternal delegates. I was notified of the fact, but we have no notice that they have arrived in the United States. It is expected that they will be here before the close of the convention. We have with us the fraternal delegate of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, and I have the pleasure of presenting to you Brother Thomas Moore.

Address of Fraternal Delegate Thomas Moore.

Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

Mr. President and Delegates to the 38th Annual Convention: I have the honor this morning of bringing to you personally the fraternal greetings of fellow trade unionists from across the 45th degree. When the war was first declared in August, 1914, Canada was drawn into the world-conflict, or, I should have said, Canada took part immediately of its own volition, with the result that for a time that imaginary boundary line we speak so much of seemed to assume a new significance. Because of the fact that the United States had not at that time, and did not for some time later decide to enter into the war, there was a feeling growing up in the country I represent this morning that that imaginary line was actually becoming existant, a feeling that Canada was separating to

some degree from the affiliations which it had previously held. That was not because of any conflict of opinion in trade union matters, but because of the feeling that, having become involved in this war, they were perhaps not receiving the support which they felt might be forthcoming from such a great sister democracy as the United States. However, I am glad to say that the United States did in due course—and, personally, I believe as soon as it was really reasonable to do so—enter the lists along with the other allied nations for this great cause of democracy. The entering of the lists along with Canada removed that distinction which had been growing up, and today there is the feeling that on the North American continent that the trades union movement is more united and stronger than it ever was before.

I have in mind, Mr. President, the parade which passed Monday morning. As I stood on the curb and watched those thousands of the finest specimens of the manhood of this section of the country marching in their khaki uniforms my mind went back to August, 1914, when I had the opportunity of seeing 25,000 of Canada's manhood who had sprung spontaneously to the colors—not drafted but volunteered—leave and take the troopships to go across the ocean. When those 25,000 men left Canada they were under the impression that it might be necessary to raise another 25,000 before the war was concluded; and yet today we find that Canada, with 7,000,000 of population, has raised over 500,000 men and sent them over-seas. Over 50,000 of our men are lying dead on the fields of Flanders. When you consider that you can appreciate something of our feelings when we see such processions as you had last Monday morning.

Canada stands today in the proud position of having asserted herself before the nations of the world. Although one of the colonies of Great Britain, although proud to be one of the dependents of Great Britain, Canada has stood forth before all as a nation willing and capable of doing her duty. Those boys who stood at the first battle of Ypres, St. Julian and other places to prevent the German hordes reaching the Channel ports have shown what Canada is capable of. It is no part of my duty to take the glory of these men; the glory belongs to the men who have worn the khaki uniform, but the responsibility of maintaining the conditions they have sacrificed to establish rests absolutely upon the civilian population of the country from which they come. Feeling and knowing that responsibility, the trade union movement representatives of Canada have at all time during this great war moved cautiously and deliberately in any action they have taken. There may have been a few among the 200,000 trades unionists who at times have uttered indiscreet sentences—we are human and human beings are liable to make mistakes—but I want to assure this convention, and I want to assure anyone who may be within hearing of my voice or who may read what I say, that, so far as Canada is concerned, there has never been any count of opinion as to the duty the workers had to perform in the winning of the war.

The Minister of Labor of the Dominion of Canada assured me that there have been less industrial disputes, there have been less strikes in Canada, proportionate to the population than in any of the Allied nations who are at war at the present time. We have had no really serious strikes, but that does not mean that the trade union movement has adopted a spirit of pacifism. We have continued to be aggressive and to safeguard the interests we are there to maintain. We have had enemies in the country as well as out of the country to fight; we have had the greedy manufacturer and profiteer, the same as all other countries have suffered from. We have them today, and although we have a dilatory kind of tax on excess profits it has not as yet attempted to scratch the surface of the enormous profits that have been earned or that have been taken by some of our manufacturers.

The government of Canada is just what the people make it, because we of Canada have just as free and full a democracy as any of the other countries; but yet we have found at times, in a unique position, because of Canada being so small in population and so large in size, because of its being more of an agricultural than an industrial community, that the opinions of the industrial workers have been in direct conflict with the representatives of the government. However, as time passed along it became apparent to our government that it was necessary that greater consideration should be given the organized workers. In January of this year the first successful cooperation between the government and the organized workers took place. A large number of representatives of organized workers were called into conference by the government, and many of the problems facing the government at that time were discussed with labor's representatives. One question was the dilution of labor, the question of how far it would be practicable to dispense with male labor and replace it by female labor. We declared if female labor was necessary for the winning of the war it was also necessary to give females the same political liberty that men enjoyed, and at the last session of our government, held in March of this year, the franchise was extended throughout the Dominion of Canada to the women of our country. Another question that assumed very important proportions was the substitution of Chinese and Coolie labor for white free labor. We had powerful influences in the mines and on the railroads especially that were in favor of increasing Chinese labor. Organized labor took a strong stand, as you have done in this country, and up to the present time we have been successful in preventing the introduction of Chinese slave labor into Canada.

It might be useful for you to know what we have done in regard to returning men. We now have in our large cities parades such as you had last Monday morning, but instead of the men being in the best physical condition we find in parades of equal size the men who have done their duty and have returned maimed and crippled. I think we have about 100,000 who have returned and are being looked after by the country. During the war the Canadian people raised

what is known as the "Patriotic Fund," to which has been contributed some \$48,000,000, mostly from the pockets of the working people. This money has been distributed to the dependents of the men who went across seas. When Canada first entered the war we did not have the military draft, we had the volunteer system. We found that a large number of the men who enlisted were those who had appreciated their responsibilities most. The largest portion of them left wives and children behind them. As an example of hundreds of similar cases, one of our business agents in Toronto who enlisted the first month of the war left a wife and seven children. With such a condition as that it became apparent that even the fairly generous separation allowance provided by the government was not sufficient. This Patriotic Fund has been administered fairly on the whole.

The pensions of Canada are paid by the government from federal taxation. The maximum pension to a man on hundred per cent disabled was fixed at \$480 at the beginning of the war. Later it was increased by five dollars a month, owing to the increased cost of living. Those who are from ten to eighty per cent disabled receive an amount nowhere sufficient to train them again entering the industries. Therefore, the problem of the returned man who has a small pension but who must still enter the industrial field in competition with those who remained at home is becoming a serious one. Our government has undertaken to train those men for such vocations that they may be useful. It became apparent to the organized workers that it would be necessary to keep a very close supervision over the kind of training that would be given those men. We found that unless we did that too many would be trained for some of the vocations. While we did not wish to prevent the returned men being trained for anything they desired, we felt that in justice to them and to the other workers they should not be trained for some calling where they could not find work. We have in Canada some of the finest vocational schools, where men are taught cabinet work, typewriting, acetylene welding and other things for which they are fit. The returned men are being looked after so far as the replacement of limbs is concerned. The Davis Hospital in the City of Toronto is devoted exclusively to orthopedic work and they are using the returned men for the manufacture of those artificial limbs. When a soldier is fitted with an artificial arm or leg he is given the opportunity at all times during his lifetime to return to the hospital and have it repaired free of charge. These are a few of the things Canada is doing in looking after her returned men.

We have at times our differences of opinion in the trade union movement as to the methods which should be adopted in carrying out the policies of the movement. One-third of our population speaks a different tongue from the rest of the population. The Province of Quebec speaks the French language almost exclusively. In addition to that we have to consider the part of Canada that is entirely a new settled country. The great rolling praries of the west have been

settled by immigrants from all parts of the world, the aggressives and the radicals of the world. Therefore, we have the most radical and the most conservative elements, we have the two languages, and we have also two methods of organizing, or two sections of the trade union movement similar to those spoken of yesterday by the Belgian representatives. In the Province of Quebec they are organized in part in Catholic organizations. These will have nothing to do with the international trade union movement. You will appreciate that it is some job at times to maintain absolute harmony in the ranks. However, we have succeeded to this extent: When war was declared, the official figures showed that there were 186,000 trade unionists in the Dominion of Canada. By the end of 1915 the number had decreased to 143,000. Since then we have succeeded in building up to 208,000.

Out of the first 400,000 volunteers Canada raised, over 27,000 trade unionists were included. The volunteer is usually the man who is willing and anxious to do something ahead of the other fellow, and we found that the volunteers took from the ranks of the trade union movement the most aggressive members, in many cases the officers of the unions. Officers would be elected one meeting night and before the next meeting they would have volunteered and another election would have to be held. In many locals there were no members left except those who had merely carried cards in their pockets and never attended meetings. The organizers of the international unions went through the country drumming up new members, however, and today we have a practically new movement so far as a large number of the local unions are concerned. We have a virile movement, a progressive movement, and I think in the very near future Canada will surpass the United States in regard to the proportionate number of trades unionists in the population.

Canada is but a small portion of this world-conflict, but I cannot close without impressing upon you that there need be no doubts in the mind of any representative of labor or in the mind of any individual in the United States or the allied countries of the loyalty of the workers of the Dominion of Canada. What has been said of the loyalty of the workers of the United States is equally true of Canada. If the workers had not been loyal we could not have carried on as we have up to the present time; it would have been impossible to have developed our industries to the point they are developed for the production of war materials. We have supplied \$925,000,000 worth of war material to the British Empire. The work that is being done for the war is divided between the Dominion Government and a board known as the Imperial Munitions Board. This board is the spending authority for the British Imperial Government. The Dominion Government does not attempt to exercise any authority over the conditions under which the material is manufactured. That has been a source of trouble. The factories engaged in this war work have not been under the control of the government we ourselves created, they have been under the control of the British

Government. The British Government has said to us when we appealed for fair wage conditions: "We leave it absolutely to the Dominion of Canada to look after these conditions," and when we appealed to the Dominion Government we have been told: "We do not care to interfere, because this is entirely British Government work." As a result the workers have been compelled to labor under unfair conditions, but they, feeling it necessary at times to sacrifice some of the present day ideals for the future we are looking forward to, refrained from obstructive actions.

We are looking forward to a bright future for Canada; we are looking for the time when our boys will return with new conceptions of manhood and womanhood. We want to be able to say to them: "While you were doing your duty in the trenches and on the battle fields of Flanders we were trying to protect the homes you left, we were trying to see that the womanhood of this country was not enslaved as the Germans have tried to enslave the womanhood of Belgium and France." The loyalty of some of the profiteers of Canada has been such that if it had not been for the bulwark of trade unionism that enslavement would have taken place. We have passed a law in most Provinces that prevents women being employed more than eight hours in the munitions factories, and we have been able to maintain our child labor standards. Notwithstanding all the efforts that have been made to put the children into the factories, we have been able to keep them out.

I will refer before I close to the honor that was shown to the President of the American Federation of Labor in Canada. The government of the Dominion of Canada conferred upon President Gompers, because of the knowledge of his sterling qualities and because of the knowledge that he represented the spirit of a movement such as the American Federation of Labor, an honor which has been conferred upon only two other persons. They asked him to speak to the legislative representatives of both the Upper and Lower Houses of the Dominion. I had the pleasure of sitting in the gallery of the House of Parliament and listening to the words spoken in behalf of the workers of this country to the legislative representatives and the entire population of Canada. They were so impressed by the stand he took that they ordered his speech printed and distributed by thousands throughout the entire Dominion of Canada for the use of the workers. In addition to that the Canadian Club of the Capital City, Ottawa, and the Canadian Club of the City of Montreal, the industrial metropolis of the Dominion, also availed themselves of the opportunity to hear the President of the American Federation of Labor. The labor movement there, although not the official invitees, also availed themselves of the opportunity to take up a little of the time of your president.

I want to say to you now, coming from Canada two months after the visit of your president, that the advice he gave in regard to closer co-operation of the labor movement and the policies he laid down as fundamental for the carrying on of this war have had material effect, and the

seed he sowed is beginning to sprout in the Dominion of Canada. I have no doubt that the labor movement in the years to come will say the chief milestone in the history of the trade union movement, the time when it changed from being a suppliant before the government to being a partner with the government, was the time when Samuel Gompers spoke to our government and told them of their duty to the organized workers. We all felt proud that the workers had been accorded this opportunity, and we all feel the responsibility of carrying out the promises he made in our behalf. And you need have no fear, President Gompers, that the trades unionists of Canada will fail to carry out the promises you made in their behalf in regard to cooperation.

We are now taking an inventory of the entire man and woman power of the Dominion of Canada. I believe we were the first of the allied nations to say that everyone over sixteen years of age must register his qualifications, tell his age and residence and what he is able to do for the continuance of this war. The government will have a complete census of the seven million inhabitants of Canada and will be able to place them properly. It is not compulsory; the labor movement secured the promise it would be only for voluntary industrial service. The effort that Canada is making will be maintained to the conclusion of the war, whether it lasts one month, one year or ten years. The people of Canada are determined to lend their little aid along with the other nations in the conflict, so that the principles of democracy shall forever maintain throughout the civilized world.

Address of Fraternal Delegate Melinda Scott

Representing National Women's Trade Union League.

Mr. President and Delegates: I want to bring to you from the National Women's Trade Union League greetings to the men and women of labor. The business of the Women's Trade Union League is to organize women into trade unions and to arouse public opinion to a sense of responsibility to the working men and working women. Now more than ever do we need, not only the Women's Trade Union League, but every red blooded man and woman of labor to work more determinedly than ever and to put more effort into the organizing of women. More and more women are coming into industry, more and more women are taking the places of men, and what we have got to teach the women is that they must value their labor power, that they must not take a job at less wages than the men are receiving. If we are to save the country for democracy we have got to save those jobs for those men when they come back, and we have got to see that the women do not underbid the men while they are away.

We have seen in Europe, where the necessity is great for the women to enter the industries, women doing all kinds of work, and we know that women are going to enter industry here; but the thing we have to remember now is that up to this time there has been no need for women to go into these industries, there has been up to this time no shortage of man

power, but the plea of shortage of man power has been used in this time of war to get cheap labor. There may be a time later on when women will have to go into these industries, but until then we have got to be on the job and we have got to see to it that the women are taught and you men can do much toward that end—that trades unionism is quite respectable. Until a short time ago we women were taught that it wasn't quite the thing to belong to a trade union. Our home training, our church training and our school training have not taught us that we should take our places by the side of men and that we should put a proper value on our labor power, that we should not underbid the men. It is only the trade union movement that is teaching woman that she must stand on her own feet.

There never was a time when women did not work, they have always been in the industries. They were working in the homes, but with the introduction of machinery women went out from the homes into all kinds of industry, and they are there as a force to be reckoned with. The men and women of labor must now see to it that they get the right kind of training. They must not say, as they have said heretofore, "We are women and we cannot expect to get as much as men." Of course we must get as much as the men if we do the same kind of work. If we do as good work as a man, why not get as much pay as he? Then we have got to get as much pay as the men, because we cannot injure our brother workers. We have got to demand the same pay as men for the same work, and any man who stands in the way of women joining their trade unions, it seems to me, is taking it on his own face. Where the women are in your industries—and they are coming in and will probably come in larger numbers—the thing to do is to take them into your unions and make them fight with you for equal pay for equal work.

We found in some places in this country and in Europe where we regretted women coming into industry. We were told, "There is no earthly reason why women should not do this work. In some cases they are as strong as men." I will admit that some women are as strong as some men, but we must remember that women are the potential mothers of the future race and we have got to take care of the future generation, we have got to see to it that women are not put into trades that will injure the future generation. We are prone to say that the wealth of the nation depends upon the health of the people. We must take care of the health of the people. We must teach women that they must join the labor movement, and after this convention and during the war we are going to put more and more effort into it. We know the efforts the American Federation of Labor has put forth this last year, we know the efforts the Women's Trade League has put forth to organize women, and we must all together, men and women, strive for this one thing.

And we have something else to work for, and that is that more and more we have got to be on the job against child labor. Now that the federal law has been declared unconstitutional it behooves

us men and women of labor to see to it that the children of the workers had a better chance and a better opportunity than some of us ever had. We know as working women that it means to have to work in our childhood, we know what it means for the children of the workers to be deprived of their childhood and of their play time of life. Many of the children of the workers do not know what a green field looks like, many of them have been deprived of an education, and no matter what they gain in life, nothing will ever make up to them for being deprived of their play time in life. See to it, then, that the children of the future may have a better time than we had. They must be kept in school and not sent out into the industries. The thing for us to do is to see that the fathers of the families get decent wages so the children may be kept in school, given an opportunity to be mentally and physically and be prepared for the serious duties of life.

And we are only going to do this by standing together, men and women of labor. There are other people who will help us, but we must depend upon ourselves as workers and not leave anything to somebody else. And men and women are going to stand together in the future more than they have ever done in the past, the women, not behind men or before men, but standing shoulder to shoulder with them in the march of progress that is going to make for the betterment and the uplift of humanity.

Address of Fraternal Delegate Anna Fitzgerald

Women's International Union Label League.

Mr. President and Delegates: The previous speaker has well covered the ground as to the duties of women at this time. But our organization has devoted its work somewhat in a different channel from any other organization. The Women's International Union Label League is composed of women trade unionists, the wives of members and trade unionists' families. The purpose of the organization is to carry on a campaign of education among the women, particularly the women in the homes. We want them to realize their duty to the trade union movement. We believe if the purchasing power of the trade union movement is used to build up a system of organization rather than to destroy it we will have accomplished something well worth while. In doing the work of our organization we naturally have had considerable success in organizing the clerks' union. By simply demanding the card of the union clerk we have gained members for that organization. We have organized different towns where bakers and similar trades have been neglected in the past. It is through our purchasing power we have been able to do this work.

When I saw the parade last Monday morning I was impressed with the splendid appearance of our men, but they were not alone, the women came back of them. They were there to help along in this great work. In our organization we feel we are taking a similar place, not only in joining the trade unions but in creat-

ing a demand for the product of union labor. I hope when the delegates leave this convention they will not overlook the importance of this work. We have received considerable assistance from the trade unionists, but not as much as we should receive. It is absolutely necessary in these times to have the women in the homes back of this great work.

Our organization has branches in something like one hundred cities, and we have been able to assist in carrying on war work. You realize what the trade union movement as an organized body has been able to do. It has been able to do much more effective work than if the individuals were scattered and each trying to do his part. Our Label Leagues have been doing splendid work for the Red Cross and other similar movements. When reports came in of the work our leagues have done I have felt that if we never did anything else our efforts would be repaid.

I am not going to dwell upon the necessity of women coming into the organizations, because we all know that is essential, we all know that if at this time we do not make every effort to show the women who cannot see the necessity of it we will not be doing our duty. There is only one thing for the women who are entering industry to do, and that is to take their places by the side of the men. I hope when we come to the next convention we will show better results from our activities this year than ever before.

Secretary Morrison read the following communication from the Building Trades Department:

Saint Paul Hotel,

St. Paul, Minn., June 7, 1918.

Mr. Frank Morrison, Secretary,
American Federation of Labor,
St. Paul, Minn.

Dear Sir and Brother:

The following is an extract from the Report of the Executive Council to the St. Paul Convention of the Building Trades Department:

**International Union of Steam Engineers,
vs. International Brotherhood of
Steam Shovel and Dredgemen**

"Several years ago, over the protest of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers, a charter was granted by the American Federation of Labor to an organization known as the Steam Shovel and Dredgemen. At the time it was predicted that serious trouble would follow, particularly in the building industry. Unfortunately the alarm expressed has been realized at this the most important period in the history of our movement, and the stoppage of important work would be a daily occurrence if it were not for the toleration shown by the Steam Engineers, which organization has displayed loyal citizenship and true trade unionism. We believe that the charter granted by the American Federation of Labor to this dual organization should be revoked.

"Your Executive Council deems it most important that the convention now in session go on record as favoring the revocation of the charter of the Steam Shovel and Dredgemen as granted by the

American Federation of Labor, and an award of the jurisdiction claims of that organization made in favor of the International Union of Steam Engineers in order to avoid the strife, trouble and confusion which has arisen over the issuance of the charter to the dual organization herewith referred to."

For your further information we desire to quote below the action of the convention on the foregoing matter as follows:

"On this long standing jurisdiction dispute, which has taken up much time of conventions in the past, the Executive Council recommends the revocation of the charter of the Steam Shovel and Dredgemen by the A. F. of L. Convention, and the awarding of the jurisdiction claims of that organization to the International Union of Steam Engineers, thereby eliminating disputes, contention and strife in the future. Your committee unanimously concurs in the recommendation.

"The recommendation of the committee was adopted unanimously."

The above is transmitted to you in accordance with the decision of the convention, and the revocation of the charter of the Steam Shovel and Dredgemen is herewith urged.

Fraternally yours,

WM. J. SPENCER,
Secretary-Treasurer,
Building Trades Dept.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Secretary Morrison read the following communication from a committee representing various organizations of colored people:

New York, June 6th, 1918.

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

My Dear Mr. Gompers:

We write to present suggestions for further cooperation between our committee and the American Federation of Labor as growing out of our recent conference in Washington:

First, we wish to place before you our understanding of your statement to us at the conclusion of the meeting. We quote you as follows; and will be glad for you to make any changes in the text as will make the statement more nearly conform to the ideas which you have in mind relative to the connections that should be established between white and Negro workmen:

"We, the American Federation of Labor, welcome Negro workmen to the ranks of organized labor. We should like to see more of them join us. The interests of workmen, white and black, are common. Together we must fight unfair wages, unfair hours and bad conditions of labor. At times it is difficult for the national organization to control the actions of local unions in difficulties arising within the trades in any particular community, inasmuch as the National body is made possible by the delegates appointed by the locals; but we can and will use our influence to break down prejudice, on account of race, color or

previous condition of servitude, and hope that you will use your influence to show Negro workmen the advantages of collective bargaining and the value of affiliation with the American Federation of Labor. But few people who are not thoroughly acquainted with the rapid growth of the Federation of Labor know of the large numbers of colored people who are already members of our organization. The unpleasant incidents in connection with efforts of colored men to get recognition in trades controlled by the American Federation of Labor have been aired and the good effects of wholesome and healthy relationship have not been given publicity; and for that reason, a general attitude of suspicion has been developed towards union labor on the part of colored working people; but I hope that out of this conference will spring a more cordial feeling of confidence in each other on the part of men who must work for a living."

We are willing to cooperate with the American Federation of Labor in bringing about the results of the recent conference, and would make the following suggestions and recommendations which, with your approval, we shall proceed to carry out to the best of our ability.

First, we suggest that you prepare a statement, along the lines of the quotation from you given above, and send it to us for approval and then to be given to the Negro press throughout the country as expressing your position on matters connected with the relationship between Negro and white workmen.

This statement, in our judgment, should contain a clear exposition of the reasons why certain internationals may exclude colored men as they do by constitutional provision and still be affiliated with the A. F. of L. whose declared principles are opposed to such discrimination. This we think necessary because the stated facts above alluded to will be familiar to the leaders among the colored people, particularly to editors and ministers whose cooperation it is essential to secure if the best results are to be obtained.

We would suggest further that you consider the expediency of recommending to such Internationals as still exclude colored men that their constitutions be revised in this respect.

Second, that a qualified colored man to handle men and organize them be selected for employment as an organizer of the American Federation of Labor, his salary and expenses, of course, to be paid by the American Federation of Labor.

Third, that for the present we meet at least once a quarter to check up on the results of our cooperative activities and to plan for further extension of the work, if satisfactorily conducted.

Fourth, that you carry out your agreement to have your Executive Council voice an advanced position in its attitude towards the organization of Negro workmen and have these sentiments endorsed by your St. Paul convention in June, and this action be given the widest possible publicity throughout the country.

We should be glad to hear from you

at your earliest convenience as to the action taken by your Council on these recommendations with such other suggestions or recommendations as may occur to you.

Sincerely yours,

EUGENE KINCALE JONES,
FRED R. MOORE.

For the following committee:

Dr. R. R. Moton, principal of Tuskegee Institute.

Mr. John R. Shillady, secretary of National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Mr. Fred R. Moore, editor of New York Age.

Mr. Archibald Grimké, Washington Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Mr. Emmett J. Scott, special assistant to the Secretary of War.

Mr. Eugene Kincale Jones, executive secretary, National Urban League.

Mr. Thomas Jesse Jones, educational director Phelps Stokes Fund.

Dr. James H. Dillard, president of Jeanes Fund.

Dr. George C. Hall, vice president of the executive board, Chicago Urban League.

(P. S. Please address all communications care of E. K. Jones, 200 Fifth Avenue, Room 1120, New York City, N. Y.)

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Vice-President Duffy: I rise on a matter of personal privilege, Mr. Chairman, relative to committee work. I am willing to do the work assigned to me as chairman of the Committee on Organization to the best of my ability, but yesterday morning when the Labor Commission to England and France made its report one of the Committee on Organization voiced his opposition to that report, or some parts of it and he ought to apologize for what he said. Now I do not stand for pacifism nor do I stand for a person who has pro-German proclivities. I represent an organization—and I am speaking as an international officer of that organization—that has 50,000 men working in the cantonments, aviation fields and shipyards of this country, that has more than 10,000 men in the army and navy and more than 4,000 men working for the government in France, and I will not stand for anything of that kind and will not serve on the committee if Delegate Schlesinger insists on serving on the Committee on Organization.

As an American citizen I want to say that I have a son in the navy, serving on the battleship Utah, I have a nephew in the army and I have more sons and nephews who, when they come to the required age, are willing to defend their

flag, their country and their homes, and I am going to back up those boys with all the vim and vigor in my make-up. I absolutely refuse to sit as chairman of a committee on which there is one member who has expressed himself as a pacifist and who stands for German institutions.

President Gompers: The chair desires to make this statement, and expresses the hope, after the chair has made an explanation, that Delegate Duffy will withdraw that positive statement as to his declination to serve upon a committee under the circumstances he mentions. The chair is fully conscious of the matter to which Delegate Duffy refers. It was perhaps not generally heard—the question raised by Delegate Schlesinger. It is not necessary that the chair should defend him, and it is not the chair's purpose to do so, but it ought to be understood. I know Delegate Schlesinger was not heard by many. He evidently misunderstood or misinterpreted the subject-matter upon which he made the criticism and the request. He said, substantially, that the report contained the statement that the Socialists of Europe were politicians, and he asked that that be stricken from the report. There was neither a motion nor a second, and as a consequence the chair could not take cognizance of the request. Upon the motion to adopt the report the entire convention voted in the affirmative except four delegates. No matter what inference may have been drawn, the facts are as I have stated. There was no declaration made of pacifism, there was nothing but the four votes recorded as dissenting from the adoption of the committee's report. Lest this misunderstanding goes further it seems to the chair this statement should be made.

Vice-President Duffy: One of the four votes was cast by Brother Schlesinger.

Delegate Schlesinger, International Ladies Garment Workers: If I heard Brother Duffy aright he wants me to apologize for the question I asked yesterday before Brother Duffy will sit with me as a member of the Organization Committee. He boasted of his patriotism. I want to say to him and to the rest of the delegates that I am as much of a patriot as Brother Duffy, although I do not boast of it. I want to say also that our organization has probably done more work for the prosecution of the war than Brother Duffy's organization has. You may be representing a very large organization, but that does not prove that you have a right to come to a convention of labor men and try to intimidate any one.

I asked the question yesterday and will ask questions again when I wish to do so. I have not demonstrated any more pacifism than any other delegate. Our organization has given as many members to the war as any other organization. No one has questioned our patriotism or our loyalty. If any delegate has the nerve to ask that I apologize for asking a question I had a right to ask, I don't want to sit on the committee with you, Delegate Duffy.

Delegate Gorenstein, International Ladies Garment Workers: Permit me to add to what President Schlesinger has said that we also participated in the purchase of Liberty Bonds. Our organization has bought \$100,000 worth of the Third Liberty Bonds, and the members individually have bought a large amount of the bonds. That should be in the minutes with the other statements.

At 11:30 the rules were suspended and an adjournment taken to 9:30 a. m., Thursday, June 13th.

FOURTH DAY---Thursday Morning Session

The Auditorium,

St. Paul, Minn., June 13, 1918.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 a. m., Thursday, June 13th, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—Kline, Preece, Corcoran, Baker, Conway, Desepte, Feeney, Woll, Rickert, Doyle (F.), Williams (Jno.), Gould, Brock, O'Connor, Wharton, Savage, Van Lear, Lane, Schmidt (Fred), Cannon, Hayes (F. J.), White (J. P.), Green (W.), Moore (J.), Lewis (J. L.), Dempsey, Mara, Hedrick, Dold, Kearney, Anderson, Rau, Orr, La Belle, Ryan (E. J.), Helt, Freel, Sumner, Heberling, Neer, Ross (L. J.), Konenkamp, Daley (J. J.), Agethen, Curtis, Scott (M. G.), Hatch, Mountford, Toone, Holland, Inglesias, Christenson, Wilk, Hoof, Ely, Stewart, Dill, Conley, Williams (H.), Moncur, Hutton, Morgan, O'Dell, Brown (E. F.), Smith (J. T.), Breslin, Brindell, O'Shea, Greene (M. F.), Curran, Fricke, Parker, Ryneron, Fanning, Lemke, Kuhn, Sanders, Hester, Casey, Bruen, Harte, Browne, Lampa, Morris, Wendell, Kester, Staunton, Walker (M.), Waplington, de Kraft, Williams (F. J.), Berger, Ellicott, Welch (W. E.), Paramore, Riordan, Byrne, Rincker.

Secretary Morrison read the following telegram from Bernard M. Baruch, dated Washington, June 12th and addressed to President Gompers:

Permit me to extend to you, and through you to the delegates in attendance, my most sincere wishes for a successful convention. May I express the hope that the result of your deliberations will be helpful in promoting the cause of labor with the patriotism which you and those associated with you have so splendidly manifested during these trying times when our country needs the utmost loyalty and support of its citizens. There has been no time in this world crisis when the demand has been greater than at the present upon all of us to serve our country, no matter what position we may occupy. Labor is one of the strongest factors in winning the war and it will, I am sure, continue as in the past to show its loyalty and patriotism by giving the maximum of service and efficiency to the end that the war may be speedily terminated by complete victory for America and her allies, thus saving the world for humanity and democracy.

With kind personal regards,

Very sincerely yours,

B. M. BARUCH,

Chairman War Industries Board.

A motion was adopted to make the telegram part of the proceedings of the convention.

Delegate Joyce, Secretary of the Credentials Committee, reported that Joseph C. Orr, Printing Pressmen, would not be able to attend the convention, and recommended the seating of Thomas Yould of the same organization.

The committee also recommended the seating of Samuel Ross, New Bedford, Mass., Central Labor Union.

The report of the committee was adopted.

President Gompers announced that Delegate Conley, Dubuque, Iowa, Trades and Labor Assembly had been called to his home on important business, thus creating a vacancy on the Committee on Education, and appointed to fill the vacancy J. D. Clinedinst, Virginia State Federation of Labor, and to fill the vacancy on the same committee caused by the absence of Joseph C. Orr, Printing Pressmen, Delegate McHugh, of the Pressmen.

President Gompers: Yesterday after the adjournment of the convention a committee waited on me at the St. Paul Hotel and made this statement to me: That on Tuesday, about four o'clock, they presented a resolution in room No. 416, of the hotel. There was no one-present and they left it there. They thought they had complied with the rule of the convention in regard to presenting resolutions before the time set for the adjournment of the convention, 5:30. I did not feel that I had the authority to decide the question. The room designated for the presentation of resolutions was 916. From what I know of those who presented the matter to me I know they are trustworthy and truthful, and yet I felt that I had no authority to accept the resolution under the circumstances. I propose to ask the convention what the delegates believe should be done.

Delegate Shamp, Firemen: I move that the resolution be accepted and printed in the proceedings the same as other resolutions have been.

The motion was seconded and carried, and the following resolution was submitted:

Resolution No. 132—By Anna Weinstock, Neckwear Workers, No. 15200; Sara A. Conboy, United Textile Workers of America; Alice Scott, Hat Trimmers of Newark; Rose Yates, Brotherhood of Railway Clerks; Minnie Teitelbaum, Hat Trimmers and Operators' Union; Agnes Nestor, International Glove Workers' Union of America; Melinda Scott, National Women's Trade Union League:

RESOLVED, To amend Section 1 of Article V of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor to read:

"The Officers of the Federation shall consist of a President, ten Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, and a Treasurer, to be elected by the convention on the last day of the session. These officers shall be the Executive Council, and at least two of them shall be women."

Referred to Committee on Law.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS.

Delegate Frey, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Your committee had three resolutions presented to it dealing with the attitude of the Western Union Telegraph Company and the Postal Telegraph and Cable Company, Resolutions No. 3, No. 21 and No. 73. The committee will report on No. 73 first.

The resolution was amended by the committee by inserting in the last paragraph, line 3, before the word "strike," the words "have to," and in line 4 the words "or else to surrender this right," following the word "organize," the amended resolution to read:

Resolution No. 73—By Delegate Wm. B. Foster, of the Chicago Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The Western Union Telegraph Company and the Postal Telegraph Company have locked out over one thousand of their employes for attending union meetings or for membership in the Commercial Telegraphers Union of America; and

WHEREAS, This action on the part of the telegraph companies is now threatening the nation with a strike affecting every community; and

WHEREAS, The National War Labor Board has recommended a settlement that would avert this calamity if agreed to by the Telegraph Companies; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled deplore the necessity of the Telegraphers to have to strike at this time for the right to organize or else to surrender this right, and that the President of the American Federation of Labor is hereby instructed to appoint a committee of five from this body to present the facts of this struggle to the President of the United States and to prevail upon him to take such steps as he may deem necessary to give the commercial telegraphers their rights as American citizens, and to prevent an extension of this lockout which seems nec-

essary unless the telegraph companies are forced to yield.

Secretary Frey: Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution as amended. This resolution, while introduced by Delegate Foster, was prepared by President Konenkamp, of the Commercial Telegraphers' Union for introduction in this convention.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 21 was amended by the committee by adding to the last paragraph, "and to the Speaker of the House and the President of the Senate." The resolution as amended is as follows:

Resolution No. 21—By Delegate H. B. Perham, of the Order of Railroad Telegraphers:

WHEREAS, The managing officials of the two principal telegraph companies of the United States have recently discriminated against their employes on account of their attempt to organize for the purpose of collective bargaining by discharging them in large numbers in various cities; and

WHEREAS, The grievances of the employes having been referred to the War Labor Board, which body appointed mediators to look into the matter and make recommendations, the said mediators having performed their duty and made recommendations favoring the contentions of the employes, which the managing officials decline to carry out; and

WHEREAS, The managing officials assume the attitude of defiance to authority, arrogantly flouting public opinion, and in other ways abusing the powers and privileges that the people have conferred upon them, even going to the extent of provoking a nation-wide strike among their employes; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled respectfully represent to the President of the United States that the Western Union Telegraph Company and the Postal Telegraph Cable Company should immediately be taken under Government control for the period of the war and as long thereafter as may be deemed advisable. And that a copy of this paragraph be immediately wired to the President of the United States, the Speaker of the House and the President of the Senate.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution as amended.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Vice-President Perham, in discussing the report of the committee, said in part: The Railroad Telegraphers have about 33,000 members who do commercial telegraphing, and, of course, if the strike is called it will affect our agreements. It is true there is a working agreement between the two organizations which states

that the Railroad Telegraphers will continue to do their business when a strike of the Commercial Telegraphers occurs, there is no sympathetic strike permitted under the agreement, but if the Commercial Telegraphers go on strike it is not to be expected that union men in the railroad service will handle the commercial telegrams. We will be involved then to a greater degree than the commercial telegraphers themselves. Now that the government has assumed control of the railroads they find these contracts still in existence, and the government is now a party to the contract with the Western Union and Postal companies.

Vice-President Perham, in advocating the taking over of the telegraph systems by the government, spoke of the annoyance experienced when telegrams in code have been held up and when labor news has been distorted and delayed in recent years. He also called attention to the hundreds of towns that were without telegraph service, and stated that every post office ought to be also a telegraph office.

Delegate Flaherty offered the following as an amendment to the report of the committee:

Be it further

RESOLVED, That no discrimination shall be made in the employment, retention or conditions of employment of telegraphers in the Government service, because of membership in a labor union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Flaherty urged the delegates to consider very carefully the proposition to have the government take over the telegraph systems unless accompanied by guarantees that the workers would have the right to organize and to petition Congress in their own behalf. He referred to the experience of the post office clerks and the efforts that have been made to prevent them from organizing and becoming affiliated with the American labor movement.

Delegate Hayes (M. S.), Typographical Union, in discussing the question said in part: I want to emphasize the necessity of the convention adopting the resolution, not in a perfunctory sort of way, and then expect the Executive Council to secure action on the part of Congress or even the administrative officials, but instruct the delegates and the officials of national and international unions, state and city central bodies, to use their influence with Congressmen and Senators from their districts by writing them letters and sending

telegrams demanding that the telegraphic monopoly be taken over by the government at the earliest possible date.

For over twenty years the International Typographical Union has had committees in Washington to labor for the nationalization of the telegraph systems. We have spent nearly \$100,000 to defray the expenses of such committees and send out literature in behalf of this propaganda. It has been almost a common rule that when there was trouble in any particular part of the country between organized labor and those in opposition to it the facts were distorted. The minds of the people have been poisoned for a great many years by these unfair reports that have been sent broadcast by the press monopolies that are in control of the great newspapers of America. The Associated Press and the United Press have practically a monopoly, and I am reliably informed that they are not enthusiastically in favor of the nationalization of the telegraph systems, because they enjoy a cheap toll for the dissemination of their messages which cannot be obtained by newspapers that are not part and parcel of these associations.

Delegate Hayes spoke at some length of the manner in which the news service of the country could be provided for all papers at the same rate, and gave a number of details as to the way in which it is now conducted.

The chairman stated that the amendment of Delegate Flaherty had not been seconded, and proceeded to put the original motion.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 3—By Delegate James A. Duncan of the Seattle, Wash., Central Labor Council:

WHEREAS, In order to conserve the best interests of the Nation during this most anxious period of its history, President Wilson by proclamation on April 8, 1918, appointed a War Labor Board, commissioned to (as far as possible) preserve harmonious relations between employers and employees, and laying down as one of the cardinal principles to be observed by said Board, "that the right of workers to organize in Trade Unions, and to bargain collectively through chosen representatives, is recognized and affirmed, and this right shall not be denied, abridged or interfered with by the employers in any manner whatsoever;" and

WHEREAS, Some 250 employees of the Western Union and Postal Telegraph Companies in the City of Seattle, Washington, and some at other points who undertook to exercise their recognized Am-

erican right to organize, or at least attend a meeting upon their own time, Sunday afternoon, April 28th, 1918, for the purpose of discussing the advisability of organization, were forthwith summarily discharged by the said corporation, in defiance of the War Labor Board, and in violation of the principles laid down by our President; and

WHEREAS, The Central Labor Council of Seattle and vicinity and Unions affiliated thereto, have sprung nobly to the aid of their locked out fellow unionists, rendering moral and financial assistance sufficient to sustain them throughout the six weeks period during which the War Labor Board has endeavored in vain to bring about an adjustment; and

WHEREAS, The unionists of Seattle, realizing that the principle at stake in this controversy is as vital as that for which our brothers have gone in their hundreds of thousands to Europe to fight and to die if need be to maintain, have sworn to uphold this principle at all hazards, even going to the point of ceasing work if need be to force a show-down with these arrogant, unpatriotic and un-American corporations; now therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in its 38th Annual Convention assembled, pledge its utmost support to the locked out Telegraphers and heartily commend the unionists of Seattle for their unwavering loyalty to the principles of Unionism and Democracy; and further be it

RESOLVED, That while a cessation of work in war essential industries at this critical time could only be justified as a last resort, insists that should such a contingency arise, the responsibility for such action must be placed upon, and borne by these unscrupulous and un-American corporations; and further be it

RESOLVED, That the Federation, in order to prevent further complications, and to conserve the best interests of the nation, respectfully and earnestly petition the President and Congress of the United States to make whatever arrangements may be necessary to immediately take over and operate the Telegraph system of the Nation.

Inasmuch as the committee's report upon resolutions No. 21 and No. 73 covers the substance of this resolution, with the exception of the reference to a general sympathetic strike, which it contains, your committee recommends non-concurrence.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Duncan (J. A.), Seattle, opposed the recommendation of the committee and urged the adoption of the resolution. He discussed at length the condition of the employes of the telegraph companies, the lockout of the operators in Seattle and the unfair methods employed by the companies to compel them to return to work. He described many

of these methods, among them the sending of a detective to obtain the registration number of the men within the draft age and to intimate that they would be called to service immediately if they did not return to work, and the employment of a woman detective to impress upon the girls that they were unpatriotic and disloyal in maintaining the strike, although the girls had been constantly employed at Red Cross work and the sale of war savings stamps during the time they were locked out. He described further the sympathetic attitude of the Mayor of Seattle toward the locked out employes of the telegraph companies and the manner in which they were protected from the attempts to force them to return to work.

Vice-President Duncan, Chairman of the Committee: In as far as the general substance of the resolution is concerned, the effectiveness thereof is included in the two resolutions coming from the two organizations of telegraphers affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, one authorized by President Konenkamp, and the other signed and defended by President Perham. Apart from the substance of the other two resolutions passed by this convention, the danger of this last resolution is only slightly touched upon by the delegate. The fact of the matter is that the last whereas declares that the central body of Seattle shall declare a general strike. Are the national and international organizations affiliated with this American Federation of Labor to turn over to Seattle the authority to declare a general strike without consultation with the national and international unions? It is because of this danger the committee reports nonconcurrence. Aside from this the substance of the resolution is contained in the two resolutions already passed.

The motion to adopt the recommendation of the committee was carried.

Delegate Flaherty, National Federation of Postal Clerks, obtained unanimous consent to the introduction of the following resolution:

Resolution No. 133—By Delegates Flaherty and Gainer:

WHEREAS, Through the emergency created by the war, and in response to an insistent demand on the part of the people, there is a steady broadening of the functions of government operation, ownership and control of industrial utilities; and

WHEREAS, There is much in this trend toward the extension of governmental functions that is encouraging to the workers; nevertheless, this vital fact should be borne in mind—that government employment, under an autocratic administration may become as harsh and tyrannical as any imposed upon the workers in private industries, as the experience of the Postal Workers abundantly prove; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That whether in the nationalization of the telegraph systems or in the extension of government control into other industries now privately owned, the American Federation of Labor insist that these rights of the workers thus brought into the government service, shall be held inviolate—the right to organize and affiliate with the American Federation of Labor; the right of petition for redress of grievances and if needs be, to bargain collectively, and to enjoy other necessary safeguards as set forth in the official pronouncement of the National War Labor Board; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be instructed to exert every effort to secure for all government workers these fundamental principles of employment.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

President Gompers: This convention by unanimous vote directed the President of the American Federation of Labor to send a suitable reply to the President of the United States to the telegram he addressed to us. The Secretary will read the telegram sent to the President.

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM.

Copy VLY.

St. Paul, Minn., June 12, 1918.

Honorable Woodrow Wilson,
The White House, Washington, D. C.

Your message brought to the convention of the American Federation of Labor an inspiration impossible to express in words and by unanimous vote I was directed to make reply. It is my pleasurable duty to say that America's workers have come to regard you as the world spokesman for democracy and human justice and we confidently trust your leadership. We wish to express to you our determination to give wholehearted support to the government of our free country in this war to establish principles of freedom that will insure peace between the nations. We are doing and will continue to do our part whether at the front or at home and will share the burdens and the sacrifices. We pledge loyal support and service until human freedom and equity shall be the common right of all peoples.

SAMUEL GOMPERS.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION.

Delegate Conboy, Secretary of the Committee, submitted the following report:

Colored Workers—Organization of.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption the committee reported as follows:

This part of the Executive Council's report deals with conferences of leading men of the colored race with President Gompers and the Executive Council relative to the organizing of the colored workers, both skilled and unskilled, under the jurisdiction of the American Federation of Labor, and their promise to assist and cooperate in that work.

It is with pleasure we learn that leaders of the colored race realize the necessity of organizing the workers of that race into unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and your committee recommends that the President of the American Federation of Labor and its Executive Council give special attention to organizing the colored wage workers in the future. We wish it understood, however, that in doing so no fault is or can be found with the work done in the past, but we believe that with the cooperation of the leaders of that race much better results can be accomplished.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

The committee recommends that the communication signed by a number of representatives of associations of colored people, read in the convention and printed in the third day's proceedings (page 198), be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for such action as they deem necessary.

The report of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 4.—By Delegates Benjamin Schlessinger, J. Heller, I. Feinberg, Max Gorenstein, Mollie Friedman, and Alfred LaPorta, of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union:

WHEREAS, The ten weeks strike of the three thousand men and women, conducted in 1917, by the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union in the skirt, waist, dress, and kimono industry of the City of Chicago, was lost because of the present status of the law in the State of Illinois which enables employers to use Courts of Chancery as a weapon to prohibit organized labor from exercising its constitutional right to peacefully picket; and were it not for the injunctions then issued that struggle would have resulted in a glorious victory for the Union, and would have established standards of wages and conditions of employment which would be an approximate approach to conditions in other organized industries; and

WHEREAS, The International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, at its convention held in Boston, Massachusetts, during May, 1918, adopted a resolution to again begin an energetic campaign in their trades in the City of Chicago for raising the present low standards of wages and for improving the conditions of labor; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, pledges its support to the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union in every effort it may make for accomplishing the purposes aforesaid, be the same

through amiable negotiations with employers, for mediation by public-spirited men, or, as a last resort, by means of a strike, if the desired results can not be accomplished by any other method.

Your committee recommends that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor give its support and encouragement to the Lady Garment Workers of Chicago in organizing the trade of that city, and that an organizer be deputized to assist in that work.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 8.—By Delegates Benjamin Schlesinger, J. Heller, I. Feinberg, Max Gorenstein, Mollie Friedman and Fred LaPorta, of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union:

WHEREAS, The low wages and inferior standards of work prevailing in the cloak, suit, skirt, waist and dress industry in the City of Cleveland, Ohio, is a constant menace to the organized workers of these trades all over the country; and

WHEREAS, The International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, at its convention in Boston, Mass., during May, 1918, adopted a resolution to begin an energetic campaign in the above mentioned trades in the City of Cleveland for raising the standards of wages and for improving the conditions of labor; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, pledges its support to the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union in its negotiations with the employers of the City of Cleveland for a peaceful solution of the grievances of the workers, and likewise in case a strike is found necessary for the enforcement of the just demands of the workers in these trades in the City of Cleveland.

Your committee recommends same action be taken as to the request of the Lady Garment Workers of Chicago.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Secretary Conboy: There are three resolutions, Nos. 9, 92 and 98, which bear on the same subject, the organizing of women workers. I will read Resolution No. 9, which is as follows:

Resolution No. 9.—By Delegate A. J. Linck, of the Racine, Wis., Trades and Labor Council:

RESOLVED, That this the Thirty-eighth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor urge all affiliated National and International Unions to take into membership women who are working at their respective trades, as owing to existing conditions the employers are putting women to work in the different crafts where they have never been employed before; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor is in favor of the women being organized as well as the men with equal pay, irrespective of sex.

Your committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 98.—By Delegate James F. Brock, of the Laundry Workers' International Union:

WHEREAS, The necessity of organizing the women workers of the country under normal conditions is important; and

WHEREAS, During the abnormal conditions in the affairs of the American people, the women are commencing to branch out into industries, taking the place of men workers; and

WHEREAS, The protection of our women as well as the wage standards of the nation is important; be it

RESOLVED, That the 35th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct its Executive Council to devise ways and means and put them into effect to more effectually organize the women workers of this country, and especially in the laundry industry, so as to protect their interest and maintain the wage standards in the laundry industry and other industries where women are mostly employed.

The subject matter contained in this resolution is covered in our report on Resolution No. 9.

The report of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 92.—By Delegates P. Harry Jennings, of the Mass. State Branch, and Martin T. Joyce, of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers:

WHEREAS, The vast changes going on in economic organization, brought about by the participation of millions of our men engaged on the battlefields of Europe, thus drawing into industry a vast number of women, who, it is believed, will grow in number as the war continues; and

WHEREAS, Many unfair and unscrupulous employers are taking advantage of this condition to lower the wage standards and to pay women less wages than they paid the men whose places these women are taking, and believing that many thousands of these women will remain for a long period in industry; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor stands for equal pay for equal work, believing that these women should receive the same wages as those received by the men whose places they have taken in order to help in the prosecution of this war and the elimination of the Hun; and

WHEREAS, We believe that the best interests of the Labor Movement demand that a strenuous and continuous effort be made to organize these women into the trade union bodies of their respective crafts; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we call upon the officers and organizers of the affiliated international and national unions to make

every effort to bring these women into the organization of the respective crafts to which the men, whose places they have taken, are members.

The subject matter of this resolution is covered in our report on Resolution No. 9 which has already been approved.

The report of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 29—By Delegate Wm. Z. Foster, of the Chicago Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The organization of the vast armies of wage earners employed in the steel industries is vitally necessary to the further spread of industrial democracy in America; and

WHEREAS, Organized Labor can accomplish this great task only by putting forth a tremendous effort; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the executive officers of the American Federation of Labor stand instructed to call a conference, during this convention, of delegates of all international unions whose interests are involved in the steel industries, and of all the State Federations and City Central bodies in the steel districts, for the purpose of uniting all these organizations into one mighty drive to organize the steel plants of America.

Your committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 34—By Delegate A. R. Linn, Int'l. Bro. of Foundry Employes:

WHEREAS, The President and Secretary of the American Federation of Labor have materially assisted the International Brotherhood of Foundry Employes to increase its membership; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers and members of the International Brotherhood of Foundry Employes extend to the officers of the A. F. of L. their appreciation and thanks for the assistance rendered.

Your committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 36—By Delegate Timothy A. Reardon, San Francisco Labor Council:

WHEREAS, The workers in the sugar refining industry in most parts of the United States remain in a deplorable and unorganized condition; and

WHEREAS, In the opinion of Sugarworkers' Union No. 10513, endorsed by the San Francisco Labor Council, the present time is favorable to the organization of this class of workers and to the extension to them of benefits equal to those now enjoyed by sugarworkers through organization in San Francisco; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention hereby directs its incoming Executive Council to devote the necessary efforts of the American Federation of Labor to organize the sugarworkers in every unorganized center of the sugar refining industry.

Your committee recommends concurrence in this resolution and refers it to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for consideration and action, if the funds of the Federation will permit.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 37—By Delegate Henry Sands, of the International Brotherhood of Roofers, Composition, Damp and Waterproof Workers of the United States and Canada:

WHEREAS, The Hodcarriers and Building Laborers are organized in New Jersey, and almost without exception they are not affiliated with the A. F. of L., but belong to an independent state organization; and

WHEREAS, A number of efforts have been made to have them affiliated with the International Hodcarriers and Building Laborers' Union; and

WHEREAS, Such efforts by Committees from Local Building Trades Councils have been a failure in the past; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this State Building Trades Council of New Jersey ask the Building Trades Department to take some action to get these laborers in their respective International Union.

COMMITTEE REPORT: Your Committee on Organization recommends that Resolution No. 8 be concurred in and copies thereof be forwarded on to the coming convention of the Building Trades Department, also the American Federation of Labor Convention to be held at St. Paul, Minn.

The Committee Report was approved and adopted by the convention.

This resolution was presented to the 12th annual convention of the Building Trades Department held in this city last week and was concurred in. The officers of the Department were directed to use their best endeavors to bring about an affiliation of the independent state organization by and with the assistance of the officers of all international unions concerned. Your committee recommends that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor assist them in this work.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 26—By Delegate David L. Gould, of the Amalgamated Lace Operatives of America:

WHEREAS, efforts have been made through conferences to bring about the amalgamation of the United Textile Workers of America, the National Mule Spinners Union, and the Amalgamated Lace Operatives, all of which have failed; and

WHEREAS, During said conferences there have been statements made to the effect that the United Textile Workers would stand by Resolution No. 96, adopted by the delegates assembled in the Buffalo Convention of the American Federation of Labor, giving the impression to the representatives of the other organizations involved that there was a feeling existing that they (the United Textile Workers) were not willing to amalgamate, but had an earnest desire to absorb said organizations, and such absorption is not desired by the membership of said organizations; and

WHEREAS, It is a fact that the Textile Workers throughout the country are very poorly organized and that there has been considerable defection from the ranks of the United Textile Workers; especially is this so in the Eastern part of the country; and

WHEREAS, We feel that the only solution to the difficulties now confronting the Textile Workers in general which will establish them on a sound basis and enhance the labor movement amongst this class of workers is to bring about the establishment of a Textile Department within the Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor stand instructed by this convention to take such steps as are necessary to bring about the formation of a Textile Department within the American Federation of Labor, which will embody the various organizations now affiliated with the Federation of Labor, and which will eventually bring all Textile Organizations not at present within the jurisdiction of the Federation of Labor into and under such jurisdiction.

Your committee non-concurs in this resolution, as we believe the formation of a Textile Department would not bring about the results desired, and would only add additional cost to the organizations composing such a department.

Delegate Fleming: In view of the fact that the delegate who introduced the resolution has not been able to reach the convention, owing to the fact that his organization is also holding a convention, I move that consideration of the resolution and the report of the committee be deferred until some time during the early part of next week, when the delegate of the Lace Workers will be present. Seconded and carried.

Resolution No. 69—By Delegates B. S. Lancaster, of the Shipyard Labor Union; F. T. Chain, Jr., Central Labor Union, New Orleans; Geo. W. Milner, Coal Trimmers No. 15277; Thos. P. Woodland, Central Labor Union, New Orleans; J. E. Clinedinst, Virginia Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, We, the colored delegates representing Local Unions in Mobile, Alabama, and New Orleans, La., affiliated directly with the American Federation of Labor, and being familiar with the strong sentiment in favor of organized labor now prevailing among the colored people in and around Mobile, Ala., due mainly to the establishment of new shipbuilding industries by the Government at this and other points along the East, together with a deal of encouragement from our white brethren; and

WHEREAS, There is quite a large number of our people in this district unorganized, and the time and conditions make it very necessary that they be organized and educated in the labor movement; and

WHEREAS, We believe that if a colored brother, familiar with above named facts be appointed as organizer to work among our people in the Mobile District, will bring satisfactory results to all concerned; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we the delegates of the Shipyard Laborers' Union, Mobile, Ala., and New Orleans, La., do hereby request this convention to grant and so recommend that a colored organizer be appointed for Mobile District, or territory prescribed by the Executive Council, including Mobile; and, be it further

RESOLVED, that the same conditions apply to all southern States and that colored organizers be placed in each State.

Your Committee believes that common laborers in shipyards are eligible to membership in the Hodcarriers, Building and Common Laborers' International Union. We therefore refer this matter to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, to take up with the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department, as the 12th annual convention of the Building Trades Department, held last week in this City, referred this matter to its Executive Council to take up with the organizations involved so that lines of demarcation may be drawn as to what class of workers in the shipyards should be assigned to the Hodcarriers, Building and Common Laborers' International Union.

In the meantime, your committee recommends that a campaign of organization be inaugurated by the organizations involved, under the direction of the American Federation of Labor, so that the workers referred to may be properly taken care of.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 76—By Delegate Wm. Bailey, of the Detroit Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The City of Detroit, Mich., has become one of the most important manufacturing cities in America; and

WHEREAS, Organized labor in Detroit and Michigan is suffering from the importation of colored labor in large numbers, 10,000 becoming residents of Detroit in 1917, and a larger number is expected in 1918. This large influx of unorganized labor has had a very bad effect on the organized labor movement of Detroit and vicinity; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor place a colored organizer to work in the city of Detroit and vicinity to assist the local labor movement in organizing this class of workers.

Your committee refers this resolution to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for investigation and action, if the funds of the Federation will permit.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 77—By Delegate Goldie M. Spencer, of the Battle Creek Federal Labor Council:

WHEREAS, Women are replacing and often displacing men in industry at this time, and these women are recruited from the families of the working men; and

WHEREAS, These women must be taught the fundamental principles of organization and it is impossible to teach them after their entrance into industry; and

WHEREAS, Organized Labor must safeguard the industrial interests of its male workers who are leaving their places to fight for the cause of a World democracy; and

WHEREAS, If every man in organized labor would have his wife, daughter, mother or sister in the rank of organization this body would be doubled and even trebled in size; be it

RESOLVED, That this convention in regular session does use its utmost influence to induce international, national, and local organizations to organize auxiliaries wherein these women may be taught what organization is and what it means, and when these women enter the industrial field they may come to membership in the organization that has jurisdiction over their craft.

Your committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 90—By Delegate Thos. G. Spellacy, of the International Association of Fire Fighters:

WHEREAS, The Fire Fighters of Mobile, Ala., who have struggled for years for living conditions commensurate with their duties in the hazardous position as Fire Fighters; and

WHEREAS, The Fire Fighters of Mobile, Ala., in seeking relief have affiliated themselves with the International Association of Fire Fighters, directly affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and the officials of Mobile, Ala., in order to discourage the said affiliation, have dismissed the Fire Fighters of Mobile, thereby placing in danger important government property; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled petition the government of the United States, for the best interests of government property which has been placed in danger by the employment of inexperienced men, to take over the Fire Department of Mobile, Ala., for the period of the war and employ none but experienced men who are mentally and physically qualified to fill the important positions of fire fighters.

Your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for investigation and whatever action they believe necessary afterwards.

A motion was made and seconded to concur in the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Spellacy discussed the question briefly, describing the conditions of employment and wages of fire fighters in different cities in the United States. He emphasized the opposition usually displayed by city officials to the organization of the fire fighters, and urged that an effort be made in all sections of the country to secure their organization and affiliation with the American Federation of Labor. He quoted the very low wages and the long hours of employment in many of the large cities.

The motion to concur in the report of the committee was carried unanimously.

Resolution No. 45—By Delegates John F. Hart, Dennis Lane, T. A. McCreash, Fred Schmidt, Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America:

WHEREAS, For the past two years or more, the American Federation of Labor has given special attention to the organization of Butcher Workmen, and through their assistance and thorough cooperation, we have increased our membership in great numbers, and through the cooperation and assistance of President Gompers, Secretary Morrison and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, we have secured, through arbitration, an eight-hour day, with increased pay for one hundred thousand packing house workers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, extend to President Gompers, Secretary Morrison and the Executive Council, our deep appreciation and thanks for the assistance and

cooperation rendered us in securing better wages and working conditions for the members of our organization.

Your committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 120—By Delegates Thos. L. Gregson of the Calumet Joint Labor Council; Wm. Z. Foster of the Chicago Federation of Labor; and H. W. Raven of the South Chicago Trades and Labor Assembly:

WHEREAS, There exists in and about the City of Chicago, a condition worthy of serious consideration by this body, a condition directly opposed to, and most detrimental to the best interest of this great American Labor movement; and

WHEREAS, The Commonwealth Edison Co. of Chicago have most consistently and successfully opposed the organization of its employes, and under ordinary conditions the unions at interest have been able to keep the company fairly within its own confines, but under the present condition and the appointment of several of the company's officials to prominent governmental positions, the company has taken advantage of these officials, positions and prestige to obtain contracts on government work in competition with fair contractors and employes, to the serious detriment of our interests; and

WHEREAS, The company does not meet the prevailing conditions of the district and are discriminating against the unions to the extent of maintaining a spy system and discharging such employes as dare speak favorably of the unions or communicate with union officials relative to bettering their condition; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention condemns such action on the part of the company, and instruct the officers of the American Federation of Labor to make a thorough investigation and take such action as they deem advisable to suppress these autocratic policies as practised by the said company.

Your committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 99—By Delegates L. L. McDonald, Frank Milhollan and Peter Morgan, of the North Dakota Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, During the past year the State Federation of Labor of North Dakota has done everything possible to more thoroughly organize the state, doubling their membership; and

WHEREAS, There is still a large field inland that we are unable to reach, owing to our inability to finance the continued employment of an organizer; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be urged to send into the State of North Dakota,

or select the most competent member of that state for as long a period as the finances will permit, and that international unions render the same assistance in behalf of their respective trades and callings.

Your committee refers this resolution to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for consideration and action if the funds of the Federation will permit.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 126—By Delegate Herman Derolph, Cleveland Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The service of the American Bell Telephone Company as represented by the Cleveland Telephone Company, a local concern, has been consistently reiterating a condition which causes loss to subscribers in time and efficiency and which gives aid and comfort to the enemies of United States of America; and

WHEREAS, At this time we are expected to stand up and be counted for or against the government, and we are expected to lend every assistance to bring this war to a successful conclusion; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Cleveland Federation of Labor in regular session assemble to hereby protest against the un-American and un-patriotic actions of the aforesaid company; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we instruct our regular elected delegate to the St. Paul convention of the American Federation of Labor to introduce a resolution in the convention, demanding that the Federal authorities immediately proceed to investigate the aforesaid condition in the City of Cleveland with the object in view of compelling the said company to give to their subscribers service that will add to our efficiency in our endeavors to bring this war to a successful conclusion; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy be sent to President Wilson for his co-operation and use in bringing about this desired result, and that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor use their good influence at Washington with the powers that be to get the desired results.

Your committee refers this resolution to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for investigation and whatever action they deem necessary afterwards.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Williams: I offer as an amendment that Memphis, Tenn., be included in the report. Seconded and carried.

The report of the committee as amended was adopted.

Resolution No. 124—By Delegate H. Derolph, of the Cleveland Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The conditions and wages of the Laundry Workers of the City of Louraine and Elyria, Ohio, are very poor and we think the time is opportune for organizing the laundry industry, after having several letters from the women employed in these places; and

WHEREAS, For the uplift of those who toil, in getting better wages and more sanitary conditions under which to live; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor send a representative to these cities, but in case they cannot do so that this matter be referred to the Laundry Workers' International Union with instructions to do their utmost to comply with the request. Any information they might desire can be had by applying to the delegate from the Cleveland Federation of Labor.

Your committee refers this resolution to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Secretary Conboy: This concludes the partial report.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LOCAL AND FEDERATED BODIES.

Delegate Koveleski, Secretary of the Committee, reports as follows:

Municipal Ownership.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption the committee reported as follows:

Respecting the subject of municipal ownership of street railroads in the District of Columbia, mentioned on page 104 of the report from the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, wherein it is stated that Representative Crosser, of Ohio, introduced a bill in the House of Representatives providing that the Commissioners of said District should acquire ownership and operation of such properties. Your committee knows of no valid objection to the proposal and gives its unqualified indorsement and recommends that Representative Crosser be advised to that effect.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Proposed Minimum Wage.

Upon that portion of the Report of Executive Council under the above caption the committee reported as follows:

With respect to that part of the report from the Executive Council (page 104) regarding a proposed minimum wage and the establishment of a Wage Board in the District of Columbia for the benefit of women and workers of minor age employed in the District of Columbia:

Your committee indorses the proposals and recommends that Congressman Keating be advised that this convention of the

American Federation of Labor has taken such action.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Labor Day.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption the committee reported as follows:

In the Executive Council's report (page 118) will be found a recommendation respecting the observance of Labor Day on the first Monday of September in each year, which subject was referred to your committee.

After discussing the matter of expense connected with such ceremonies and demonstrations, such as uniforms, flags, banners, eatables and transportation, it was the consensus of opinion that the additional spreading of information and the creation of intensified interest in the worldwide fight for freedom and justice now going on, would in any case be well worth the money invested and might not only be self-supporting but would possibly prove to be one of the means by which the United States and Canada would win the war. We therefore indorse the recommendation of the Executive Council.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Schlesinger, International Ladies' Garment Workers: I would like to know, if any delegate feels like not participating in this vote, if it will be construed by the delegates as unpatriotic?

President Gompers: The chair is unable to answer that. Every man and woman will place his own or her own construction upon a delegate's voting or refraining from voting on this question.

Delegate Schlesinger: I am as loyal and patriotic as any delegate in this convention, and I feel I can be as loyal and patriotic by not endorsing this resolution.

President Gompers asked the Secretary to read the report of the Executive Council on the subject of Labor Day, and then read the report of the committee, so that all the delegates might understand it. The Secretary complied with the request.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried unanimously.

Resolution No. 17—By Delegates John H. Pruett of the American Association of Masters, Mates and Pilots; Geo. F. Freitas, I. L. A.; William S. Brown, N. M. E. B. A.:

WHEREAS, Certain conditions exist in the ports of New York, N. Y., Seattle, Wash., and San Francisco, Cal., which are very detrimental to the welfare of the American Association of Masters, Mates and Pilots, and also to the best interests of organized labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That a special committee of three be appointed, one from the Central Federated Union of New York City, one from the Central Labor Council of Seattle and one from the City Labor Council of San Francisco to investigate these matters and report as to what, in their opinion, is the best course to pursue in order to prevent, if possible, a continuance of this state of affairs; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the committee arrange to meet with the delegates of the Masters, Mates and Pilots' Association at this convention for the purpose of ascertaining the facts regarding the conditions complained of; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the convention reindorse the two resolutions known as No. 9 and No. 10, presented to the convention of the A. F. of L. held at Buffalo, N. Y., last year by the delegate representing the American Association of Masters, Mates and Pilots, which resolutions were unanimously adopted.

Your committee concurs in the first and second resolves and recommends that the committee of three mentioned therein be appointed as soon as convenient, with instructions to investigate as far as possible and report to this convention.

As to the third resolve, upon investigation the record discloses that resolutions Nos. 9 and 10, presented to the Buffalo Convention, were referred to President Gompers for action, and your committee recommends that such activities be continued until the disputes between the various organizations involved be satisfactorily settled.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 28—By Delegate G. F. Hardy, El Paso, Texas, Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, We, the City Firemen's Union No. 51, of the City of El Paso, Texas, present resolutions adopted and passed by Local No. 51, to the convention of the American Federation of Labor to be held at St. Paul, Minn., in June, 1918; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, We ask the untiring effort and cooperation of all the labor organizations of the United States to present a bill to the legislature to pass a law for the two platoon system for all regular paid firemen all over the United States. We are not asking for anything that is not due us. We, as a class of laboring men, taking care of the lives and property of all the people of the United States, know in our own hearts if this petition for the two platoon system for the firemen was properly presented to the people of the United States, they would grant it with open arms. * * *

Your committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 97—By Delegate Robert P. Brindell, of the Central Federated Union, New York City:

WHEREAS, Mr. Fitzpatrick, President, and Mr. Nockels, Secretary, of the Chicago Federation of Labor, did at the Buffalo Convention of the American Federation of Labor, charge the Central Federated Union of Greater New York and vicinity with conspiracy with the United Booking Offices at New York, to destroy the White Rats Actors' Union of America; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 38th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor be hereby urged and requested to devise ways and means for the purpose of thoroughly investigating this charge.

Your committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to concur in the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Foster declared that, so far as he was aware, no charges had been made nor anything that could be construed as charges, but if they should be made President Fitzpatrick and Secretary Nockels, of the Chicago Federation of Labor, would be only too glad to have an investigation made.

Vice-President Mahon: I understand the resolution asks that means be provided for an investigation of remarks that were made by these gentlemen in Buffalo. If the convention is going to adopt such a procedure and provide for investigating remarks that are made or criticism that is made, we will have a big job on our hands. If the New York men feel an investigation should be made, it is the duty of the New York central body to provide the means and not the Federation.

Delegate Connors, Switchmen, opposed the recommendation of the committee

Delegate Brindell spoke at length in support of the resolution and the recommendation of the committee. He stated that the Central Federated Union of New York was affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, that the charges were made in a convention of the Federation and the members concerned did not have an opportunity to defend themselves against the accusations.

The question was discussed by Vice-President Perham, who suggested that the subject should not be left without being cleared up and that some sort of investigation should be made.

Delegate McGrath, Illinois State Federation of Labor, moved that the resolution and report be recommitted to the committee for further consideration. Seconded and carried.

**REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON
BOYCOTTS.**

Delegate Forrester, Secretary of the Committee: Your Committee on Boycotts, having given careful consideration to all matters placed before it, begs leave to submit the following report:

Resolution No. 13—By Delegate W. L. Funder Burk, of the Stove Mounters' International Union:

WHEREAS, The Michigan Stove Company, the Peninsular Stove Company, the Art Stove Company and the Detroit Stove Works, all of Detroit, Michigan, have since February 8, 1918, been operating their mounting and assembling departments upon a strictly non-union basis, and since this date have persisted in denying the right of certain of their employes to become members of organized labor and refused to deal with them as such; and

WHEREAS, The above named firms have also refused to concede to the members of the Stove Mounters' International Union an advance in wages equal to the average of increases that have been granted members of the union by all other stove manufacturing concerns throughout the country; and

WHEREAS, The Stove Mounters' International Union and the local union at Detroit have done everything within their power to bring about an amicable adjustment of matters, even to the extent of having a conciliator of the Department of Labor effect an adjustment, which the above named firms have refused to consider; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this, the Thirty-eighth Convention of the American Federation of Labor, declare that the action of the stove manufacturers of the city of Detroit, Mich., is not in accord with the spirit of the times, when all fair-minded concerns are conceding the right of workers to organize and are recognizing the justice of paying wage increases equal to advances granted by competitors; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor does not recommend to organized labor, or its friends, Garland stoves, ranges and furnaces, manufactured by the Michigan Stove Co.; Peninsular stoves, ranges and furnaces, manufactured by the Peninsular Stove Co.; Laurel stoves, ranges and furnaces manufactured by the Art Stove Co.; or Jewel stoves, ranges and furnaces, manufactured by the Detroit Stove Works, all of which plants are located at Detroit, Mich.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor with instructions that it be taken up at the earliest opportunity, and an effort made to adjust, and should these efforts fail that the requests contained in the resolution be compiled with and the matter given the very widest possible publicity.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 24—By Delegate A. McAndrew, of the Tobacco Workers' International Union:

WHEREAS, The Government in order to properly and plentifully supply its land and naval forces with tobacco and cigarettes, has taken over the output of some of the subsidiaries of the American Tobacco Company, commonly termed the "Tobacco Trust;" and

WHEREAS, There are thousands of tobacco workers employed in the various factories whose output the Government now controls who have not yet been organized, the organization of whom the respective managements discourage and prevent through coercion and other methods repugnant to the men and women employed; and

WHEREAS, It is a well known fact that the American Tobacco Company and its subsidiary branches have manifested a persistent opposition to organized labor, refusing to recognize it in any form; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to use its good offices in an effort to organize the tobacco workers employed in the plants controlled by this corporation, more especially in those branches where the output of their products the Government has commandeered.

Your committee concurs in this resolution and recommends its adoption.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 30—By Delegate Chas. Dold, of the Piano and Organ Workers' International Union of America:

WHEREAS, Owing to the ever increasing cost of living commodities the employes of the Lyon & Healy Piano Company, Chicago, Ill., members of the Piano and Organ Workers' International Union of America, on September 25th, 1917, made a request for an increase in wages of 15 per cent, the wages at that time ranging from 22c to 38c per-hour; and

WHEREAS, At the same time a further request for the abolition of the contract, better known as the sweating system, still in vogue at the Lyon & Healy factory was made; and

WHEREAS, The requests of these employes were met by a peremptory discharge of ten of their number which resulted in a strike, which is still on, involving approximately 300 persons; and

WHEREAS, The firemen, engineers, painters, teamsters and other employes of the Lyon & Healy Company were locked out because they refused to work under police protection; and

WHEREAS, Numerous efforts have been made to adjust this difficulty by the Piano and Organ Workers' International Union, the Chicago Federation of Labor, the Illinois State Industrial Board and the Labor Department of the United States, offering conciliation or arbitration; and

WHEREAS, The Lyon & Healy Piano Company, through the Illinois Manufacturers Association, acting for the Lyon

& Healy Company in this controversy, flatly refused to in any way recognize or deal with organized labor or representatives thereof, or to recognize the right of the wage worker to collective bargaining, thus frustrating all efforts for adjustment; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be and the same are hereby instructed to endeavor to bring about an adjustment of this difficulty as soon after the close of this convention as possible, either through conciliation or arbitration; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That in the event of failure on the part of the Executive Council to bring about an adjustment, the proper officers of the American Federation of Labor stand instructed to make known the facts in the case to all affiliated organizations and labor in general.

Your committee concurs in this resolution and recommends its adoption.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 43—By Delegate Harry V. Dill, Trades and Labor Assembly of Kenton and Campbell Counties, Kentucky:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor and all its affiliated unions is entitled to the hearty support of all religious institutions and religious publications, owing to the fact that organized labor, through its efforts in securing for the toiling masses of this great country of ours better living conditions, justice, freedom and democracy to a much larger degree than was possible through any other agency which demonstrates the feasibility and desirability of a practical religion; and

WHEREAS, There is located in the City of Cincinnati a religious institution known as the Methodist Book Concern, which operates a large printing department, where many kinds of religious publications are produced for distribution throughout the United States as well as foreign countries, where Bibles and books of all descriptions are printed and where a large general printing plant is in constant operation; and

WHEREAS, The management of the said Methodist Book Concern has for years past refused to recognize organized labor and employ members of the printing trades unions to operate its printing departments, and in fact have so far acted unfavorably on all appeals from local and international printing trades unions to enter into friendly business relations with them; continuing in the attitude of antagonism and resentment to all appeals for cooperation by this branch of organized labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, places itself on record against the policy of the management of any religious institution that persistently refuses to cooperate with organized labor, and the Methodist Book Concern, of Cincinnati, in particular. And it hereby pledges its delegates to the inauguration of a campaign through proper committees of the local unions and central bodies, for the

purpose of bringing to the attention of the general labor movement, as well as officials and members of the Methodist Church in the various cities and towns, the non-union and unorganized conditions existing in the printing department of the Methodist Book Concern, of Cincinnati, and the attitude of the management of this institution in refusing to cooperate with organized labor to the extent of entering into friendly business relations with the printing trades unions in the operation of their printing department; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention pledge its hearty support to the efforts of the printing trades unions of Cincinnati, Ohio, in their efforts to unionize the printing department of the Methodist Book Concern.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for investigation and such action as it deems proper and necessary.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 52—By Delegate Will R. Boyer, International Broom and Whisk Makers' Union:

WHEREAS, The Southwestern Broom Manufacturing Company has discharged men in their employ for holding membership in the International Broom and Whisk Makers' Union; and

WHEREAS, The above company is paying the lowest scale of wages of any employing broom manufacturer in the country, and refuse to grant their employes a living wage; and

WHEREAS, The said employing broom manufacturer while working on a government contract, did refuse to meet with a representative of the Department of Labor of the U. S. Government, or to comply with the request of the mediator of the department, to treat with their employes; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled declare the attitude of the Southwestern Broom Manufacturing Co. to be unfair and urge all members of the trade union movement to demand and insist on union label brooms when making a purchase.

Your committee concurs in that part of this resolution referring to the endorsement of and demand for the union label, and recommends its adoption. It further recommends that the other parts be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for investigation and such action as it may deem proper or necessary.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 68—By Delegate Harry V. Dill of the Trades and Labor Assembly of Covington, Ky.:

WHEREAS, The American Book Company, one of the largest school text book publishing houses in this country, located in Cincinnati, Ohio, is and has been for many years non-union in every department, the management having refused time and again to act favorably on the request of representatives of the international and local printing trade unions to enter into friendly business relations with organized labor and to employ members of the printing trade unions; it is, therefore

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled hereby pledge itself to familiarize organized labor and its friends of the persistent hostile attitude of the American Book Company, and urges all affiliated organizations to a program of publicity that will fully inform every member of organized labor and their friends, as well as the general public, of the hostile attitude of the American Book Company toward organized labor; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, as well as the officers of all trade unions, central bodies and state federations, be urged to inform the Boards of Education throughout the country, and in every community, or any other official body in whom power is vested to purchase school text books, that many of the largest and best school book publishers are operating their establishments under conditions fair to organized labor and employing members of the printing trades unions, and urging these Boards of Education to co-operate with organized labor and the printing trades unions in the purchase of all school books and supplies from establishments that are fair to organized labor.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for investigation and action, with a further recommendation that if an effort to adjust fails, the requests made be compiled with.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 89.—By Delegates Wm. H. Johnston of the International Association of Machinists; E. J. Stack, of the Oregon State Federation of Labor; J. T. Carey and Geo. J. Schneider of the International Brotherhood of Papermakers; John P. Burke of the International Brotherhood Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers:

WHEREAS, The strike of papermakers and the pulp and sulphite workers and machinists in the mills of the Crown Willamette Paper Company of Camas, Washington, and Oregon City, Oregon, and the Hawley Pulp & Paper Company of Oregon City has, because of the fact that the mills are located in an important war industry area, affected and is still affecting labor of that district; and

WHEREAS, The attitude of the said companies is so notoriously un-Amer-

ican, in that their policy in recruiting strikebreakers from farms and even from war industries, their use of the police powers, the courts, and other governmental agencies of the states and cities in which their plants are located, is causing unrest in all lines of industry; and

WHEREAS, The condition is not conducive to national efficiency now so greatly needed; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 38th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor authorize and instruct the Executive Council to request immediate action on the part of the National War Labor Board with a view to adjusting the strike; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That in event of a failure, that the products of the Crown Willamette Paper Company and The Hawley Pulp & Paper Company be placed on the unfair list of the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee believes this to be a matter of the utmost importance and one that should have quick consideration and attention. It therefore recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor with instructions that the Council call before it the directly interested delegates, listen to their statements and then appeal to the United States War Board to act at once, notwithstanding that there is now a strike in effect at these two plants. This strike having occurred in October, 1917, long prior to the creation of the War Board, your committee believes that this is a matter that should be given attention and handled by that Board, and therefore recommends that every effort be made to induce the said Board to take action necessary to bring about an adjustment.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Vice-President Mahon, Chairman of the Committee: This completes the report of the committee, which is respectfully submitted and signed by the entire committee, except two members who are absent from the convention.

Respectfully submitted,
 W. D. MAHON, Chairman.
 W. H. JOHNSTON,
 E. L. TUCKER,
 M. M. DONOGHUE,
 W. W. BRITTON,
 F. H. FLJOZDAL,
 J. M. NEENAN,
 J. M. GILLESPIE,
 W. L. FUNDER BURK,
 HARRY JENNINGS,
 E. S. ALDEN,
 J. W. CLIFTON,
 J. J. FORRESTER, Secretary.
 Committee on Boycotts.

The report of the committee as a whole was adopted.

Delegate Gay obtained unanimous consent to the introduction of the following resolution:

Resolution No. 134—By Delegate W. B. Gay, Rock Island Federal Union No. 15214:

RESOLVED, That this committee use their influence in regard to securing an organizer for the Rock Island Railway System for the purpose of organizing the common laborers in the forming of Federal Unions. These men are working at a very low rate of pay, some receiving no more than 23c to 25c per hour. Any reasonable person knows that this rate is not sufficient to secure and maintain the necessities of life under the present high cost of living. We have no organizer in North Missouri whatever. We never have any labor leader to come through our part of the state to give us any instructions or encouragement in regard to union labor. We earnestly urge that this committee use every available means before the Executive Council to give this system a man to look after the unorganized. A part of this may be done through our labor councils on the system. Aside from this we want someone to look after the lower rate men to get them in line and secure for them better rates, better working conditions. Then it can be said we will have better men, better homes, better enjoyment with our families, and better conditions and surroundings on all sides.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Delegate Hassett, International Steel and Copper Plate Printers' Union, read the following statement:

Mr. President and Delegates to the American Federation of Labor Convention:

At the Buffalo Convention of this great organization, the President of the United States, Woodrow Wilson, made an address which has stamped itself indelibly in the history of the American labor movement as well as in the minds of those delegates who were fortunate enough to have heard him.

He demonstrated there, beyond cavil, that he was wholly in sympathy with the aims and aspirations of the toilers of our beloved country, and his sympathetic attitude touched a responsive chord in the hearts of every trade unionist within our boundaries.

His address was epoch-making. Some portions of it will live forever, and are destined to be quoted by generations of workers yet to come. And while he dealt with problems of mighty import to the oppressed peoples of the earth, while he enthused his hearers with that fine patriotism which sprang impulsively from his great heart; while he inspired us to live and work, and if need be, die for our country, there was one portion of his address which appealed particularly to the International Steel and Copper Plate Printers, the organization I have the honor to represent.

Our organization holds in high esteem

the President of the American Federation of Labor. We believe him to be a great constructive statesman in this hour when our nation is being purified in war's crucible. We know him to be loyal, untiring and true and we unreservedly pin our faith to him, knowing he will bring the organized labor movement out of this trying period stronger, with a larger vision, and far more potent in our combats with those enemies who may arise in the future.

In an effort to further perpetuate some portion of what the President of the United States then said, and in order that his opinion of Samuel Gompers be preserved for those who may come after us, the International Steel and Copper Plate Printers have caused to be engraved and printed an excerpt from the Buffalo address in the highest style of our art. And we are anxious to present a copy to each of the members of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and to each of the International Unions affiliated to this federation, with the earnest hope that it be ever kept before them as a reminder, not only the esteem in which Mr. Gompers is held by the President of the United States, but as a reminder that when days are dark and trials crowd upon us, we have as Chief Magistrate one whose heart beats in unison with the hopes, the aims and aspirations of our numbered thousands who earn their bread in the sweat of their faces.

That portion of the address to which I refer is as follows:

"While we are fighting for freedom, we must see among other things that labor is free, and that means a number of interesting things. It means not only that we must do what we have declared our purpose to do, see that the conditions of labor are not rendered more onerous by the war, but also that we shall see to it that the instrumentalities by which the conditions of labor are improved are not blocked or checked. That we must do. That has been the matter about which I have taken pleasure in conferring from time to time with your President, Mr. Gompers, and if I may be permitted to do so, I want to express my admiration of his patriotic courage, his large vision, and his statesmanlike sense of what has to be done. I like to lay my mind alongside of a mind that knows how to pull in harness. The horses that kick over the traces will have to be put in a corral.

WOODROW WILSON, 1917."

We desire to present this engraving and shall forward it, with your approval, to the officials and organizations referred to above.

Delegate Sullivan moved that the convention go on record endorsing the statement read, and that the convention also tender a vote of appreciation to the Plate Printers for the effort made to give publicity to the statement.

Seconded by Delegate Conboy and carried unanimously.

At 1 o'clock p. m. the rules were suspended and the convention adjourned to 9:30 a. m., Friday, June 14th.

FIFTH DAY--- Friday Morning Session

The Auditorium,
St. Paul, Minn., June 14, 1918.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 a. m., Friday, June 14th, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—Kline, Franklin, Weyand, Sovey, Dobson, Corcoran, Tobin (S.), Morrin, Perkins, Reeves, Baker, Conway, Desepte, Feeney, Healy, Rickert, Langer, Daley (M.), Feinberg, Duncan (Jas.), Williams (Jno.), Gould, McSorley, Duty, Brock, O'Connor, Wharton, Taylor, VanLear, Schmidt (F.), White (J. P.), Moore (J.), Dempsey, Valentine, Hedrick, Dold, Donlin, Hede, George, Kearney, Anderson, Rau, Orr, La Belle, Ryan (E. J.), Helt, Freel, Summer, Heberling, Ross (L. J.), Agethen, Curtis, Scott (M. G.), Hatch, Mountford, Toone, Wilk, Spencer, Hoof, Conley, Williams (H.), Hutton, Morgan, Taylor, O'Dell, Brown (B. F.), Smith (J. T.), Brindell, O'Shea, Greene, Vannewitz, Curran, Fricke, Parker, Rynerson, Fanning, Bush, Kuhn, Tucker, Hester, Casey, Bruen, Harte, Browne, Lampa, Morris, Levi, Wendell, Quesse, Kester, Staunton, Walker (M.), Waplington, deKraft, Williams (T. J.), Birch, Ellicott, Paramore, Riordan, Byrne.

Secretary Morrison read the following telegram, dated Mason City, Iowa, June 11th, and addressed to the Secretary of the convention:

The Iowa State Federation of Labor in convention assembled extend fraternal greetings to the American Federation of Labor, with their best wishes for a successful convention.

F. A. CANFIELD, President,
EARL C. WILLEY, Sec.-Treas.

The following telegram, addressed to the convention and dated New York, June 10th, was read:

Greeting to the thirty-eighth convention of America's mighty host of organized labor. The workers of the entire country hope that your great contribution to the cause of democracy will result in the permanent advancement of the interests of labor.

ABR. BAROFF, Gen. Secy.,
International Ladies Garment
Workers' Union.

The following telegram was addressed to the President, dated Rochester, N. Y., June 12th:

The New York State Retail Liquor Dealers' Association, in convention assembled, extends its heartfelt good wishes for success to you and the American Federation of Labor.

WM. C. TERYOST, President.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LAWS.

Delegate Flaherty, Secretary of the Committee, submitted the following report:

Resolution No. 16.—By Delegate G. F. Hardy of El Paso (Texas), Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor, by constitutional provisions of its laws, requires all local unions holding charters from National and International Unions affiliated with the A. F. of L., to join chartered Central Labor bodies of the A. F. of L.; and

WHEREAS, In many instances the said local unions comply with this law by merely paying the monthly affiliation dues, but evade the law by not being represented in said central bodies by their delegates; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Committee on Laws be and is hereby instructed to amend said law in the constitution of the A. F. of L. to read that each local union must have one or more delegates present at each and every regular meeting of said Central Labor body, who shall report back to their local union such business as transacted by said Central Labor body.

We recommend non-concurrence.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 23.—By Delegate Wm. F. Quesse of the Flat Janitors' Union No. 14332 of Chicago, Ill.:

WHEREAS, The laws of the American Federation of Labor pertaining to strike benefits for Federal Locals compel them to try to settle with their employers first, and if not successful they must report to the American Federation of Labor who will send a representative to assist them

and try to settle with the employer, and if he fails he will report back to the American Federation of Labor and then they will give their consent to strike; and

WHEREAS, The circumstances surrounding the work of the Chicago Flat Janitors, who live in the buildings where they work, and when they have a grievance with their employers their family and furniture are thrown out in the street immediately and their chances of winning the strike are jeopardized; and

WHEREAS, We have found it impossible to comply with the laws of the American Federation of Labor and win strikes and receive the strike benefit that the local and Federal labor unions are entitled to; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Chicago Flat Janitors' Union Local No. 14332 of the American Federation of Labor, be allowed to waive their right to the strike benefit and that they be allowed to affiliate with the American Federation of Labor by paying five (5) cents for the general fund and five (5) cents per month for the American Federationist, and that they take care of their own strike benefit.

We recommend non-concurrence.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 49—By Delegate James Duncan:

That the word "January" in Article V, Sec. 4 of our Constitution, and the word "January" in the middle portion of Sec. 7 of Article XV, and elsewhere in A. F. of L. documents where the word may similarly occur, be changed to read "August" thus to uniformly conform to the change in dates of holding conventions.

Resolution No. 59—By Delegates Wm. P. Clarke, John E. O'Brien and John F. Kennedy of the American Flint Glass Workers' Union of North America:

RESOLVED, That the word "January" where it appears in the third line of Section 4, Article V, page 8 of the constitution, be stricken, and insert the word "August."

We recommend concurrence in Resolutions 49 and 59, which deal with the same subject.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Amendment to Constitution

Your committee considered the recommendation made by the Executive Council, as it appears on page 119 of the Executive Council's report, as follows:

Amendment to Constitution

Section 3, Article VII, of the constitution provides that the secretary of the American Federation of Labor shall publish a financial report monthly in the American Federationist and send a copy to each affiliated body.

When this provision of the constitution was adopted, there was no thought at that time of having the magazine published in sufficient numbers to be sent to each member of every directly affiliated union, as was directed by the Seattle, 1913, convention.

The cost of printing the financial statement is at price and a half. For 1917 alone it cost \$56 per page or \$9,578.82 for the year.

It seems to the Executive Council that the executive officer of each organization should have copy of the financial statement showing the receipts and expenditures of the A. F. of L., and that it should be part of the archives of his office, but that it is not necessary or advisable, but on the contrary, wasteful, to furnish each member of every directly affiliated local union with a copy of the financial statement and that is what now happens by publishing the financial statement in the American Federationist.

For the above reasons, we therefore recommend that:

1. The constitution be so changed as to discontinue from the columns of the American Federationist the publication of the financial statement, and that

2. The financial statement be printed quarterly as a separate document and forwarded to the officers of all affiliated national and international unions, state federations of labor, city central bodies and directly affiliated local unions.

We recommend concurrence.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Resolution No. 132—By Anna Weinstock, Neckwear Workers, No. 15200; Sara A. Conboy, United Textile Workers of America; Alice Scott, Hat Trimmers of Newark; Rose Yates, Brotherhood of Railway Clerks; Minnie Teitelbaum, Hat Trimmers and Operators' Union; Agnes Nestor, International Glove Workers' Union of America; Melinda Scott, National Women's Trade Union League:

RESOLVED, To amend Section 1 of Article V of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor to read:

"The Officers of the Federation shall consist of a President, ten Vice Presidents, a Secretary, and a Treasurer, to be elected by the convention on the last day of the session. These officers shall be the Executive Council, and at least two of them shall be women."

We recommend non-concurrence.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Nestor, Glove Workers, opposed the report of the committee and discussed at some length the advisability of having women members on the Executive Council. She referred to the national and international organizations that have among their members large numbers of women, and called attention to the fact

that in many of them women are members of the executive boards, and that they are also serving as officers of local and state and central bodies. She urged the delegates to adopt the resolution.

Delegate Tobin (D. J.), Chairman of the committee, in defending the report of the committee said in part: The laws of the American Federation of Labor do not say—or this is the law as interpreted by President Gompers—that any individual member of either sex who is paid up and in good standing, whether a delegate or not, has not a right to aspire to any office within the Federation. There has never been a time in the history of this Federation when a lady delegate, no matter whether she came from a federal labor union, a national or an international union has not been accorded all the courtesies, privileges and rights of this convention, even to the right to aspire to membership on the Executive Council. We hold that this resolution is distinctively class legislation, and your committee believes that such legislation would be detrimental to the best interests of this Federation. Many of your committee believe the membership of the Council is now sufficiently large, some believe it is too large. Large executive boards do not accomplish as much as boards of medium or reasonable size. We are opposed to a still further increase in the membership of the Executive Council from eleven to thirteen. If you say that two ladies shall be members of this Council you have the right to say that ten ladies shall be members. The ladies who have been delegates have always had the same rights and privileges as the others.

Delegate Friedman, Ladies' Garment Workers, opposed the resolution and supported the report of the committee. She contended that members are equal, men and women, and all have the same opportunities in the organization. She called attention to the principle endorsed by the convention at a previous session that men and women should receive equal pay for equal work, and asked that the same principle be carried out in the affairs of the organization.

Fraternal Delegate Melinda Scott, in a brief discussion, stated that the purpose of the resolution was accomplished when the matter was brought to the attention of the convention—demonstrating that the organized women were thinking of representation on the Executive Council. In

discussing the reason for asking an increase in the number of Council members she referred to the difficulties she felt would be encountered if a woman member were to become a candidate against any of the men who are at present members of the Council.

Chairman Tobin stated that his experience had been that nearly every reasonable request of the women delegates in any of the conventions in the past had been complied with, and that his experience on the Executive Council had been that requests for representation on government boards by women foremost in the labor movement has been supported by the Executive Council.

The motion to adopt the recommendation of the committee to non-concur was carried.

Recommendation of Laws Committee

We, the members of the Committee on Laws, beg leave to submit the following recommendation and amendment to the constitution:

Because of the fact that the changing of the date of the holding of the convention of the American Federation of Labor from the month of November to the month of June makes it necessary for us to be exceptionally careful as to the selection of our convention city, due to the fact that nearly all of the middle western and southern cities are extremely warm at that period of the year; we believe that hotel rates are going to continue to increase at least during the period of the war, and that if the convention does not decide on some special city, as has been done up to the present time, that better arrangements could be made whereby the proper city could be selected and better hotel accommodations obtained.

We therefore recommend—that Section 1 of Article III. be changed to read as follows:

"Section 1. The convention of the Federation shall meet annually at 10 a. m., on the second Monday in June, at such place as the Executive Council may select, and the Executive Council shall notify all National and International Unions, and all State and Central bodies at least sixty days prior to the opening of the convention of the place of the holding of the convention."

A motion to adopt the report of the committee was made and seconded.

Chairman Tobin of the committee spoke in support of the report.

Vice-President Mahon, Delegate Gorenstein and Delegate Schlesinger opposed the report of the committee.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was defeated.

Secretary Flaherty: This completes the report of the committee, which is signed

D. J. TOBIN, Chairman,
FRANK J. HAYES,
OWEN MILLER,
PAUL SCHARRENBERG,
S. W. HEBBERLING,
WM. DOBSON,
JAS. P. HOLLAND,
A. P. SOVEY,
TIMOTHY HEALY,
JOSEPH PROEESTLE,
J. A. ROSS,
E. E. BAKER,
MARTIN T. JOYCE,
DENNIS LANE,
THOMAS F. FLAHERTY, Secretary,
Committee on Laws.

Secretary Flaherty moved the adoption of the report as a whole as amended.

The chairman asked that the motion be held in abeyance until all the other committees had reported. He stated that the adoption of a recommendation made by some of the committees might contain an amendment to the law.

The motion was held in abeyance for the reason given by the chairman.

Vice-President Mahon in the chair.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON SHORTER WORKDAY.

Delegate Hays (J. W.), Secretary of the committee, submitted the following:

Your Committee on Shorter Workday having given consideration to the various resolutions and portions of the report of the Executive Council referred to it submit the following as its report thereon:

The committee amended Resolution No. 5 by striking out the words "we will not stand for," in the first resolve and inserting in lieu thereof "we should not be asked to accept."

Resolution No. 5—By Delegates J. A. Taylor, Machinists; Dan McKillop, L. Weyand, Boilermakers; Jacob Heller, Garment Workers; Arthur Burns, Molders:

WHEREAS, The fight for the principle of the basic Eight Hour Day demanded many sacrifices on the part of the workers and their families before it was generally recognized as just and necessary in order that the workers may have an opportunity to live and not be mere beasts of burden; and

WHEREAS, While this principle is now recognized by law as applying to all Government work, and is so enforced as applying to production for the Government in private plants as well, there is nevertheless an effort being made in some quarters to retain or restore the longer work day under the guise of patriotism, and to base wages on total earnings, including overtime, which, when compared with the reduced purchasing power of wages because of the rising cost of living, means

an actual cut, in spite of the fact that the wonderful resources of the country and improved methods of production would permit both a further shortening of the work day and increased wages in normal times, thereby insuring a higher general standard of living, and stopping the attempts of the few to mortgage the national vitality for the satisfaction of their greed for wealth; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That while we, the workers of the United States will do our utmost to win the war for Democracy, we should not be asked to accept any reduction of our standard of living until private wealth is first taken over for the nation's use; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That in accordance with the principles laid down in the preamble to the constitution of the A. F. of L. we will stand united and firm for the basic Eight Hour Day in all industries or occupations and such further measures as are found practicable for the improvement of the condition of the toiling masses.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution as amended.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 10—By Delegate A. J. Linck, Racine, Wis., Trades and Labor Council:

RESOLVED, That this, the Thirty-eighth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, urge all affiliated National and International Unions to do all in their power to establish the basic eight hour day with no hampering of war productions; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That when war production is no longer necessary, that the American Federation of Labor do all in its power to have all affiliated National and International Unions, through concerted action and mutual assistance, establish the eight hour day without overtime unless the necessity be extreme. This not to apply to organizations that have a work day of less than eight hours, but overtime to apply to all.

Your committee recommends the adoption of this resolution.

The report of the committee was concurred in unanimously.

Resolution No. 41—By Delegates Thos. Sweeney, D. G. Biggs and John B. Lennon:

WHEREAS, The Journeymen Tailors' Union of America, by referendum vote, decided to abolish piecework and establish a weekly wage system and an eight hour day on and after September, 1919; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor render such support to the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America as is in their power to establish the eight hour day and weekly wage system.

Your committee reports favorably on this resolution and moves its adoption.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Resolution No. 65—By Delegates Thomas F. Flaherty of the National Fed-

eration of Postal Employees and Edw. J. Gainer, of the National Association of Letter Carriers:

WHEREAS, The Eight Hour Law, regulating the hours of work of post office clerks and city letter carriers, provides that only in emergencies shall overtime be imposed, and for such overtime the regular rate of pay shall be paid; and

WHEREAS, It is the trade union principle, a principle now almost universally in effect in private industries, on Government contract work and in many branches of the Government service, that overtime work must be compensated for at a higher rate of pay; and

WHEREAS, In the absence of any such penalty for work in excess of eight hours in the postal service, the practice has developed of imposing excessively long hours of work daily upon the experienced men instead of keeping the working force recruited to a proper standard; and

WHEREAS, This excessive overtime is breaking down the health and morale of the men in the service, it is the direct cause of the resignation of many employees, and is impairing the efficiency of the service; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 38th convention of the American Federation of Labor pledges its support to the affiliated Postal Employees in their effort to insure a more strict observance of the letter and spirit of the postal Eight Hour Law by securing legislation establishing a rate of time and a half for all work in excess of eight hours.

Your committee reports favorably on this resolution and moves its adoption.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Resolution No. 71—By Delegates Luther C. Steward, E. J. Newmyer and Chas. F. Nagl of the National Federation of Federal Employees; Thos. F. Flaherty, of the National Federation of Postal Employees; Edw. J. Gainer of the National Ass'n of Letter Carriers; E. J. Ryan, Wm. Collins, Walter J. Brown of the Railway Mail Association:

WHEREAS, Under the provisions of the Act of Congress of March 15, 1898, employees of the Federal Government are required to work not less than seven hours per day, and under the same bill heads of departments are authorized to require longer hours of service when the exigencies require; and

WHEREAS, The Legislative, Executive, and Judicial Bill, as adopted by the House of Representatives on March 15, 1913, contains a provision whereby Government employees are required to work a minimum of eight hours per day, the effect of such requirement being to increase by more than fourteen per cent their present hours of service, with substantially no increase whatever over their present wages for such increased hours; and

WHEREAS, Sponsors of this bill have stated, with a view of obtaining the support of organized labor, that they are merely trying to establish for all Govern-

ment employees the eight-hour day for which organized labor stands; and

WHEREAS, The effect of the proposed bill is not to establish the maximum eight-hour day of organized labor with time and one-half for overtime, but it is a minimum eight-hour day with no pay whatever for overtime; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the 38th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled at St. Paul, Minnesota, that we denounce this proposed legislation, not only because it is an insult to patriotic Government employees, many of whom constantly work long hours overtime for which they receive no extra pay, but because we believe it is a covert attack on the standard eight-hour day with pay and one-half for overtime for which organized labor stands; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to inform all members of Congress that organized labor is unalterably opposed to this proposed vicious legislation, and to take the appropriate means for defeating the same.

Your committee reports favorably and recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Resolution No. 81—By Delegate Thomas F. Flaherty, of the National Federation of Postal Employees:

WHEREAS, Thousands of postal employees throughout the postal service are compelled to work nights under conditions inimical to their mental and physical well-being; and

WHEREAS, The Postal Department grants no recognition by either a wage or a time differential of the admitted hardships of night work; and

WHEREAS, The Affiliated Postal Employees are endeavoring to eliminate unnecessary night work in the service by securing a reduction in the daily working schedule of fifteen minutes in every hour worked after 6:00 p. m. and prior to 6:00 a. m., a legislative reform beneficial to the men and the service; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention endorse the efforts of affiliated postal workers to minimize night work in the service and recommend to the Executive Council that it co-operate in securing from the 63th Congress the needed legislation.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution as amended.

The report of the resolution was adopted unanimously.

Resolution No. 116—By Delegate Wm. H. Johnston, of the International Association of Machinists:

WHEREAS, A Bill (H. R. 7638) has been reported from the Naval Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives and is now on one of the calendars in the House, the object of which is to give employees in the Navy Yard Service

permission to accept cash in lieu of their present grant of thirty days leave, per year, with pay, the effect of which will be to deprive them of necessary rest and enable local managers to force them to give up their leave periods; and

WHEREAS, Harmonious relations are at the present time existing between the employes of the Navy Department and the department, which it would be inadvisable to disturb; and

WHEREAS, The Department has at the present time authority to require the men to work overtime, even to the extent of seven days in the week, thus making it unnecessary to deprive them of intermittent periods of rest; and

WHEREAS, This privilege constitutes one of the most cherished privileges and safe guards that have been thrown around labor employed in the Government service, and which has enabled the Government to obtain, with the assistance of organized labor, an adequate working force; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-eighth Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as opposed to the passage of this bill on the ground that it is an unnecessary lowering of the standard of labor in the Government service; that it is contrary to good policy and that it will not have a tendency to improve the efficiency of the workmen; and, it is further

RESOLVED, That the Speaker of the House and President of the Senate be advised of this action.

Your committee reports favorably on this resolution and moves its adoption.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Resolution No. 70—By Delegates E. J. Ryan, Walter J. Brown and W. M. Collins of the Railway Mail Association:

WHEREAS, The working hours of railway mail clerks are being lengthened at a time when the hours of workmen everywhere are being shortened, and as these men complain that an uncommon and unwarrantable hardship is thus being imposed upon them, that their health and safety are being sacrificed; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has always contended and has at length successfully demonstrated, that neither efficiency nor economy is promoted by such methods—a fact which has been strikingly proved and candidly admitted again and again; and

WHEREAS, We believe that such harsh policies are unwise and unjust, in that they deprive the worker of sociologically needful and rightfully earned leisure; be it, therefore

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor request the Congress to establish a standard day for railway mail clerks by the enactment of a law in which the hours to be required of them shall be specifically and clearly defined.

Your committee after conference with the delegates who submitted Resolution No. 70 decided, with their consent, to

eliminate the third paragraph in the resolution and substitute the following for the fourth paragraph, the amended resolution to read:

Resolution No. 70—By Delegates E. J. Ryan, Walter J. Brown and W. M. Collins of the Railway Mail Association:

WHEREAS, The working hours of railway mail clerks are being lengthened at a time when the hours of workmen everywhere are being shortened, and as these men complain that an uncommon and unwarrantable hardship is thus being imposed upon them, that their health and safety are being sacrificed; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has always contended and has at length successfully demonstrated, that neither efficiency nor economy is promoted by such methods—a fact which has been strikingly proved and candidly admitted again and again; and

RESOLVED, That the convention of the American Federation of Labor request the United States Congress to establish a standard day of road duty applicable to the Railway Mail Service; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That due credit be given for the duties necessarily performed in this service while not on road duty, so that the average hours of duty shall not exceed eight hours per day, 306 days per year.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Progress in Securing the Eight-Hour Workday.

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption the committee reported as follows:

Under the heading "Progress in Securing the Eight-Hour Workday" the Executive Council referred to Resolution No. 39 of the Buffalo convention which directed that the American Federation of Labor continue its fullest possible support to the Timber Workers to secure the establishment of the eight-hour workday in their trade.

The Council goes on to say that the demand of the Timber Workers in the Northwest for the basic eight-hour workday was refused by their employers, and that a strike ensued which lasted during the summer, but which failed to secure the object for which it was inaugurated. The situation later became of governmental importance for the reason that the War Department was dependent upon production in the forests of the Pacific Coast to supply spruce for the construction of aeroplanes. When the government took the matter up the question was handled with organizers of the American Federation of Labor and the

employing lumbermen, and an award was made providing for the establishment of the basic eight-hour workday and also for such organization of the workers as was found necessary to mobilize labor power.

The Executive Council also reports under this heading the establishment of the eight-hour workday for the employes in the packing houses of Chicago; also the establishment of the basic eight-hour workday for women employed by the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, with time and one-half for overtime for Sunday and holiday work.

In these cases your committee again desires to commend the work of the Executive Council of the Federation, and recommends that this convention formally endorse its action and request it to continue its good work along the lines of shorter workday activities.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

The Eight-Hour Law.

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption the committee reported as follows:

Under the heading "The Eight-Hour Law" the Executive Council states that the most important industrial issue in war production has been the application of the eight-hour law. It goes on to say that the attitude of Congress toward the principle of the eight-hour or shorter workday is shown in the action taken adding to the Naval Appropriations Act of March 4, 1917, the following proviso:

"That in case of national emergency the President is authorized to suspend provisions of law prohibiting more than eight hours labor in any one day of persons engaged upon work covered by contracts with the United States: Provided further, That the wages of persons employed upon such contracts shall be computed on a basic day rate of eight hours work, with overtime rates to be paid for at not less than time and one-half for all hours work in excess of eight."

The Council then goes on to explain that the Eight-Hour Act of 1912 gave to the President authority to waive the law in time of war or at any time when war is imminent, and that the President had very definitely shown his attitude toward the eight-hour or shorter workday by the fact that in every executive order he has issued waiving the eight-hour law he has based his action upon the authority granted him by the proviso provided by Congress in the Naval Appropriations Act, or else has specifically stipulated that compensation shall not be less than time and one-half for overtime in excess of

eight hours. This action of President Wilson was in conformity with the position he took in regard to the basic eight-hour day for railroad workers, at which time he stated that "society has sanctioned the eight-hour workday."

The Executive Council quotes from decisions that have been rendered in various cases taken up with the Government in which workers on government work considered themselves entitled to the basic eight-hour day, and concludes its report under the eight-hour law heading with the following:

"No one issue is the cause of greater discontent and feeling of injustice than the disparity of the application of the eight-hour law to war production. While the technical distinctions observed by lawyers in interpreting the application of this law may satisfy their sense of justice, they in no way satisfy the workers engaged in doing the actual work. For instance, the employes of the United States Steel Corporation at Sparrows Point, who are engaged in assembling the parts of the ships in the final acts of construction have the basic eight-hour day, but other employes of the same company, separated only by a fence barrier, who are employed in making the parts which are used by the shipbuilders, do not have the eight-hour day. The legal distinction does not satisfy them.

"No one policy which this government could inaugurate would do more to convince the masses of people of this country that the purposes of the war in which our government is engaged are genuinely humanitarian and democratic than the establishment of the basic eight-hour day for all government work and war production. Such a policy would be incontrovertible evidence that our government had gotten far away from the old commodity theory of labor and was genuinely and practically trying to establish the paramount claims of human beings.

"The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor at its meeting in May, decided that the resident members of the E. C. endeavor to secure conference with the officers of the government of the United States, in order that the basic eight-hour day with time and one-half be established in accordance with the declaration of Congress and proclamation of the President, and that if possible the President be urged to issue a proclamation establishing the eight-hour day with time and one-half for overtime for all the industries in the country, the same to be issued as a war measure.

Your Committee on Shorter Workday desires to commend the Executive Council of the Federation for its active interest in this most important question.

Your committee believes there is no subject to be given consideration by the convention that is of more importance to the workers than that of the shorter

workday, using the basic eight-hour day as the maximum.

Your committee therefore recommends that the Executive Council be authorized and requested to continue its endeavors on the shorter workday question. Your committee is of the opinion that there should be no exigency in connection with the war that would warrant the abandonment of the basic eight-hour day, and that where the work has been placed at a shorter period than eight hours that this shorter period should be made the basic day in those departments or in industries which have secured or may secure these lesser hours.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Eight Hours for Women.

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption the committee reported as follows:

The Executive Council under the heading of "Eight Hours for Women" says:

"S. 778, by Senator Robinson of Arkansas, and H. R. 123, by Representative Keating of Colorado, are companion bills. Their provisions prohibit interstate and foreign commerce of any article or commodity, the product of any mill, cannery, workshop, factory or manufacturing establishment, situated in the United States, in which females 16 years of age or over have been employed or permitted to work more than eight hours in any one day or more than six days in any one week.

"A similar bill, H. R. 1706, by Representative Taylor of Colorado, has also been introduced. These bills were introduced on April 6, 1917, April 2, 1917, and April 4, 1917, in the order mentioned. No hearings have been held upon these measures, consequently no action taken."

Your Committee on Shorter Workday recommends that the Executive Council be authorized to take such action as it may deem for the benefit of the working people upon the bills mentioned in the paragraphs quoted above, bearing in mind that the convention stands firmly in favor of a maximum working day of eight hours and for the payment of at least price and one-half for all time worked over eight hours in any one day, and for double prices for all time worked over six days in any one week.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Borland Amendment.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above heading the committee reported as follows:

Under the heading "Borland Amendment" the Executive Council sets forth the desperate efforts made by Representative Borland of Missouri, to secure the passage of a bill in Congress which had for its object the increasing of the hours of labor for government clerks who have been upon a seven hours per day basis.

In connection with this portion of the report of the Executive Council your committee considered Resolution No. 71 which was before it, and upon which it has already reported. Your committee believes that this resolution sets forth the position that should be taken by this convention upon this subject. The feeling of labor in America has been flatly for the basic eight-hour workday as a maximum and not as a minimum workday. Where shorter hours have been secured as strenuous efforts should be put forth to continue those shorter hours as are put forth to maintain any other right to which we are entitled.

Your committee commends the Executive Council for its action in opposing Representative Borland's various bills from the time he introduced his first to the present time, and trust that it will be able to defeat his efforts to put his vicious ideas into law by action of Congress.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Conclusion.

Your committee feels at this time that a word of warning to laboring people may not come amiss. Our country is engaged in a terrible struggle. While we do not like to acknowledge that there are people who take advantage of this fact for financial gain, it is nevertheless true. To their shame there are business men who under the guise of patriotism make the claim that the necessities of war demand a return to the ten or twelve hour workday. If they are not strenuously opposed they may in some instances succeed in inaugurating it.

Organized labor must stand firmly and unalterably for a continuance of the shorter workday. It will not tolerate any attempt to increase the basic hours of labor. Our members are sacrificing their lives in order that a free people may live and democratic principles be continued and extended. If those who return find that while they have been fighting the battles in the war, their employers have taken from them advantages which they

had gained before the war started, they can be justified in deciding that their interests were not properly safeguarded, and that the boasted freedom of the laborer is but a myth.

We must be eternally on guard and see that while one portion of our membership is fighting for the freedom of the people of the world, another portion shall not be enslaved.

The report of the committee was concurred in.

Secretary Hays: This completes the report of the committee.

Signed—Committee on Shorter Workday:

WM. GREEN, Chairman,
GEO. LEARY,
THOMAS REDDING,
CHAS. MACGOWAN,
JOSEPH WEBER,
JOHN J. LYNCH,
E. J. GAINOR,
JOHN H. PRUETT,
CARL BERGSTROM,
THOS. P. WOODLAND,
ED. MCGIVERN,
A. R. LINN,
PHILIP A. SILBERSTEIN,
EDWARD I. HANNAH,
J. W. HAYS, Secretary.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee as a whole.

Delegate Linn asked that the representatives of the press note that the committee said in its report that it was opposed to increasing the basic workday, not to increase hours owing to the war emergency.

The motion to adopt the report as a whole was adopted.

Delegate Duncan, Seattle: I desire to move a hearty vote of thanks to the Shorter Workday Committee for the excellent work it has done. Seconded and carried unanimously.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON STATE ORGANIZATION.

Vice-President Alpine, Chairman of the Committee, reported as follows:

Convict Labor Bill.

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption (pages 100 and 101), the committee reported as follows:

The former efforts of the officers and other members of the American Federation of Labor to obtain the enactment of a proper Convict Labor Law meets

with the hearty approval of your committee. We appreciate the many unavoidable difficulties that have been presented and which have served to prevent a final and satisfactory consummation of this important subject, while at the same time recommending that the officers and members of the A. F. of L. shall continue their endeavors until final achievement has been gained.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Your committee desires to again refer to the necessity of local unions affiliating with state organizations. There are many instances yet in evidence where local unions are not thus associated and in the interests of the labor movement we urge that the officers of this Federation, the national and international officers of the various trades and the members of trade unions generally, shall make a supreme effort to the end that a greater and more complete result in this direction shall follow.

There is no argument that can be reasonably offered for the non-affiliation and much that can be presented for the affiliation of all local unions with state organizations.

Great improvement is noticeable in this regard, but there still remains room for advancement. The work of these state organizations should be participated in actively by the workers since so many matters of vital importance to the wage earners of our country are championed successfully through this medium. There are no beneficial legislative measures that fail to receive the unstinted interests and untiring efforts of the state organizations. When one reflects upon the good that has been accomplished through these agencies in behalf of the men and women of labor, as well as in defense of the children of our nation, and further considers the great field and opportunity for additional and beneficial accomplishment, it would appear as though there should be little necessity for added argument to that previously offered and which would lead to a greater concentration of effort by all, resultant in the more completely organized conditions of state bodies.

Your committee, therefore, makes request that the officers of the American Federation of Labor shall continue their efforts in this relation and further urges that all national or international officers of the various trades shall endeavor, through the medium of their respective national or international unions, to create

a more complete condition as relates to the affiliation of local unions with state organizations.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Respectfully submitted,
JOHN R. ALPINE, Chairman,
J. B. BODE,
JAS. W. KLINE,
W. H. YOUNG,
THOS. R. PREECE,
E. G. HALL,
R. G. STEWART,
EARLE R. HOAGE,
E. O. JENNINGS,
T. P. HYLAND,
JOHN T. MUGAVIN,
P. J. GUERIN,
JOHN P. BURKE,
EDWARD J. RYAN,
BOB WHITE, Secretary,
 Committee on State Organization.

The report of the committee as a whole was adopted.

Delegate Gorenstein, Ladies' Garment Workers, obtained unanimous consent to the introduction of the following resolution:

Resolution No. 135—By Delegates Benjamin Schlessinger, J. Heller, I. Feinberg, Max Gorenstein, Mollie Friedman and Alfred La Porta, of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union:

WHEREAS, The workers are the creative forces of wealth of the Nation and contribute towards its industrial growth and development; and

WHEREAS, In the absence of proper provisions for caring for the physically incapacitated workers, these in very large numbers yearly become public charges; and

WHEREAS, It is generally recognized that it is the supreme duty of the Nation to maintain and uplift the physical and

economic standards of its citizens and to care for such of its workers as become physically unable to earn a livelihood; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor declares itself in favor of the adoption by the Government of a comprehensive national system of Social Insurance, and instructs its executive council to take all such steps as lie within its power to hasten the adoption of this measure.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Secretary Morrison read the following communication:

The officers of the American Federation of Labor and the delegates to the convention are cordially invited to attend services at the Cathedral of St. Paul, next Sunday morning at eleven o'clock.

Vice-President Green: I want to call the attention of the convention to the fact that this is Flag Day, a day universally observed in honor of the flag of our country; therefore, before adjourning for the noon recess, I move that the convention rise in honor of the flag of our country.

The entire delegation arose, and President Gompers said:

"In honor of the flag of the Republic of the United States the delegates and visitors to this convention stand in fealty and loyalty and in the hope of its great leadership in the cause of humanity and freedom. The motion has been carried into effect."

At 11:30 the rules were suspended and the convention adjourned to 2 p. m. of the same day.

FIFTH DAY-- Friday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2 o'clock p. m., Friday, June 14th, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—Kline, Franklin, Scott (C. F.), Corcoran, Campbell (W. A., Cigar-makers), Reeves, Bazer, Conway, De-septe, Feeney, Williams (Jno.), Gould, McSorley, Duty, O'Connor, Wharton, Savage, Van Lear, Lane, Schmidt (F.), White (J. P.), Farrington, Dempsey, Valentine, Hedrick, Skemp, Dold, Alpine, Kearney, Anderson, Berry, Yould, McHugh, Isaacson, Strunk, La Belle, Ryan (E. J.), Helt, Welsh (W. M.), Freel, Summer, Heberling, Sweeney, Biggs, Bode, Ross (L. J.), Konenkamp, Agethen, Curtis, Scott (M. G.), Hatch, Toone, Inglesias, Weiss, Spencer (G. M.), Hoof, Hoage, Wilk, Conley, Williams (H.), Hutton, Morgan, Taylor, O'Dell, Brown (B. F.), Smith (J. T.), Brindell, O'Shea, Lish, Greene, Gayton, Curran, Fricke, Parker, Ryerson, Fanning Scanlan, Kuhn, Tucker, Hester,

Casey, Beck, Bruen, Harte, Browne, Lampa, Morris, Gay, Wendell, Quesse, Kester, Staunton, Walker (M.), Waplington, deKraft, Williams (T. J.), Berger, Elliccott, Burns (W. W.), Paramore, Rior-dan, Byrne.

The Committee on Credentials recommended the seating of Lillie Barbour, Norfolk, Va., Central Labor Body, and Frank J. Weber, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor. The report of the committee was adopted.

Vice-President O'Connell moved that the report of the Committee on Adjustment be made a special order of business for 10 o'clock Monday.

Vice-President Duncan moved as an amendment "provided the Committee on Resolutions had completed the first part of its report."

The amendment was carried and the motion as amended adopted.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS.

Chairman Duncan: The committee, by special request of the introducer, asks the convention at this time to consider Resolution No. 6, which was originally referred to another committee, but by action of the convention was referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Delegate Frey, Secretary of the Committee, submitted the following report:

Resolution No. 6.—By Delegates J. H. Walker, John T. Dempsey, John Moore, of the United Mine Workers of America:

WHEREAS, Reports of two government hearings show by the confession of Newcomb Carlton, President of the Western Union Telegraph Company, that said company has for years maintained, and at the present time is maintaining, an organization of spies, whose work is so contemptible and low, to use the exact language of Mr. Carlton himself, that he would not associate with them in person nor talk about them in public; and

WHEREAS, The maintenance of a spy system by a private corporation while our country is at war with foreign powers constitutes a continuous and grave menace to the nation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the attention of the Attorney General and the military intelligence department of the general staff of the army be directed to this situation, so that the government may take whatever steps the national interests may demand to remove this menace; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be telegraphed Honorable Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States of America.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Secretary Frey: The committee also brings in Resolution No. 110 out of its order at the request of the introducer, and in connection with the resolution report on that section of the report of the Executive Council under the heading of "Taylor System Again." The committee's report on the resolution covers our action on that part of the Executive Council's report.

Taylor System Again.

The Naval Appropriation Laws for a number of years have carried a provision against the use of the so-called Taylor or Emerson stop-watch or time-measuring device, intended to overspeed the employes in the various works operated by the government. When the current Naval

Appropriation Bill was before the House on April 20, 1918, Congressman Browne of Wisconsin moved to strike this provision out, but the motion was lost. On May 4, 1918, although the Naval Appropriation Bill was not under discussion in the Senate, Senator Gallinger offered an amendment to the bill to strike out the section just referred to and it was ordered printed and referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

The committee amended Resolution No. 110 in line 1 of the second Whereas, "in addition to trade union movement," and inserted in last line of resolution the words "by telegram." The amended resolution is as follows:

Resolution No 110.—By Delegate Wm. H. Johnston, of the International Association of Machinists:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has repeatedly gone on record against the introduction in the arsenals and navy yards of the United States of the Taylor system and similar systems of shop management; and

WHEREAS, A drive appears to have recently been made by associations of manufacturers and chambers of commerce against the reenactment of legislation which for several years has been incorporated in appropriation bills passed by Congress, followed by the Senate of the United States on May 22nd, 1918, eliminating from the Naval Appropriation Bill the portion of this legislation which prohibits premium and bonus systems of payment, while leaving the portion which prohibits the use of stop watch time study; and

WHEREAS, A very high degree of efficiency, which has been demonstrated is attainable without the use of such drastic systems of shop management; and

WHEREAS, The President of the United States and the Council of National Defense, in addition to the American trade-union movement, have urged legislatures not to lower the standards of labor or withdraw any of the safeguards which have been thrown around it during the period of the war; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 38th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor reiterate its former position against the introduction of these systems of so-called "Scientific Management" and urge Congress to restore the language above referred to which was eliminated from the Naval Appropriation Bill in the Senate and to incorporate the same anti-Taylor system proviso in the appropriation bills which have carried it heretofore; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Speaker of the House and President of the Senate be advised by telegram of this action.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution as amended.

The report and recommendation of the committee were adopted unanimously.

Resolution No. 14—By Delegate G. F. Hardy, of the El Paso (Texas) Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, Our country is engaged in this world war for the protection of democracy, and we have pledged our government both our moral and financial support; and

WHEREAS, In the State of Texas there is a law against barber work being done on Sunday; and

WHEREAS, Barbers in cantonments and government reservations are required to work on Sunday in the communities where such cantonments and reservations are located; and

WHEREAS, The disregard of the State Sunday law creates conditions unfair to the civilian barbers and as the government has recognized in these communities where the cantonments and reservations are located all crafts except the barbers, we therefore feel that the barber is being unjustly discriminated against; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in annual convention assembled, do protest to the Hon. Newton D. Baker, secretary of war, against the unfair manner in which the barbers are being discriminated against, as this is unequalled for and is liable to create new conditions and upset standards that the barbers have worked for years to establish; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we appeal to the Hon. Newton D. Baker, secretary of war, to investigate this matter and to use whatever efforts that he may see fit to use against the injustice of Sunday slavery for the barbers; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be forwarded to the Hon. Newton D. Baker, secretary of war, by the secretary of the American Federation of Labor upon the close of this convention.

The committee offers the following as a substitute for Resolution No. 14:

WHEREAS, The American trade-union movement stands for the abolition of unnecessary Sunday labor; and

WHEREAS, Thirty-eight states in our union now observe the Sunday closing of barber shops; and

WHEREAS, In many of our cantonments in the various states and reservations the barbers are required to work on Sunday in the communities where such cantonment and reservations are located; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be and are hereby directed to interview the Honorable Newton D. Baker, Secretary of War, and the Honorable Josephus Daniels, Secretary of the Navy, for the purpose of having orders issued which will prevent barbers from being forced to work on Sundays.

The substitute offered by the committee was adopted unanimously

Resolution No. 15—By Delegate John P. Frey, of the International Molders' Union of North America:

WHEREAS, We have been informed that an order has been issued by some authority providing that American soldiers in France must request that cigarettes be forwarded to them before they can be sent by friends and relatives; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be and is hereby instructed to take immediate steps to have such order rescinded, as it is an unjustified hardship upon our brave boys who are now risking their lives in defense of the nation's liberties. JAMES WILSON, MELINDA SCOTT, WILLIAM SHORT, AGNES NESTOR, MARTIN F. RYAN, WM. JOHNSTON, GEORGE BERRY, CHESTER M. WRIGHT.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

The committee amended Resolution No. 93 by striking from the last paragraph the following language:

"Affiliated therewith to contribute one dollar or more, and in addition, each member of organized labor, one dollar or more, said amounts to be sent to the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor, at Washington, D. C., in sufficient time to have our fighting boys receive the tobacco at Christmas time, as coming from the trade unionists of the United States of America," and substituting therefor the following: "to adopt its own method of contributing to such a worthy object." The amended resolution is as follows:

Resolution No. 93—By Delegate J. E. Giles of the Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 11773, Washington, D. C.:

WHEREAS, There have been nation wide movements in the direction of assisting in every way possible to ameliorate the living conditions and comfort of our soldiers in France; and

WHEREAS, There is a particular and urgent need of tobacco to add to the mental well-being and contentment of these soldiers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That, notwithstanding the fact that the Tobacco Workers' International Union has started a fund for this purpose, the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, goes on record as endorsing this laudable movement, and requests every organization to adopt its own method of contributing in such a worthy object.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution as amended.

The report of committee was adopted.

The committee amended Resolution No. 20 by striking out the following language in last paragraph: "to every affiliated organization that it levy upon each member thereof, during the continu-

ance of the war, an assessment of 1 per centum of gross earnings," and insert in lieu thereof the following: "that liberal contributions be given by all trade unionists." The amended resolution is as follows:

Resolution No. 20—By Delegate Timothy A. Reardon, San Francisco Labor Council:

WHEREAS, The trade unionists of the world and particularly of the United States of America have always been ready to make every effort and sacrifice necessary to maintain the principles and ideals they seek to establish for the preservation and uplift of humanity, in truth, to make the world a better place to live in; and

WHEREAS, In the present world crisis the American labor movement realizes, as never before, that the future of its aspirations and activities—the very existence of civilization, liberty and democracy—depend upon the utter defeat of Germany and the uprooting of its desires to supplant these ideals and blessings by its own depraved system of militarism, world dominion and autocracy; and

WHEREAS, To win this battle for human rights and freedom, it behooves every member of our movement—not to hesitate, but to do his share to the limit, to make every sacrifice required, and to cooperate intelligently and steadfastly with the government and all other agencies working for the winning of the war and the betterment of mankind; and

WHEREAS, Next in importance to the support and duty we owe to the government itself in responding to every demand it makes upon us, the government also desires a loyal and efficient support of the American Red Cross, the greatest and noblest of all agencies administering to suffering humanity, irrespective of race, nationality, or religion; and

WHEREAS, The American Red Cross, in the performance of its work and its ability to serve, is dependent entirely upon voluntary contributions from all the people, and it requires, at this critical period and time of universal hunger, devastation and atrocities of war, financial support of such volume and constancy as will enable the institution to carry on its work uninterrupted and with proper efficiency everywhere in its immense field of operation, a task to which the organized labor movement of America is willing to contribute its full quota and deems it a patriotic duty so to do; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, recommends that liberal contributions be given by all trade unionists and that the moneys thus realized be turned over to the American Red Cross as labor's offering in the cause of humanity and mercy.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution as amended.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 33—By Delegate W. D. Mahon:

WHEREAS, President Wilson, in his address to Congress on May 27th, said: "Additional revenues must manifestly be provided for. It would be a most unsound policy to raise too large a proportion of them by loan." And again, "There is abundant fuel for the light in the records of the Treasury with regards to profits of every sort. The profiteering that cannot be got at by the restraints of conscience and love of country can be got at by taxation. There is such profiteering now and the information with regard to it is available and indisputable." And again, "The people of this country * * * are ready and willing to bear any burden * * * necessary * * * in order to win it (the war). We need not be afraid to tax them if we levy taxes justly. They know that the war must be paid for and that it is they who must pay for it;" and

WHEREAS, Experience of the present war and the history of all wars demonstrates that failure to levy taxes to the limit during the war forces the financing of the war by unnecessarily large bond issues and other borrowings. These borrowings place an unjustifiable burden upon the people, especially upon the workmen who pay a disproportionate share of the cost because the borrowing policy defers payments until a time when they must be borne by taxation upon production; and

WHEREAS, Excessive borrowings result in inflation and consequently in unnecessarily high prices of commodities, reducing the purchasing value of wages; and

WHEREAS, The United States can secure by taxation, sufficient revenue to fully meet the policy outlined in the message of the President; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor heartily endorses the policy set forth in the President's message to restrict loans and to levy taxes upon the profiteers; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor urges Congress to levy taxes on war profits, swollen income and on land values to an extent that during the period of the war will provide by taxation at least fifty per cent of the expenditures of the government in any one year.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

The committee amended Resolution No. 38 by inserting the word "unfit" in line 3 of last paragraph, the amended resolution to read:

Resolution No. 38—By Delegate John F. Stevens, Boston Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, In all the industrial centers of the state there was a marked shortage of wholesome dwellings for the laboring people before the outbreak of the world war; and

WHEREAS, The existing shortage has been greatly increased by the building of ships, the manufacture of munitions and other war activities which have suddenly and enormously increased the population in various parts of Massachusetts, notably Quincy, near the Squantum and Fore River shipbuilding plants; Watertown, Boston, Lowell and other centers; and

WHEREAS, The building of dwelling houses has nearly ceased in the state because of the high cost of materials and difficulty in borrowing necessary funds; and

WHEREAS, The Bethlehem Steel Corporation, which operates the Fore River and Squantum plants, appears to be wholly opposed to a sufficient supply of new housing, particularly as regards the Squantum plant, and appears to insist upon the building of temporary barracks or dormitories; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor protest against the building of unfit temporary housing, and particularly the building of barracks or dormitories, in any part of the United States, and instruct the Executive Committee to do all in its power to prevent the erection of buildings which will deprive men of home life and degenerate into unfit tenements, and to advocate the construction of well built, wholesome habitations of permanent value in quiet, healthful surroundings somewhat removed from the plants, and that would be a credit to the communities in which they are placed.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution as amended.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Housing Shipyard Employees.

Upon that section of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption (page 105), the committee reported as follows:

Your committee approves of the steps taken to provide for adequate housing conditions for shipyard employes, and urges that attention be given to the administration of the law so that the benefits it provides for may be fully secured.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Housing for War Workers.

Upon that section of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption (page 106), the committee reported as follows:

Your committee requests that similar action be taken upon this portion of the report of Executive Council's report as upon the section dealing with the housing of shipyard workers.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolutions No. 39 and No. 111, dealing with similar questions, were read.

The committee amended Resolution No. 39 by striking out the word "incoming" in line 1 of last paragraph, and inserting at the end of line 3, "to urge upon them a thorough investigation and cause a bill to be introduced." The amended resolution is as follows:

Resolution No. 39—By Delegate Claude O. Taylor, Grand Rapids Trades and Labor Council:

WHEREAS, It has been demonstrated that the private detectives and detective agencies, who are employed or employ their operatives primarily when workers are endeavoring to better their conditions, or making just demands, in the capacity of spies, in an effort to create dissension among the members of trades unions, can be classified only as men of the lowest and most despicable character, and have manifested this by their actions when employed to join labor organizations for the purpose of destroying them, have no regard for justice or humanity; and

WHEREAS, The work of a spy, whether used in a trade union or in the employ of those who would destroy our governmental institutions, is a trade that can only be followed by persons who would sell themselves for any purpose, and the despicable trait of the spy employed to disrupt trade unions was graphically set forth in the report of the Executive Council's report to the San Francisco Convention of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, These enemies of the workers are at present engaged in many instances in endeavoring to disrupt unions and by so doing are lending aid to the enemies of our country, for every activity of theirs tends to impede and harass the results attained by continued employment on the part of the workers, which work is so essential to the winning of the present war against autocracy, and their elimination by the Federal authorities at this time would aid in this great struggle; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be instructed to take up this matter with the Federal authorities; to urge upon them a thorough investigation and to cause a bill to be introduced with a view to ridding our country of this spy menace that is working a hardship on the workers under the guise of private detective agencies in various industrial centers throughout the country.

Resolution No. 111—By Delegates Nathan F. Birch of Newsboys' Union No. 15834 and Dan F. McKillop of the Brotherhood of Boiler Makers and Iron Ship Builders:

WHEREAS, Certain functions of a governmental nature are assumed by private detective agencies, which are useless, parasitical enterprises, whose agencies are principally directed to the breaking up of organized labor, and the homes of workers; and

WHEREAS, The employes of these private detective agencies are more apt

to spend their energies in manufacturing evidence, for which a price will be paid, than in endeavoring to establish and discover real evidence; and

WHEREAS, Organized labor has suffered and does suffer grievous wrongs at the hands of these perjuring, lying, sneaking enterprises; and

WHEREAS, These private detective agencies are often used to cause strikes and violence and tend only to promote discord in the nation when there should be the utmost harmony and co-operation, and are often illegally used by employers to prevent the orderly processes of our courts being carried out; and

WHEREAS, The Government of the United States has signified its intention that all persons shall be engaged in useful labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we request the Department of War to include in unessential and useless work the nefarious business of private detective agencies, and that the Congress and the Senate of the United States be urged to immediately enact legislation abolishing private detective agencies and making the government the sole enforcer of the laws of the nation, and that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor is hereby instructed to prepare and introduce in Congress a Bill for this purpose.

The committee recommends the adoption of Resolution No. 39 as amended.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Secretary Frey: Your committee had before it four resolutions dealing with the question of female suffrage, and also a portion of the report of the Executive Council on the same subjects. The resolutions and the section under the caption of "Woman Suffrage," are as follows:

Resolution No. 42—By Delegate J. M. Conley, Dubuque Trades and Labor Congress, Dubuque, Iowa:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has endorsed woman suffrage because it is a just and right principle that in a democracy no adult person shall be excluded from political rights on the sole ground of sex; and

WHEREAS, The House of Representatives has passed the Federal Suffrage Amendment and the resolution to submit the question has been repeatedly delayed in the United States Senate for an unreasonable length of time; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled at St. Paul, Minn., on this 11th day of June, 1918, petition that the Suffrage Amendment be brought out immediately for consideration by the Senate, and be favorably acted upon by the members.

Resolution No. 57—By Delegates Luther C. Steward, Chas. F. Nagl and E. J. Newmyer of the National Federation of Federal Employes:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor and its affiliated bodies have repeatedly urged upon the lawmakers of this

country the essential justice and economic need of equal suffrage for women and men; and

WHEREAS, The military needs of the country are drawing millions of men out of industry and women are filling their places; and

WHEREAS, This substitution of voteless women for voting men inflicts upon us, the working people of the nation, an acute injustice by cutting down our voting strength and our share in the control of the government; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled considers this injustice no longer tolerable and demands in behalf of the working people of the United States that the United States Senate take immediate action to enfranchise the women of this nation by passing the federal woman suffrage amendment, now pending in that body.

Resolution No. 95—By Delegate J. E. Giles, of the Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 11773 Washington, D. C.:

WHEREAS, The House of Representatives has adopted the National amendment to the Constitution providing suffrage for women, and the said amendment is now pending in the Senate; and

WHEREAS, The principle of woman suffrage is a part of the program of the A. F. of L.; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the A. F. of L. go on record in support of the amendment for woman's suffrage, and that the A. F. of L., through its legislative activities exercise every attempt to assist its passage.

Resolution No. 127—By Delegate James F. Brock, Laundry Workers' International Union:

WHEREAS, The preamble of the American Federation of Labor declares for woman suffrage; and

WHEREAS, The increasing number of women in industry makes it necessary at this time that every assistance should be given them which would strengthen them in their struggle for justice and would prevent them from being used to lower or break down the standards of their brothers in industry; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this, the Thirty-eighth Convention of the American Federation of Labor, reaffirms our indorsement of woman suffrage and that we pledge ourselves to do all in our power to bring about the national enfranchisement of women at the earliest possible moment.

Women's Suffrage.

On December 18, 1917, Representative Raker of California introduced House Joint Resolution 200, proposing an amendment to the Constitution extending the right of suffrage to women. The amendment was as follows:

"Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex.

"Section 2. Congress shall have power by appropriate legislation to enforce the provisions of this article.

On January 10, 1918, the House had this joint resolution under consideration and it passed the House by a vote of 274 yeas to 136 nays, 17 not voting. It was further provided that if within seven years from the date of the submission of this article to the several states it shall have been ratified by three-fourths thereof, it shall become a part of the Federal Constitution. This resolution then went to the Senate and was referred to the Committee on Women's Suffrage. Up to about the first of May polls made in the Senate indicated that this resolution did not have sufficient support to insure its passage, and therefore no effort was made to secure a vote. As there have been several changes in the personnel of the Senate due to deaths, there now appears to be a fair chance of the resolution passing the Senate.

Your committee approves of the provisions of Congressman Raker's bill, and recommends that the Executive Council be instructed to use its full influence to secure the passage of the measure by the United States Senate.

This recommendation covering the committee's action upon resolutions 42, 57, 95, 127.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 44—By Delegates T. V. O'Connor, T. P. Woodland, Geo. F. Freitas and Simon P. O'Brien, International Longshoremens' Association:

WHEREAS, The United States Government has placed in effect a certain plan of insurance covering its soldiers and sailors; and

WHEREAS, We deem this plan just and equitable and highly desirable to the many thousands of shipyard workers whose services to the U. S. Government is akin to that of the land and sea forces, in that to a great extent they are helping to win the war in which this Government is now engaged, and for that reason alone should be allowed to participate in the said plan of insurance; and

WHEREAS, It is our belief that many thousands of the above mentioned class of workers would avail themselves of an opportunity to carry this insurance could they but be permitted to pay the premium as they pay their labor dues (through the proper officer of their local); now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That it is the earnest desire of the Shipyard Laborers, Riggers and Fasteners' Local 38-"A"-2 I. L. A. that proper steps be at once taken by the Metal Trades Council, and the Central Labor Council of Seattle; the District Council of the Shipyard Laborers, Rig-

gers and Fasteners; the International Longshoremens' Association, Washington State Federation of Labor, American Federation of Labor, to the end that laws be enacted by the Congress at Washington making it possible to extend the insurance plan aforementioned to cover the shipyard workers holding membership in labor unions; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to each of labor bodies mentioned above at earliest possible date.

Your committee recommends non-concurrence with the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Vice-President Duffy in the chair.

Resolution No. 48—By Delegates J. A. Taylor, Dan F. McKillop and N. F. Birch:

WHEREAS, The Government Employment Service has proved a most valuable factor in solving labor problems arising as a result of the war and tends to stabilize conditions and establish a more complete cooperation between employers and employes, especially when operated under agreement like that established in Seattle, Washington, which is in complete accord with Resolution No. 154, passed by the A. F. of L., on November 19, 1917, and also the declaration of "principles and policies which should be observed by all Boards or Commissions of a Government character," etc., passed by the A. F. of L., on November 23rd, 1917; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the above mentioned employment service, in accordance with the Seattle plan, be heartily endorsed, and that the Department of Labor be urged to install the same system in all employment offices wherever practicable and that the workmen and their representatives everywhere be instructed to insist on and do their utmost to see that all employment offices under any department whatsoever shall be governed as nearly as possible according to the following rules:

(a) The Unions shall furnish the labor required on request by employers as far as possible, through the central office.

(b) That the unions furnish instructors to train mechanics for emergency service, as may be required.

(c) That the Examining Board of the unions shall pass on the qualifications of all applicants selected locally, and issue proper permits to successful candidates.

(d) That persons placed from any outside source, and employes advanced to higher grades of work under the general cooperation or agreement between employers and trades unions to rapidly develop skilled mechanics, are all employed on a basis of war-time emergency.

The temporary permit shall be in force until revoked by the craft granting it, and preference shall be given to union members in all cases when men are laid off, promoted, demoted, transferred, or otherwise affected in their standing.

(e) It is agreed that not less than the minimum wage shall be paid in supplying labor, and this office shall conform to and carry into effect, the decisions of the U. S. Shipbuilding Labor Adjustment Board.

(f) Recognizing the need for re-distribution of labor after the war, it is urged that the War Employment Emergency service be maintained to handle this problem.

(g) In the interest of carrying out the essential war program of the nation such regulations shall provide that all employment offices maintained by the employers for the purpose of securing and distributing labor, and by the trades unions for the purpose of furnishing labor, shall be combined into a central government office, in order that there may be a complete centralized system for securing and distributing available labor. All agreements between unions and employers to be safeguarded or modified by mutual consent to conform with this agreement in all matters pertaining to the subject of supply and distribution of emergency labor.

(h) Nothing in this agreement shall be construed to interfere with the rights of employes to organize.

(i) It is advisable that production shall not cease because of an apparent injustice or oversight in a decision, for it is necessary to the Nation's protection, as well as to the welfare of the trades unions and employers, that there shall be no cessation of work, except as a last resort after all means of mediation and appeal have been exhausted.

Your committee is informed that a similar resolution was introduced at the recent convention of the Metal Trades Department, and acted upon through the adoption of a substitute, complimentary to the successful efforts of the Metal Trades Council of Seattle for the effective and satisfactory manner in which it had assisted in solving the problem of employment. Your committee therefore recommends that in lieu of the resolution the convention extend its approval of the form of employment for the industries of Seattle which has been applied in that city.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Taylor, Machinists: The resolution calls for placing into effect in any locality where practicable. Do I understand the committee to object to the plan? If it is practicable to place that in operation in any other section of the country, would it be a recommendation to apply it?

Secretary Frey: The committee is of the opinion that the question of employment systems to be worked out is so great that before this convention takes any action on it the presidents of the organization whose members are affected by this war work should get together and go over such matters as you refer to from Seattle.

The question was discussed by Vice-President Duncan, Chairman of the Committee, and Delegate McKillop.

The motion to adopt the recommendation of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 55—By Delegate Rose Yates, of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks:

WHEREAS, The railroads of the United States, under the pretense that they cannot secure sufficient male workers, are hiring women for track work, light repair work on cars in yards, check, receiving and delivery clerks in freight houses and on team tracks and other places of danger and which are unfit places for women to work; and

WHEREAS, The claim that there is a scarcity of men workers is unfounded and untrue, there being plenty of male labor that can be secured for such work; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the 38th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that the Director General of Railroads, Honorable W. G. McAdoo, be and is hereby urgently requested to appoint a committee, some of whom shall be women familiar with railroad work, to investigate the necessity of using women in such work, and to report back to him their findings together with such recommendations as they may deem appropriate.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 53—By Delegates Luther C. Steward, Chas. F. Nagl and E. J. Newmyer of the National Federation of Federal Employes:

WHEREAS, The 4,000 women operatives employed in the U. S. Bureau of Engraving and Printing at Washington are paid but \$1.92 to \$2.24 per day; and

WHEREAS, This scale represents for the majority of these women no increase for fifteen years, although the pay of the greater portion of the male force of the Bureau has been increased since the war began and the pay of the women operatives is less than the wage paid to unskilled male labor in the Bureau; and

WHEREAS, The Director of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing and the President of the United States have recommended that Congress appropriate sufficient funds to bring the pay of the women operatives up to a minimum of \$920 per year; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 38th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor hereby urges upon Congress the importance of bringing the wage scale of government departments into conformity with the government's announced policies of equal pay for equal work of women and men and a living wage for all; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That to this end this convention hereby specifically urges Congress to grant the increase in pay for the women operatives of the Bureau of En-

graving and Printing recommended by the Director of the Bureau and the President of the United States.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 60—By Delegates Dan P. McKillop and Chas. F. Scott, of the Brotherhood of Boilermakers and Iron Ship Builders of America:

WHEREAS, The excess number of workmen required to correspond with the abnormal demand for ships due to the war, and the certainty that these men will not be needed in the ship building industry when conditions return to normal after the war, impose on us the duty of solving the problem of how to provide for all of these men, and also to protect the old-timers, who have so unselfishly sacrificed their trade for their country; and

WHEREAS, This problem must be handled on a national scale to be effective, and Resolution No. 154, passed by the Buffalo Convention of the American Federation of Labor, was intended to bring about such a result, which has not yet been done; and

WHEREAS, Instead, without regard to apprentice rules of the international organizations affected or any plan for re-adjustment, in fact, most of the new men being led to believe that the industry is permanent, unnumbered thousands have been placed on jobs in Navy Yards and private plants and since the establishment of the first Government Training School at Newport News, on November 15, 1917, hundreds of instructors have been trained who in turn are training workmen; and

WHEREAS, In justice to the new men, as well as the old, and in order to avoid misunderstanding and unnecessary turmoil, and so as to reduce to the minimum the damage already done by training systems under private control, designed to flood the labor market, a clear cut agreement should now be entered into, providing for a system for handling the training of temporary workmen; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the training plan adopted at Seattle, Wahington, which is already approved by President J. A. Franklin, of the Boilermakers and Iron Ship Builders and Helpers; by Mr. Densmore, the Director of Labor of the Department of Labor; by Mr. MacNary, head of the industrial training department of the Shipping Board; by Mr. William Blackman, director of labor of the United States Shipping Board; and by the local unions involved in the district covered thereby, be approved, as follows, the rules to apply in every district where emergency training is being carried on or undertaken:

PROPOSED PLAN FOR TRAINING WAR EMERGENCY LABOR.

The agreement entered into between the Department of Labor, the U. S. Shipping Board, the employers of the Puget Sound district and the employees, signed at

Seattle on December 14, 1917, contains the following clause—Paragraph 3, Section (b):

"That the unions furnish instructors to train mechanics for emergency service, as may be required."

In accordance therewith, the following plan was approved at the regular meeting of the Metal Trades Council of Seattle and vicinity, held on February 26, 1918, and is hereby submitted for action by affiliated unions:

(1) That the unions find out to what extent the U. S. Shipping Board and Department of Labor is willing to finance and assist in maintaining headquarters for the above purpose, consisting of perhaps two classrooms, a library, an assembly hall connected therewith and lecturers and instructors needed.

(2) The school shall be accessible only to union members in good standing, who shall recognize the seniority rights of present workmen in employment and promotion in the trades they receive instructions in.

(3) Members applying for the privilege of receiving such instruction may be organized in an auxiliary and required to pay dues for the maintenance of the institution.

(4) The school shall be under the direct control of the Metal Trades Council and the council shall be responsible to the Department of Labor for such financial assistance as the government may render.

(5) The instructors and lecturers of the school shall be selected by the local unions of the crafts involved.

(6) Examining boards of the unions shall pass on the qualifications of all applicants, and issue proper permits to successful candidates in accordance with the agreements previously referred to; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the president of the metal trades department and such other representatives of labor as may be selected for that purpose be and hereby are instructed to, immediately following the adjournment of the convention of the American Federation of Labor, take up these matters with proper government officials and enter into a suitable agreement in accordance with this resolution.

Your committee recommends as a substitute that the officers of the American Federation of Labor be and are hereby instructed to make an investigation of the conditions surrounding the operation of these trade schools and that they take such steps as are necessary to protect the interests and welfare of labor.

The substitute submitted by the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 61—By Delegates Luther C. Steward, Chas. F. Nagl and E. J. Newmyer of the National Federation of General Employees:

WHEREAS, The employees engaged in certain lines of work at the U. S. Navy Yards have received only one general increase in salaries and wages since July 1, 1917, while other employees at the Navy Yards have received three distinct increases in their salaries and wages, dur-

ing the same period of time, all of which readjustments were influenced primarily by the increased cost of living; and

WHEREAS, The increased cost of living affects all employes alike, and we believe that whatever forms the basis for a re-adjustment of salaries and wages for one class of employes should be taken into consideration and given the same weight when readjusting the salaries and wages of other employes under similar conditions; and

WHEREAS, The Navy Department insists on carrying classified employes on a wage schedule separate and distinct from the schedule on which other employes are carried, and refuses to make adjustments of salaries and wages for all employes alike; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor is hereby instructed to use every endeavor to secure for the classified employes in the Navy Yards the following concessions from the Navy Department:

1. Periodical readjustments of wage scale in the same proportion as other Navy Yard employes.

2. A flat increase of \$1.52 per day over the rates in effect February 1st, 1918, which increase will fairly approximate the rising cost of living.

Your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to cooperate with the officers of the affiliated organizations whose members are employed in Government Navy Yards, for the purpose of securing relief for the unjust conditions which may exist under the present form of classification.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolutions 62 and 117, dealing with the subject of rehabilitation, were read and a substitute offered for both, as follows:

Resolution No. 117—By Delegate Geo. B. McGovern of the Yorkers, N. Y., Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, In the report of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, under captions "Rehabilitation Bill," "Victims of Industrial Accidents" and "Compensation to Orphans," analogous subjects are discussed; and

WHEREAS, The practical experience of the unfortunates by industrial accidents would be of assistance in the rehabilitation of soldiers and maintenance of orphans due to war; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor appeal to the Hon. Woodrow Wilson as President of the United States to inaugurate a nation wide survey by means of a drive in the simplest practical manner which may occur; such as a postal card mailed to a local center containing name of industrial victim, kind of injury, previous occupation, present occupation and respective salaries, orphans source of support and cost.

Resolution No. 62—By Delegates J. A. Taylor, of the International Association of Machinists and Dan P. McKillop, of the Brotherhood of Boilermakers and Iron Ship Builders of America:

WHEREAS, Next to winning the war for democracy, the most serious problem facing us is the readjustment of industry which must follow the war; and

WHEREAS, Some of the industries in which there is an abnormal condition, caused by unusual circumstances, such as never before existed in the history of man and may never recur again, have to be considered on the basis of world demands of trade in normal times, to determine a reasonable basis from which to forecast conditions likely to develop, as, for instance, in the industry of shipbuilding; and

WHEREAS, The best records available show that before the outbreak of the present war, there were too many ships for normal demands and too many workmen in the industry who could not be permanently employed, which number has already been increased out of all proportion to the normal requirements, while the production of ships based on pre-war production, compared with the estimated capacity of the present shipyards of the United States is approximately forty times the pre-war production in the united states, and approximately seventeen times the total tonnage required to replace the world's losses by shipwreck and ordinary wear and tear, based on the records of the last one-half years following the outbreak of the war; and

WHEREAS, The world's net tonnage loss is approximately three million tons, which is already being replaced faster than the ships are being sunk by submarines or mines, the month of April showing a net gain of 40,000 tons, while the production is constantly increasing, and will shortly exceed the normal demand, when we may expect a partial stoppage of the industry and consequent unemployment for the great majority of the workers engaged therein, shortly after the war; and

WHEREAS, The workers generally have patriotically cooperated with the Government in doing everything possible to speed up the construction of ships in this crisis and have trained or consented to the training and placing of thousands of excess mechanics and helpers, and placing women in some lines of work, who will not be needed when the emergency is passed; and

WHEREAS, Similar conditions exist in other industries, making the solution of the problem of common interest to all, and we could not defend our position with our brothers and sons now fighting for world democracy if in their absence we failed to protect their rights to decent conditions at home; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the A. F. of L. urge upon the Government the necessity for immediately evolving a program for re-adjustment of industry after the war in order to avoid the chaos, suffering and friction which will otherwise result and in order for the present to encourage enthusiasm and hearty co-operation on

the part of the workmen which will naturally result from the knowledge that they will get a square deal and will, therefore, result in increased production; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we recommend that a commission of five members be appointed, connected with the Department of Labor, on which commission union labor shall predominate, whose duties it shall be to consider and recommend to the President, through the Secretary of Labor, and to execute, as directed by him, means whereby the re-adjustment may be accomplished, and that we particularly recommend that the excess labor provided be used to reduce hours of work without deduction of pay, to provide greater comfort and safety in carrying on the work; that the Government and employers recognize seniority rights in employment and assist in restoring temporary employes to their former occupations, and that public works be undertaken and other means be found to provide means of making an honest, comfortable living for these workers and the returning soldiers, if necessary by taking over the industries by the people and operating them for the public welfare.

Your committee recommends as a substitute the following:

Your committee believes that the question of present consideration and preparation for the reconstruction period which will follow the war's termination, is of vital importance. Your committee therefore recommends that the Executive Council be and is hereby instructed to appoint a committee whose duty it shall be to thoroughly investigate the problem, and to take such steps and introduce such measures in Congress as will result in the creation of a commission which shall have charge of the preparation for the re-entry into industry of the soldiers and sailors now defending the country's liberties, and the relocation and protection of the civilians now engaged in war industries, whose present occupation will be terminated with the cessation of the war.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the substitute recommended by the committee.

Delegate McGovern, Yonkers, opposed the report of the committee, and after discussing the question at length, Delegate Taylor, Machinists, moved as an amendment that the entire subject matter be referred to a special committee, or committed to the Resolutions Committee, with instructions to meet the Executive Council and bring back a constructive plan outlined to be acted on by the convention. (Seconded.)

Chairman Duncan defended the report of the committee and called attention to

the fact that the resolution introduced by Delegate McGovern provided for nothing definite.

The question was discussed briefly by Delegate McCullough and Delegate Hayes (M. L.).

The amendment to refer to a committee was defeated.

The motion to adopt the substitute of the committee was carried.

Rehabilitation Bill.

S. 4282, introduced by Senator Hoke Smith, of Georgia, provides for vocational rehabilitation and return to civil employment of disabled persons discharged from the military or naval forces of the United States, and for other purposes. H. R. 11367, introduced by Representative Sears of Florida, is a companion bill. (Later: S. 4557 and H. R. 12178 were introduced by same authors, being revised bills.)

This measure is a corollary of the war risk insurance measure and rounds out a beneficent and humanitarian policy to be adopted by this country. In former wars there has been left in their train a vast multitude of men who because of their injuries have been incapacitated to follow their former vocations, or have become dependants upon society. Under the spur of modern thought and action, the welfare of humanity has become the chief activity of our interest and the measures referred to are calculated to rehabilitate, reeducate, reft and return to industry in whatever capacity science and physical ability may suggest for the disabled victim of the war. In fact, with the rehabilitation measure enacted into law, coupled with the war risk insurance law, our country will have taken an advanced step in the welfare of its citizens. With the passage of this measure there will rest a Herculean task on the Federal Board for Vocational Education to perform, for these bills provide that the administration of the reeducation, retraining and returning to industry shall be in charge of the board mentioned. It is interesting to recall that the American Federation of Labor for a number of years stood sponsor for activity and urged the adoption by Congress of a federal vocational educational law, and its efforts were finally crowned with success. This board during its infancy (for it has only been in existence approximately a year) has extended the work of aiding the state in establishing systems of vocational training. As it is now equipped with data and an experienced personnel, it is

capable to administer the provisions of the rehabilitation and reeducation bills if they are enacted into law.

The A. F. of L. is particularly interested in the reeducation and the reentry of disabled soldiers and sailors into industry. The members of our organizations will have an opportunity to perform an invaluable service to society in co-operating with the Federal Board for Vocational Education in carrying on its work. In all of the countries actively engaged in the present war, work of a similar character is being performed, and in those countries the organizations of labor are giving their hearty support and cooperation. It is perhaps unnecessary to bespeak the cooperation of the American labor movement in this great humanitarian work, for it can be confidently expected that in every locality of our country where our organizations are located, there the members of these unions will give material assistance to the carrying out of this great national humanitarian work. Representatives of the A. F. of L. assisted in the framing of the bill, and the membership will without doubt assist in the execution of the law when it is placed upon the statute books. That there may be a close cooperation, it has been suggested (and that suggestion is offered for approval) that the Executive Council be authorized by the convention to cooperate with the Federal Board for Vocational Education in assisting in administering the law when it shall have been passed. The duty of the hour requires that all classes of citizens, whether they be employers or employees, give a full measure of support and active cooperation in administering a law which has for its purpose the making of disabled soldiers and sailors productive members of society.

Your committee recommends that the convention endorse the substance of this portion of the Executive Council's report, and that the words "the three resident members of" and the words "located in Washington" in the sixth line from the bottom be stricken out.

The report of the committee was adopted.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

The committee amended Resolution No. 64 by striking from line 6 of the third paragraph the words "a living" and substituting in lieu thereof the words "an

adequate." The amended resolution is as follows:

Resolution No. 64—By Delegates Luther C. Steward, E. J. Newmyer and Chas. F. Nagl, of the National Federation of Federal Employees; Thos. F. Flaherty, of the National Federation of Postal Employees; Edw. J. Gainor, of the National Association of Letter Carriers; E. J. Ryan, Wm. Collins, Walter J. Brown, of the Railway Mail Association:

WHEREAS, The report of the U. S. War Labor Conference Board, of March 29, 1918, declared, among other things, "The right of workers, including common laborers, to a living wage," and "in fixing wages a minimum rate of pay shall be established which will insure the subsistence of the worker and his family in health and reasonable comfort;" and

WHEREAS, There has been an abnormal increase in the cost of living in the past three years, but the wages of most Government employees have not been correspondingly increased, notwithstanding the fact that the wages of practically all employees in the commercial world have been increased; and

WHEREAS, In order for the Government to establish proper wage standards among private employers it should become a model employer itself and set an example for private employers by the adoption of an adequate wage standard for its employees; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the 38th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled at St. Paul, Minnesota, that Congress should immediately take favorable action on the Nolan and Johnson bills (S-3878 and H. R. 152) for establishing a minimum wage for Government employees, and that further legislation should be enacted whereby the wages of all Government employees not affected by said bills are given a substantial increase.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution as amended.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 66—By Delegates Edw. J. Gainor of the National Association of Letter Carriers; E. J. Ryan, Wm. Collins, Walter J. Brown of the Railway Mail Association; Thos. F. Flaherty of the National Federation of Postal Employees; Luther C. Steward, E. J. Newmyer and Chas. F. Nagl of the National Federation of Federal Employees:

WHEREAS, The retirement of superannuated Civil Service employees upon service annuities is now generally recognized as justifiable from both a humane and a business standpoint; and

WHEREAS, The United States Government is one of the few in the world that makes no provision for the retirement of its aged civil service workers, resulting in one of two conditions: men are heartlessly dismissed after years of faithful service or they are retained upon the payroll when no longer able to render efficient service; and

WHEREAS, The compensation of government employes is insufficient to permit of adequate savings for voluntary retirement in old age; and

WHEREAS, All political parties in their platforms have pledged their support for the enactment of retirement legislation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 38th Convention of the American Federation of Labor does hereby go on record as favoring an equitable retirement law for superannuated government employes, as contemplated by the McKellar-Keating bill now pending before Congress and that the Executive Council is hereby instructed to use every means at its command to secure the enactment of such legislation by the 65th Congress.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Standardization of Wages.

On January 4, 1918, Senator King of Utah introduced Senate Resolution 174, the purpose of which was declared to be the standardization of wages paid to the employes of the government. The resolution provides "that the Committee on Education and Labor of the Senate shall inquire into the subject of wages having to do directly or indirectly with government work, and report upon the advisability of establishing standards of wages for laborers employed in such work, and to further report upon the possibility and expediency of legislation looking to the standardization of wages and the stabilization of industrial and labor conditions in the country during the pendency of the war." The resolution was referred to the Committee on Education of Labor, but no action has been taken.

On the above section of the Executive Council's report the committee reported as follows:

Your committee recommends that the subject of standardizing of wages and stabilization of industrial and labor conditions during the pendency of the war be referred to the Executive Council for their careful study and such action as the circumstances may warrant, so that the interests of labor should be protected.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 74—By Delegates Luther C. Steward, E. J. Newmyer and Chas. F. Nagl, of the National Federation of Federal Employes; Thos. F. Flaherty of the National Federation of Postal Employes; Edw. J. Gainor, National Ass'n of Letter Carriers; E. J. Ryan, Wm. Collins, Walter J. Brown of the Railway Mail Association:

WHEREAS, Under present conditions the salaries, wages, titles, hours and conditions of service of employes of the Fed-

eral government are in some instances fixed by Congress, in some instances by heads of departments, while in some instances they are fixed by selected wage boards; and

WHEREAS, These conditions result in different standards of salaries and wages being paid for similar services in the several branches of the government, different titles and designations of employes performing the same kind of work, and different hours of service for employes of the same grade and salary; and

WHEREAS, This lack of standardization throughout the government service furnishes a just cause for general dissatisfaction among the employes because of the inequalities in pay as well as the many instances of excessive hours of service, all which conditions very materially reduce the efficiency of the service; and

WHEREAS, The Federal government should be a model employer and we believe that steps should be taken to remedy the present unsatisfactory conditions relating to hours of service, rates of pay, and otherwise; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the 38th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled at St. Paul, Minn., that Congress should enact the necessary legislation, providing for a Federal Personnel Commission upon which the employes shall have adequate representation and which commission shall have full authority to make investigations concerning the salaries, wages and conditions of employment of all employes in the civil establishments of the United States government and of the government of the District of Columbia, so as to develop the standardization of duties, wages, salaries, hours, efficiency ratings, titles and submit recommendations to Congress concerning same; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to use its best efforts to obtain favorable action on this resolution at the next session of Congress.

Your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 79—By Delegates Chas. F. Flaherty of the National Federation of Postal Employes; Edw. J. Gainor, National Association of Letter Carriers; Luther C. Steward, E. J. Newmyer and Chas. F. Nagl of the National Federation of Federal Employes; E. J. Ryan, W. M. Collins, Walter J. Brown of the Railway Mail Association:

WHEREAS, Federal employes, through the administrative regulations of certain departments, have been denied leave of absence to care for important duties devolving upon them as officers in organizations of affiliated government employes, thus in many instances necessitating their resignation from the service and operating in general as serious handicaps to the existence and progress of such unions; and

WHEREAS, Unless an organization is permitted to properly function, the right

to organize is in itself of little value, and arbitrary and unnecessary ruling denying leaves of absence are in effect the denial of the right to organize, which was granted to civil service employes in the Act of Congress of August 24, 1912, known as the "Anti-Gag Law;" and

WHEREAS, Necessary leaves of absence could be granted employes engaged in the work of their respective organizations without either injuring the service or impairment of its efficiency; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor urge upon Congress the enactment of legislation which shall provide for the retention of the civil service status by the officers of unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor who are called upon to absent themselves from their official duties and their re-employment in the service at a salary no less than that received by them at the time such leave of absence is granted; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That leaves of absence, either temporary or extended, shall be granted the officials of affiliated unions to conduct the work of their organizations without prejudice to their official standing in the government service

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 83—By Delegates Luther C. Steward, E. J. Newmyer and Chas. F. Nagl, of the National Federation of Federal Employes; Thos. F. Flaherty, of the National Federation of Postal Employes; Edw. J. Gaimor of the National Association of Letter Carriers; E. J. Ryan, Wm. Collins and Walter J. Brown of the Railway Mail Association:

WHEREAS, The Federal civil service laws are defective in not making provision for granting employes the right to appeal from the judgment of officials in disciplinary cases, involving demotion or dismissal; and

WHEREAS, This lodging of arbitrary power in the hands of officials frequently results in injustices being inflicted upon employes and tends toward the upbuilding of a bureaucracy in our Government institutions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 38th Convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct the Executive Council to co-operate with the representatives of affiliated organizations of civil service employes in securing the enactment of legislation, granting civil service employes the right to a hearing and to an appeal from the judgment of officials in cases involving demotion or dismissal.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 84—By Delegates Luther C. Steward, Chas. F. Nagl, and E. J. Newmyer, of the National Federation of Federal Employes:

WHEREAS, The United States internal revenue gaugers, storekeepers and storekeeper gaugers are in the classified civil service; and

WHEREAS, They are seriously affected by the war revenue law as well as by economic regulations, of the present administration because of the closing of distilleries, resulting in their being thrown out of employment; and

WHEREAS, These classes of officers have been appointed either by blanket order or through civil service examination, and are well qualified for other positions, not only in the internal revenue service but also in other branches of the Government service; and

WHEREAS, The Commissioner of Internal Revenue has made application to the United States Civil Service Commission, through the Secretary of the Treasury, for 3,000 employes for the purpose of carrying into effect the war revenue law; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to take up the matter with the Secretary of the Treasury, the Commissioner of Internal Revenue and the U. S. Civil Service Commission, with a view of having these civil service employes transferred to any positions within the internal revenue service or in any other Government service in preference to new appointees, as such transfer would be wholly in the interest of efficient administration and to the benefit of the tax-paying public.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 85—By Delegates Luther C. Steward, Chas. F. Nagl and E. J. Newmyer of the National Federation of Federal Employes:

WHEREAS, The internal revenue service collects the bulk of the income of the Federal Government; and

WHEREAS, The internal revenue service is one of the few divisions of the Federal Government to which civil service classification does not wholly apply; and

WHEREAS, Men and women appointed to positions in the internal revenue service, either through political appointment or as result of civil service examination, have served faithfully and should be retained with full belief and assurance as to tenure of office; and

WHEREAS, The present conditions whereby employing and discharging rests with the pleasure of the respective collectors of internal revenue constitutes a serious detriment to the tax-paying public through a lessening of official service, as well as being an undue hardship upon the employes; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be instructed to make every effort with a view to securing the enactment of laws by Congress which will provide for civil service classification of these employes.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 86—By Delegate Michael Egan, of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor:

Your committee recommends that the substance of the following resolves of resolution No. 86, be referred to the Executive Council with the object of having it presented to the Department of Justice, to the end that a rigid and thorough investigation be made of the activities of the so-called Liberty Defense Union:

RESOLVED, That we serve notice on the Liberty Defense Union to discontinue to misrepresent the laboring people of this country, that they discontinue the soliciting of funds under false pretense of defending labor, and that the executive officers of the American Federation of Labor be directed to take legal proceedings against the officers and general committee of the so-called Liberty Defense Union for soliciting moneys under false pretense and misrepresenting the American Labor Movement; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Federal Department of Justice be called upon to make a rigid investigation of the activities of the so-called Liberty Defense Union, its officers, members and contributors and ascertain to what extent German Government money and influence has been used, also ascertain whether or not the said officers or members are loyal or disloyal to the United States of America.

Delegate Schlesinger opposed the adoption of the resolution, declaring that some of the statements in the whereases of the original resolution were unjust.

The chairman of the committee replied that the committee did not recommend the adoption of the resolution, but offered a substitute, and also recommended that the matter be referred to the Executive Council to present to the Department of Justice in order to have the matter thoroughly investigated.

The question was discussed briefly by Delegates Schlesinger and Burke and by the chairman of the committee.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

The committee amended Resolution No. 102 by striking out the word "Incoming" and the word "Board" in line 2 of last paragraph and inserting the word "Council," also inserting in line 4, "and in other sections where there is an acute shortage, and," the amended resolution to read:

Resolution No. 102—By Delegates John F. Stevens, of the Boston, Mass., Central

Labor Union; P. Harry Jennings, of the Massachusetts State Branch; Martin T. Joyce, of the United Brotherhood of Electrical Workers:

WHEREAS, During the past winter the workers of New England States suffered great privation and loss in wages due to the shutting down of industries owing to the lack of coal; and

WHEREAS, The workers of New England are principally employed on industries needed in the carrying on of the war; and

WHEREAS, Appreciating the aid and assistance rendered by President Samuel Gompers during the past year; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention instruct the Executive Council to cooperate with the officials of the labor movement of the New England States and of other sections where there is an acute shortage and to render them such aid as may be possible to secure a proper supply of fuel.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution as amended.

Chairman Duncan: On behalf of the Committee on Resolutions I have been authorized, in connection with this report, to arise and propound a question of the United Mine Workers' delegation. You notice that the resolution comes from Boston. That which called forth this resolution has been stirring our people there very much recently, perhaps more so than any other part of the country, because while we have been advised to buy coal as soon as possible it is a fact that in our part of the country we can purchase scarcely any coal at all at the present time; nor can we get coal dealers to agree to deliver it within any reasonable time between now and cold weather. Several men of college education and in official position in Boston have taken care recently to have published in the public press that the cause of our not getting coal in that part of the country is because the miners will not work enough to provide it. I ask someone representing the miners to now arise and inform the convention, and through it the public press and the people generally, what is the true situation as far as the mine workers are concerned in the production of coal through mining it.

Delegate Green, Secretary-Treasurer U. M. W. of A.: As a representative of the United Mine Workers of America it affords me a great deal of pleasure to answer, so far as I can, the question submitted by Delegate Duncan. The coal shortage during last winter was not due to the action of the coal miners, either in the anthracite or the

bituminous fields of this country. The real reason why there was suffering in New England and other places was because the railroads were unable to furnish an adequate supply of cars so that the mines could operate and the coal be loaded. During last winter thousands of our miners in different sections of the country were idle forty or fifty per cent of the time, while people in New England and other sections of the country were suffering for coal. The miners were willing to work, were anxious to work, petitioning for the opportunity to work, but because the railroads could not supply the cars to the mines they were forced into idleness, and consequently people suffered for coal.

I know there was an impression prevailing in different sections of this country that much of the suffering, and perhaps all of it, was due to the failure of the men who mine the coal to respond and do their duty as American citizens. But the reports in our office prove this was not true. The Geological Survey department in Washington have the records, they are open to public inspection, they are available any time. They show that all over this country, from practically one end of it to the other, the mines did not operate more than forty per cent at times, or sixty per cent at the farthest. Men cannot mine coal unless there are railroad cars into which to load it. You understand that coal, both bituminous and anthracite, is a commodity that is produced in such large quantities that it is impossible to store it at the mines. There must be cars supplied each day so that the coal can be loaded, and if the railroads fail to supply the cars the mines cannot operate.

There is a serious situation facing the people of this country in the anthracite coal region of Pennsylvania. There are two distinct producing coal fields in America, the anthracite field of Eastern Pennsylvania, and the bituminous fields where coal is produced in almost every section of America. The ability of the bituminous miners to produce coal at this time is far in excess of the capacity of the railroads to supply cars. The bituminous miners of America are able to meet every reasonable demand made upon them now. They will be able to do that during the coming winter and fall providing the railroads are able to move the coal to the people.

I know the miners of Illinois, Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky, Wyoming, Montana and the other coal producing sections are able to load thousands and thousands of tons of coal more than they are doing if they are given an opportunity to work. There are thousands of miners idle every day and every week in all these states I have named. They are anxious, they are willing and ready to increase the amount of bituminous coal produced sufficient to meet every reasonable demand that is made. This cannot be said absolutely of the anthracite situation. The anthracite coal field is limited. Anthracite coal is found in only about three or four counties in Eastern Pennsylvania. It is not found anywhere else in America. The New England States and the Eastern part of America must depend upon this limited coal field for its anthracite supply. In these three or four counties the selective draft together with the volunteers to the service of our country have drained the field of men. From twenty-five to thirty thousand men formerly employed in the anthracite field have left. Many of these have left to engage in the military service of the country, some of them have found work in other industries where the inducements have been greater than those offered in the anthracite mines. Thus there is a shortage of men. There were originally employed in the anthracite coal mines approximately 175,000 men. There are now less than 140,000 employed. Many of the men that have gone are the most important employes in the coal field. They could ill afford to spare them. The shortage of men is very keenly felt, and it is bound to have its effect on the amount of coal produced at the anthracite mines during the coming fall and winter. Already steps are being taken by which the government will be asked to place miners employed in the anthracite mines in the deferred class until it is reasonably certain the people of the New England States will be assured of an adequate coal supply.

There is no danger of a shortage of bituminous coal. The men working in the bituminous coal mines of America will meet every demand and supply every need, providing the railroads furnish the cars. New England and those who depend upon the anthracite supply should heed the warning sounded by the government and supply themselves with coal during the summer and fall months if they can get

it, because the demand this winter is going to be such that I fear, with the shortage of man power in the anthracite coal field, they will be unable to supply all the anthracite coal needed. I state these facts in the interest of the men who mine the coal. It is not true that they have not responded—they have responded and they are responding now. The miners of America will meet every reasonable demand that may be made upon them. I feel that I would not be doing my duty as a member of organized labor and as a representative of the Mine Workers if I did not support our government now in its warning to anthracite coal users to lay in a supply so that they can help the situation during the coming fall and winter.

Delegate Lewis (J. L.), Vice-President U. M. W. of A.: I most heartily affirm everything that has been said by Secretary Green. In April of this year the International Executive Board of the United Mine Workers' organization formulated a thousand-word telegram and forwarded it to Dr. Garfield, United States Fuel Administrator, pointing out the serious situation which was confronting our nation. We felt, in view of the statements that were being made by elements of our citizenship and our industry which were unfavorable to organized labor and to the progress of the United Mine Workers' organization, that at least in our councils and before the eyes of the country we would undertake to make clear that our skirts were clear in this matter.

The country is facing in the coming winter a coal famine the like of which has never existed before in America. Producing as we are today in the bituminous mines some ten or eleven million tons of coal per week, which seems to be the maximum amount which can be carried by the railroads under government operation, we are still facing a shortage of one hundred million tons of bituminous coal. It is a grave and serious situation. New England is and will be short of coal. Prior to the entry of our country into war a great quantity of bituminous coal was shipped from Hampton Roads by tidewater to New England. The absorption of the shipping into the transport service has made it impossible for the usual tonnage of coal to be transported by water, throwing an additional burden on the already handicapped railroad facilities. That situation has not improved; on the contrary, the demand for coal in

New England has increased and the ability of the railroads to supply the demand has decreased. Already the United States Fuel Administration has recognized that fact to a degree that it has formulated a rule that will prevent the starting of new industries or the expansion of industries now in operation in the section of the country east of Altoona, Pa. It is considered impossible for the railroads under any circumstances to ship into that territory sufficient fuel to meet the present requirements.

It is true that the United States Railroad Administration has ordered 100,000 coal cars and thousands of locomotives, but even now it is understood and recognized that not one of these coal cars or locomotives can be delivered for use on the railroads before December. We have repeatedly brought this situation to the attention of the heads of our government, we have had conferences with the representatives of war industries and the United States Railroad Administration, the United States Fuel Administration and every other agency which seems to have something to do with the operation of the railways and the mines of the country. We want the world to know that, in so far as the miners are concerned, they are producing the maximum amount of coal in the time they are permitted to work. When the mines are idle in a certain section three, four and five days a week the tonnage produced in that territory will decline. No one should ask the miners to work longer hours when they are being deprived of an opportunity to produce the commodity so essential to the needs of our government.

Secretary Green said that approximately 35,000 men have left the industry in the anthracite fields. In spite of that, due to the increased efforts of the mine workers in that field, the tonnage has in no way decreased, but the 140,000 men have produced the same tonnage formerly produced by the 175,000 men. There is nothing but fallacy in the claim of the employers that the eight-hour day limits production; on the contrary, it increases production. The men in the anthracite fields have increased their production nearly one-fourth of a ton per man per day.

The United Mine Workers are loyal. In every way they are living up to their requirements as loyal citizens in this time of stress; they are contributing to every agency engaged in war work, they are

giving their sons and brothers, and the wives are giving their husbands to the war. Over 50,000 members of the United Mine Workers' organization are serving in some capacity or other in the military forces of our great nation. In spite of this handicap we say to the world that if the United States Railway Administration can furnish the mine workers in the bituminous fields with cars sufficient to transport the product we will produce, they will provide the country with enough coal, and we will forever settle the specter which continually arises and the mis-statements continually given utterances to in the councils of the employers—that the miners are not doing their duty. We will continue with every element of our strength to live up to the requirements of the situation.

Delegate Walker (J. H.), United Mine Workers: The statements of Secretary Green and Vice-President Lewis, made in a national way, make clear the situation in Illinois. I think, if anything, they are rather conservative statements. In Illinois last year during the month of December the mines produced 12,000,000 tons of coal, and they did not operate five days a week during that month. During the month there was considerable delay in the transportation facilities on account of cold and snow. The state produced something like 70,000,000 in a year. At the ratio of the 12,000,000 tons produced in December—which could have been increased to 15,000,000, if they had the proper railroad facilities—the total production could have been increased to 170,000,000 tons.

I am proud of the mine workers. The mine workers yield to no one in their desire to do everything in their power to help our nation win this war. Had we been able to get the cars in Illinois at least 100,000,000 more tons of coal would have come out of that state, and what is true of Illinois is true of every other district in our organization. I believe with an adequate car supply the men could produce double the output of coal now being produced in our country. I don't think there is any question about their ability and their willingness to do it if they get the opportunity.

There is this to say in connection with the railroad situation. I am not going to charge the railroad corporations with being disloyal, but every place I go I hear men and women, some of them who have put in most of their lives in the railroad

industry, saying they are quite sure the railroad companies are not going out of their way to prove that government ownership of the railroads will be a good thing for the nation. It is very much more difficult to instruct men how to operate an industry they do not want to make a success of operating in that way, and it is very much more difficult to have the industry operated under those circumstances than if it was operated in the old way.

I am a member of the Advisory Commission of the Fuel Administration of Illinois. Everyone who can do so should lay in his supply of coal for the winter. You can get coal during the summer much easier than you can get it next winter. If the large consumers and the large retail dealers will provide for the storage of coal, say enough for a month, six weeks or two months, and keep some on hand so that during the very cold months they will not need to take the entire use of the railroads, and have some surplus they can sell to the people who need it, we will not have a single case of hardship or suffering during the coming winter. That can be done. Bituminous coal does not keep as well as anthracite. Anthracite coal does not deteriorate no matter how long it is kept. Bituminous coal will slake some in the open air, and in large quantities there is danger of its taking fire; but if concrete containers could be built in every town to hold a supply for a month or two for the retail dealers it would relieve the situation. The coal can be put into these containers, they can then be filled with water and the coal will keep in good condition. Some firms are now doing it. It will not take much money to put up in each city a reservoir of this kind. This matter has been taken up through the fuel administrator of Illinois, and it is said there is no question of the feasibility of it, but there is a disinclination to build the containers. If an arrangement can be made through private agencies it should be done, but if there is no way to bring that about it should be done by the cities, the states or the national government.

I am not sure that the present railroad facilities of our country are used to their fullest capacity. I have seen statements, photographs, and I have seen things personally that make me believe there is at least not the highest efficiency used by those roads. So far as the Mine Workers are concerned they are willing, they are able and they will, if given the opportuni-

ty, dig every pound of coal needed by our people the coming winter.

Delegate Cannon, Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers: I move as an amendment that the Executive Council be instructed to use its influence with the Fuel Administration to help get coal in the hands of the people.

Chairman Duncan: That is the report of the committee.

Delegate Cannon spoke at length of the conditions that existed in New York City during the past winter; the suffering of the poorer people, the difficulty of securing coal and the exorbitant prices asked in some instances in spite of the orders of the Fuel Administration that it should be sold at certain fixed rates.

Delegate Stevens discussed the situation in Boston and New England. He related efforts that had been made to better the situation there, among them an appeal to President Gompers and the result of his efforts to secure relief for them.

Delegate Brady discussed briefly the situation in New York, and stated that if the miners' delegates could suggest any way in which the New York delegates could assist them or assist the government the suggestions would be carried out willingly.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee on Resolution No. 102 was carried.

The committee amended Resolution No. 118 by striking out the word "worker," line 2, third paragraph, and inserting the word "people," also striking from the last paragraph, lines 3, 4 and 5, the following words: "do everything in its power to urge the purchase of government bonds and," and in line 5 strike out "National" The amended resolution is as follows:

Resolution No. 118—By Delegate Geo. B. McGovern, of the Yonkers, N. Y., Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The preamble to the constitution of the American Federation of Labor sets forth the principle that there exists a struggle between capital and labor; and

WHEREAS, The capital of the United States is largely under the guidance of the banks and bankers; and

WHEREAS, The control of the capital of the country should be in the hands of the people; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor investigate the possibility of making the national banks, banks of the people.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution as amended.

Secretary Frey: The committee reported favorably upon having fifty per cent of the national income required to prosecute the war provided through a more just taxation, and as the convention has adopted that report the committee feel it inadvisable now to recommend without qualification the purchase of government bonds.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 119—By Delegate Geo. B. McGovern, of the Yonkers, N. Y., Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Compensation has been fixed by statute in dollars which had a purchasing power believed to insure just compensation and maintenance for sufferers in the war for democracy; and

WHEREAS, The cost of living is subject to change; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor use its utmost efforts to establish such definition of terms already fixed, that such terms will provide equivalent value in after-war conditions.

Your committee non-concurred with the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 122—By Delegates Matthew Woll, Peter J. Brady of the International Photo Engravers' Union; M. G. Scott, Max S. Hayes, Frank Morrison, Hugh Stevenson of the International Typographical Union; George L. Berry, Jos. C. Orr, Chas. O. Isaacson, Wm. H. McHugh, Chas. L. Strunk of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union; A. P. Sovey, Walter N. Reddick of the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; Jas. J. Freel, Chas. A. Sumner of the International Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union:

WHEREAS, Less than two-thirds of the required news print paper is manufactured in the United States, and the production of news print paper being seriously curtailed, due to the government necessities and requirements of power, fuel, oil, tankers, transportation, etc.; and

WHEREAS, Credible information indicates that a substantial percentage of present exports of print paper from this country and Canada is going to newspapers and publications unsympathetic to the cause of our country and the interests of our allies; it is, therefore

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled that the War Trade Board of the United States and the War Trade Board of Canada be requested to immediately prohibit all exports of news print paper from the United States and Canada for the duration of the war to other than Allied nations.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

After a brief discussion by Delegate Carey, Papermakers, the request was made to defer further consideration of the question until the presidents of the printing trades were present.

Delegate Brady moved as an amendment that further consideration of the resolution and report be deferred until the presidents of the printing trades, who were at work on committees, could be present. The motion was seconded and carried.

Resolution No. 133—By Delegates Flaherty and Gainer:

WHEREAS, Through the emergency created by the war, and in response to an insistent demand on the part of the people, there is a steady broadening of the functions of Government operation, ownership and control of industrial utilities; and

WHEREAS, There is much in this trend toward the extension of the Governmental functions that is encouraging to the workers; nevertheless, this vital fact should be borne in mind—that Government employment, under an autocratic administration may become as harsh and tyrannical as any imposed upon the workers in private industries, as the experience of the Postal Workers abundantly proves; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That whether in the nationalization of the telegraph systems or in the extension of Government control into other industries now privately owned, the American Federation of Labor insist that these rights of the workers thus brought into the Government service, shall be held inviolate—the right to organize and affiliate with the American Federation of Labor, the right of petition for redress of grievances and if needs be, to bargain collectively, and to enjoy other necessary safeguards as set forth in the official pronouncement of the National War Labor Board; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be instructed to exert every effort to secure for all Government workers these fundamental principles of employment.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Delegate Jennings obtained unanimous consent to the introduction of the following resolution:

Resolution No. 136—By Delegates O. E. Jennings, Central Trades and Labor Council, St. Louis, Mo.; James F. Noonan, Martin T. Joyce, Frank Fisher, C. E. Brissman, I. B. E. W.; Wm. H. Johnston, J. A. Taylor, I. A. M.:

WHEREAS, A serious situation exists at the Wagner Electric Company of St.

Louis, Mo., on account of 2,500 of its employees being compelled to go on strike on April 25th, 1918, in order to maintain their American right to join a labor union; and

WHEREAS, The Wagner Electric Company has refused Government mediation in any respect to bring about a satisfactory settlement of the strike; and

WHEREAS, This Company has approximately one million three hundred thousand dollars (\$1,300,000.00) worth of war contracts which pertain to the making of depth mines and hub artillery, which is very essential to our Government at this time for the successful prosecution of the war; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this, the 38th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor in St. Paul, Minnesota, instruct its officers to use their best effort with the Government to see that the Wagner Electric Company lives up to the policy of the Government or forfeits the aforesaid contracts.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

President Gompers: The evening newspapers contain a letter written by Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States, to the presidents of the Western Union Telegraph Company and the Postal Telegraph Company. In that letter the President says:

"My attention has been called to the fact that the national war labor board, after careful consideration of the questions at issue between the telegraph companies and their employees, has arrived at a decision, the essential points of which are embraced in the following:

"1—The employees have a right to join a union if they so desire and men discharged for joining the union should be reinstated.

"2—The company should not be required to deal with the union or recognize it.

"3—A committee of the employees should be received in considering and settling differences.

"4—When difference cannot be adjusted they should be adjusted by the national war board.

To National Board

"5—The telegraphers' union should not initiate strikes nor permit its members to initiate them, but submit all grievances to the national war labor board.

"I am informed the representatives of the union are willing to accept this decision, but the representatives of the telegraph companies have not accepted it.

"May I not say that, in my judgment, it is in the interests of this nation that the decision of the national war labor board should be accepted by both parties to a labor dispute?

"To fail to accept it constitutes a rejection of the instrumentality drawn up by the government itself for the adjustment of labor disputes set up with a firm desire to do justice in every case and for the purpose of safeguarding the nation against labor difficulties during the continuance of the present war.

"All these circumstances being taken under consideration I do not hesitate to say it is a patriotic duty to cooperate in this all-important matter with the government by the use of the instrumentality which the government has set up. I write therefore to urge that I may have your earnest cooperation in this matter as in all others and that you will set an example to other employers of the country by a prompt and cheerful acquiescence."

I have been informed by a representative of the telegraphers that the president of the Postal Telegraph Company has acquiesced in President Wilson's re-

quest; that the order has gone forth to reinstate telegraphers who have been discharged for membership in the Telegraphers' Union, and that compensation is to be paid to them for the wages and time lost. The information has been further conveyed to me that the Western Union Telegraph Company has asked the President for time, until Monday morning, in order to make a reply.

At 5:30 the convention was adjourned under the rules to 9 a. m., Saturday, June 15th.

SIXTH DAY--- Saturday Morning Session

The Auditorium,

St. Paul, Minn., June 15, 1918.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 a. m., Saturday, June 15th, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—Kline, Franklin, Sovey, Geddes, Corcoran, Reeves, Baker, Conway, Desepite, Feeney, Wolf, Brennan, Langer, Daley (M. C.), Williams (Jno.), Gould, O'Connor, Wharton, Van Lear, Lane, Schmidt (F.), White (J. P.), Dempsey, Hedrick, Dold, Alpine, Kearney, Anderson, LaBelle, Ryan (E. J.), Helt, Freel, Summer, Heberling, Clohessy, Stillman, Ross (L. J.), Agethen, Curtis, Scott (M. G.), Hatch, Toone, Wilk, Spencer (G. M.), Hoof, Ely, Conley, Hardy, Stewart, Moncur, Hurton, Morgan, Taylor, O'Dell, Brown (B. F.), Smith (J. T.), Burton, Brindell, Greene (M. F.), Curran, Fricke, Parker, Rynerson, Fanning, Mosher, Kuhn, Hester, Casey, Bruen, Harte, Browne, Lampa, Morris, Worland, Wendell, Kester, Staunton, Walker (M.), Waplington, de Kraft, Williams (T. J.), Ellicott, Burns (W. W.), Paramore, Rordan, Byrne.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LOCAL AND FEDERATED BODIES.

Delegate Koveleski, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

The committee has two reports to make on Resolution No. 97, recommended to the committee. The majority report is as follows:

Majority Report

Resolution No. 97—By Delegate Robert P. Brindell of the New York Central Federated Union, which this committee had under consideration and was re-committed to us by the convention, we beg leave to report that we have made some changes in the resolution so that it shall read as follows:

WHEREAS, At the Buffalo convention of the American Federation of Labor Mr. Fitzpatrick, President of the White Rats Actors' Union, upon the floor of that convention made charges against and cast insinuations upon the Central Federated Union of Greater New York and vicinity that said body was engaged in a conspiracy with the United Booking Offices of New York to destroy the White Rats Actors' Union of America; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 38th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor be and it is hereby requested and

directed that the Executive Council, through its own body or by a committee appointed for that purpose, make a thorough investigation of the charges and insinuations and report its findings to the next convention of the American Federation of Labor, or earlier, through such means as it may deem necessary.

Minority Report

I hereby respectfully submit the following minority report:

I disagree with the recommendations in the majority report of the Committee on Local and Federated Bodies relative to Resolution No. 97, because it constitutes the introduction of a new resolution. It is neither an amendment nor a substitute and being a new resolution cannot be introduced without the unanimous consent of the convention.

Fraternally,

WM. Z. FOSTER, Member,
Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

Secretary Koveleski moved the adoption of the majority report.

Delegate Foster, Chicago Federation of Labor: There is no objection on my part to any investigation, but we do think the matter should be presented legally. The original resolution referred to President Fitzpatrick and Secretary Nockels, of the Chicago Federation of Labor. The resolution that is now submitted by the majority of the committee refers to an entirely different party. I hold it constitutes a new proposition and can only be brought before the convention as a new resolution.

Chairman Perham: The committee was directed by this convention to amend their report. The committee has rendered its report, which was adopted by all the committee except one.

Delegate Lennon (J. E.): The first resolution introduced by the delegate was a criticism of John Fitzpatrick and Edward N. Nockels. Now the resolution submitted by the majority of the committee criticizes someone else. Certainly the intent of the introducer of the original resolution has been entirely departed from as to the person who is to be criticized. It

seems to me the best thing that can be done with this thing is to table it.

So far as the first resolution is concerned, I am going to take advantage of my right to the floor to say a few words. I want to say to the delegates to this convention that there is no man in the United States who is doing more or has done more for the strengthening of the general labor movement than has John Fitzpatrick, of Chicago. I have been steadily in Chicago for three months recently, and John Fitzpatrick has given his time, his ability and everything he could give to serve the interests of all the unions that are located in that city. And, what is more, he gave it with an efficiency that is rarely found anywhere, in or out of the labor movement. And now to try to switch the original resolution, to try to criticize somebody else is entirely out of order.

Delegate Fisher, Electrical Workers: I move you that the entire matter lay on the table. (Secunded and carried.)

Secretary Koveleski: This completes the report of the committee, which is signed—

H. B. PERHAM, Chairman,
JOHN J. BARRY,
JACOB HELLER,
THOMAS L. HUGHES,
WM. Z. FOSTER.
ROBT. P. BRINDELL,
P. M. DRAPEY,
J. M. RICHIE,
T. A. REARDON,
R. E. WOODMANSEE,
WM. H. McHUGH.
EMANUEL KOVELESKI, Secy.

President Gompers: One of the important agencies, if current opinion is right, in endeavoring to maintain the best possible relations of amity and good will between the people of the United States and the people of Mexico, is the American Federation of Labor. During some of the critical times in recent years the activity of the American Federation of Labor in support of the common cause of international peace and good will between the two countries was the American Federation of Labor. It is the opinion that nothing could contribute so much toward the creation of even better relations than the cooperation of the organized workers of Mexico and the organized workers of the North American continent, the United States and Canada.

At critical moments in recent years the most effective service was rendered because of the feeling existing. Within the more recent times it was decided, under the authority granted by the Buffalo convention to the President of the American Federation of Labor, to do all in his power to cement the bonds between the workers and the peoples of both countries, and to further the idea of Pan-Americanism with the Pan-American Federation of Labor. It seemed to me that the time had come when, about five weeks ago, I asked three well known labor men to form a mission to go to Mexico and to meet with the workers there, with the organized workers in particular, and to meet with any and all who might contribute to bring about this desired result.

I appointed as the three members of that mission, Mr. James Lord, President of the Mining Department of the American Federation of Labor; Mr. Santiago Iglesias, President of the Federation of Labor of Porto Rico, and Mr. John Murray, a member of the International Typographical Union—a coal miner, a carpenter and a printer. These gentlemen have returned to the United States, having reached St. Paul yesterday, and I ask now that they submit their report to this convention.

Following is the report of the Mexican Labor Mission, read by Mr. James Lord:

REPORT OF AMERICAN LABOR MISSION TO MEXICO

To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-eighth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, Greeting:

In submitting our report to you, we are reporting the essential things as we have found them existing in Mexico, and call attention to the fact that on account of lack of time and lack, at the present moment, of authentic national records in the Mexican labor movement, we are compelled to, in many cases, make general statements rather than technically and numerically exact statements. The existing movement in Mexico, while comparatively large, is to a large extent an aggregation of local syndicates and groups of syndicates, some of individual trades, some of industrial groups, and others resembling our federal labor unions.

We received our passports on May 13, 1918, and after thoroughly discussing the entire matter of the Pan-American Federation and the existing conditions as far as we knew them with President Gompers, we called on the Mexican Ambassador, Mr. Bonillas, who vised our passports and also advised regarding many angles of the existing situation. Ambassador Bonillas expressed his enthusiasm as to the necessity and possibilities of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, and the tremendous moral forces that

might result therefrom, regarding international relations between North America and the Latin American countries. He pointed out that there had never been a time more opportune than the present, for the setting up of this international machinery. He urged us to call on the Governor of Coahuila, at Saltillo, on our way to Mexico City, as this Governor and his associates had demonstrated their interest and sympathy for the organized workers to the extent of assisting in the calling of a national convention of labor, which had been convened at Saltillo, and had laid the basis of a National Federation of Labor for Mexico.

We crossed the border at Laredo, on May 18, and were very kindly assisted in the exchanging of money, dealing with the customs officers, etc., by Mr. Tomas Pineiro, General Superintendent of the northern division of the National Railway of Mexico. We heartily appreciated this assistance from Mr. Pineiro, as we were very much crowded for time, and it is very difficult to negotiate an excursion into Mexico at this particular time.

We arrived in Saltillo Saturday night, May 19. On Sunday we met representatives of the local labor movement, who informed us of the crowded nature of the convention held there. At this convention representation was as follows:

Coahuila

The Federation of Trades Unions of Saltillo; the Railway Workers' Union; Machinists' Union of Mexico; Cooperative Mutual Union; Agricultural Syndicates; Firemen and Machinists of Coahuila; Common Laborers' Union of Coahuila; Miners' Union Syndicate of Mexico (representing 13 syndicates).

Torreon

Industrial Workers' Committee; Industrial Textile Workers' Union; Smelters' Industrial Union (3 locals); Textile Workers' Union (5 locals); Electrical Workers' Union; Carpenters' Union; Department of Railway Employees; Chauffeurs' Union of Mexico; Iron Smelters' Union; Common Laborers' Union of Torreon (male and female); Miners' Union of Torreon (3 locals); Machinists' Helpers of Mexico.

Monterey

Smelters' Union (3 locals); Painters and Decorators of Mexico; Motormen and Conductors' Union; Common Laborers' Union.

Durango

Grand Miners' Union; Miners' Union No. 7.

Tamulipas

Carpenters and Joiners' General Union; Casa del Obrero Mundial; Bricklayers' Syndicate; Federal Labor Union of Female Workers; Federal Labor Union of Male Workers.

Neuvo Laredo

Carpenters and Joiners; Federal Labor Union; Tin Workers' Union; Laborers' Union; Female Labor Union.

San Louis Potosi

Miners' Union (5 locals); Shoemakers' Union.

Aguascalientes

Federal Labor Union; Federation of Syndicates.

Zacatecas

Machinists and Electricians' Union; Laborers' League; Workingmen's Chamber of Unions.

Michoacan

Federation of Syndicates; Society of Unification of Indian Labor; Agricultural Syndicate No. 3.

Jalisco

Federal Labor Union; Machinists' and Electricians' Union; Casa del Obrero Mundial.

Guanahuato

Miners' Union No. 44.

Queretaro

Labor Union Syndicate; Textile Workers' Union.

Hidalgo

Laborers' Federal Union; Federation of Unions.

The Agricultural Workers of Mexico; Mexican District Federal Union; Machinists and Electricians' Union; Printing Trades; Railway Employees; Free Laborers' Union; Executive of the Miners' Unions of Mexico; Building Trades; Street Railway Union; General Order of Railroad Workers of Mexico; Bakers' Union; Restaurant Employees, and a few other unions, all of Mexico City, did not send representatives, giving as a reason that they were suspicious of the motives, and feared it might be a political game, as it was called by the governor of the state of Coahuila. The same position was taken by the Orizaba miners and other unions of that city, and the workers in Vera Cruz, Tampico, the state of Sonora, Tlaxcala, the Federation of Textile Syndicates of Pueblo, representing 32 factories, and the Workingmen's League of Agricultural Workers of Yucatan.

The Saltillo convention declared in favor of a national federation, and elected three executive secretaries, instructing them to get in touch with all trade and labor unions with a view of launching the Mexican Federation of Labor.

We feel that the call for the Saltillo convention is of such an original character, being sent out by the Governor of a state, that we are embodying this document in our report.

The Acting Governor of the State of Coahuila called a convention of all the labor organizations of the Republic of Mexico. The call reads as follows:

"Pursuant to Article XXIII of the Constitutional Congress of the independent, free, and sovereign state of Coahuila of Zaragoza, it is decreed:

"Article One. The executive of the state is authorized to organize and call a labor congress to be held in this city on the following basis:

"I. Under this decree we call upon all the labor associations of the Republic to elect their representatives and to be present at a national labor congress which will meet in this city.

"II. The national labor congress shall study and discuss the problems that may affect chiefly Mexican workers, with ab-

solute exclusion of every matter of religious and political character.

"III. Each labor association shall be represented by a delegate.

"IV. The period of the sessions of said congress shall last twelve days and will be inaugurated the next first of May.

"V. The election of the chairman and directors, the report of credentials, and all of the matters pertaining to the interior regime of the congress shall be determined by the proper congress assembly.

"VI. To the end that all the discussions and resolutions passed by this congress be known all over the nation, it shall be given publicity together with the daily debates.

"Article Two. The executive of the state is also authorized to pay the expenses of the organizations and holding of such labor congress as may be required."

Signed in Saltillo on July, 1918, by General Bruno Neira, Acting Governor of the State of Coahuila.

The Governor of Coahuila was seriously ill with a fever that is prevalent there at this time, and was unable to see us personally, but sent Professor Jose Rodrigues Gonzales, speaker of the House in the State Legislature, and Rafael Quintero, Chief of the Department of Public Works, to call on us and convey his greetings. We found them very democratic and highly interested in the question of labor in Mexico. They believe that Mexican labor has now its golden opportunity for complete, thorough organization on constructive, progressive lines, and were enthusiastic over the possibilities of the Pan-American Federation of all the Americans. They urged us to address some public meetings in Saltillo, as did the workers' representatives, but after considering the matter, we felt that as we were from a belligerent country, and Mexico a neutral country, our proper course was to first go to Mexico City, pay our visit to President Carranza and other public officials first, and then outline a program, which they agreed with. We promised to come back to Saltillo, if time would permit.

We left Saltillo on Monday night and arrived in Mexico City on Wednesday morning. We went to the American Embassy, met Ambassador Fletcher, explained the object of our mission and together went over the existing situation. Ambassador Fletcher gave us some interesting and valuable information regarding the present status in Mexico, and heartily approved of our mission and plans. He took us to call on President Carranza, who received us very courteously. President Carranza listens carefully and speaks deliberately, and after a comprehensive discussion he appeared convinced of the power for good a Pan-American International of Labor Centers would be, and wished us every success. We next called on the Secretary of War, Pablo Gonzales. Here again we were treated very courteously. We explained, as we had to President Carranza, the purposes of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, and also, in reply to his questioning, the voluntary plan of action generally prevailing in North America in the organized

fields, and the joint relations, mutually agreed to, existing in the various industries, including the War Labor Board and its contemplated scope. We also called on the Secretary of the Bureau of Labor, and the Bureau of Mines, but found, that while we were cordially received, and they were much interested in all the information we gave them regarding our Department of Labor and Bureau of Mines, they are only just feeling their way as yet, and are unable to work in a comprehensive way on account of lack of funds, no adequate appropriation having as yet been made for these institutions. They have done very little in the way of compiling statistics and are at present getting what information they can, regarding methods, etc., from the American Federation of Labor and the Federal Departments of the United States.

From the time we arrived in Mexico City, representatives of groups of workers began to come to our rooms to discuss the situation. When the object of our visit was explained to them, they in every case, expressed themselves in favor of it. We met the representatives of the Federation of Syndicates of Mexico City, and explained fully the object of our mission. We told them that we were not there to assume to tell them how or on what basis they should be organized, that each national movement in the Pan-American Federation would determine its own plans, ideas and methods, that the Pan-American Federation could never be anything other than a voluntary association of national labor centers, and therefore no affiliated movement could dominate or force its will on others. We, on being questioned, explained the structure and methods of the American Federation of Labor, its trade and industrial unions, departments and cooperative federations. They all, to the most radical, agreed that their most urgent need at this time was national unity, wherein trades and industries could function in the largest and most effective way. They realize that a vast aggregation of local syndicates acting independently does not bring the results that a closer affiliation would, and in fact is only one step beyond individual bargaining. Many who were suspicious that we might be there to try to change their revolutionary (?) methods, to methods they thought existed in the United States of the North, ended their arguments by appealing to us to go through the industrial centers and mining fields and organize the syndicates into a national movement such as we enjoyed. We always told them that we would help and advise them in every way we could, and were desirous of seeing them occupying the strongest economic position, through national organizations and a national federation, but we could only help, advise and exchange experiences with them, and that their movement must be a Mexican movement, set up by their own efforts and will. They then arranged a larger meeting of the representatives of all unions that could be reached for the following Wednesday night. This meeting was held in the Bakers' Hall, and was crowded to the limit. We adhered to the same program, answered all questions, and refused to in any way dis-

cuss the war in any of its phases. The result was unanimous expression in favor of the Pan-American Federation again. A large public mass-meeting was then agreed on, to be held in one of the large theaters the following Sunday. In the meantime we had been and were the storm center of a most vicious campaign of German propaganda. This propaganda started at the time we crossed the border and we occupied the front pages of the most prominent newspapers of Mexico every day and several times a day, and presume we are still being so honored. Fortunately, this campaign was not as intelligent as it was industrious, and the gross exaggerations, vilifications and silly lies all reacted in our favor, and helped our work. We were called strike-breakers, jingoos, were accused on the front pages and editorially of being there in the interests of the brutal allies, and our object was to force peace loving Mexico to fight her good friend, Germany, on the side of the thief and murderer, America. Accounts appeared in these papers of America stealing Texas, Arizona and California from Mexico. One of the leading papers of Mexico, "El Demócrata," is a morning paper, is not Pro-German, but German. It is owned by a group of Germans, and is sold as the "German paper." The same group get out an evening paper called "Nacionalista." The editorials, while we were there were attacking us and preaching syndicalism. An anarchist or syndicalist editorial appeared daily. The workers were warned against the bandishments of these "yanquis" and told that in syndicalism rested the only hope of the oppressed worker. Other papers, commonly said to be subsidized by Germany, hammered at us with somewhat less venom. Excelsior and Universal, the only papers in Mexico that dare to give any justification to the allied cause, gave complete and accurate reports of the meetings. These papers are fighting for their existence and are up against a strong force. We collected clippings from all these papers, and they are very interesting reading. In addition to the front page headlines and editorials, they got out special bulletins on account of us, and posted them on the buildings of the principal streets of Mexico City. They got every important statement we made and either distorted it or reversed it, even when our statements were made in the most open and public manner. If we said the workers of America had not surrendered the right to strike they would edit the statement "the yankees exposed," "they admit that the A. F. of L. has forbidden the workers from striking for the war period." On the heels of this would appear a condemnation of us for driving and compelling our membership to go into the state militias. Their editorials and articles were a continual bid for something to happen.

On Saturday, it was discovered that the Germans had forbidden the management from letting the mass-meeting be held there on Sunday, and the committee on arrangements was so informed. They immediately leased another theater, in as good a location, and before we arrived it was filled, including the three galleries, and this in spite of the fact that on Sun-

day morning an article appeared in El Pueblo to the effect that a free lottery was to take place in some theater, at the same time as our meeting, and free tickets would be circulated for the drawing of two thousand pesos, divided into large and small amounts. The working people, as the government, are in financial straits, and we shall not soon forget these men and women, packing our meeting ahead of time, and the splendid ovation they tendered us. Time will not permit a recital of all the clumsy, false, foolish and laughable efforts of this division of Germania to upset our work. As far as the workers were concerned, they finally drove all the doubters over to us. Our Sunday meeting was the greatest success of all, and there was some measure of satisfaction in seeing the stolid faces of the El Demócrata group occupying the nearest box to the stage. Their creatures were scattered through the audience, but were well known, and were refused the floor because they did not represent any of the syndicates. One man who had been occupying the stage near the box in which the El Demócrata group were seated, a member of a union, got recognition at the close of our addresses and repeated the charges that El Demócrata had been making that we had again stated that the A. F. of L. had forbidden strikes, that we were helping in the persecution of the I. W. W. martyrs in jail in Chicago, etc. He was laughed and hissed down by the audience. This meeting being on June the second, we had to arrange to leave on Monday morning, June 3, and John Murray remained to attend a meeting called for Wednesday, the 5th, at which meeting the matter of sending delegates to the St. Paul Convention would be discussed. It is hardly likely they will do this on account of lack of time, and the great distance.

There are probably half a million workers organized in Mexico, in the syndicates and federations of syndicates. The only industries that approach nationalism, so far as we could learn, are the miners, textile workers and railroad workers. There are approximately fifty thousand miners in the state of Coahuila alone, and the miners at Coahuila, Tlaxcala and Durango are getting together in some kind of a national federation. There are unions through all the mining fields of Mexico. It is hard to get authentic figures from the different districts, owing to the long distances and lack of national and district unity. But these local organizations are active and operating in their own way, each syndicate making demands, settlements, or striking independently, which we are inclined to believe often has a demoralizing effect on both operations and workers. The hard rock miners of Pachuca and Elora, near Mexico City, are organized, about 22,000 in both camps. We were told by a mine manager that the managements had given up fighting the unions, and were now hoping for some steady influence to appear, whereby equitable agreements could be negotiated by localities or districts that would insure some measure of industrial peace at least during the life of such agreements. He told us that recently they had been compelled to close down their mill

for repairs, which automatically closed the mine. The syndicate demanded the wage for this period of idleness, claiming that machinery and ore could very well wait a week, but their stomachs could not. He was compelled to grant their demands. He admitted that wages were too low, but said that if the unions were to go into negotiations in a business-like way with the companies, with a view of establishing a joint agreement for the district regarding wages, conditions, and the machinery for peacefully handling disputes, a much better wage and working situation could be arrived at. We cite this instance because we found considerable of this sentiment among employers and others who have probably not been too considerate of the conditions of toil heretofore. Most of the underground men in this instance were only receiving \$1.25 Mexican. As the cost of living is far higher in Mexico than in the United States it is impossible for men, women and children to enjoy even the common necessities of life at this wage. Wages are somewhat higher in the coal fields. This is room and pillar mining, both pick and machine, with machine mining on the increase. Many of the mines in Coahuila are very gaseous, the Wolf lamp exclusively being used. Miners are paid by the ton or car. It is mostly contract work. Drivers, timbermen, tracklayers, etc., are paid from \$1.50 to \$2.50 per day, Mexican. They have the universal eight-hour day in all mines in Mexico. The textile operatives are on piece work, are well organized and are trying to establish a minimum wage in the industry. There is a sharp division of opinion as to whether this should be done by law or by organized effort. The attitude of the government has in some localities not been too friendly, and strikes have been suppressed and peaceable parades forbidden, and this is causing much concern regarding the theory of state regulation. All employes in and around the mills are, like the miners, organized into one union. The operatives at Puebla were striking while we were in Mexico, demanding an 80 per cent advance in wages, and improvements in working conditions. They were offered a 60 per cent advance, and the congressman from this district informed us that he felt they would get together in an amicable settlement in a few days. The cooks and waiters have one of the strongest organizations in Mexico City, and maintain good headquarters. They have complete organization, as have the street railwaymen. The street railwaymen are handicapped since their last strike, the authorities having forbidden them from striking. This attitude on the part of the authorities is likely to lead to serious trouble, if persisted in, as declaring strikes illegal does not prevent them from happening. The Building Trades in Mexico City are not so well organized as in other cities, probably on account of government pressure. We were informed that in Vera Cruz, Tampico, Puebla and Orizaba they were well organized, and in some cases the wage rate is from \$5 to \$7 gold. This is the highest wage we heard of.

We were invited to attend a session of the Senate, which was in session, con-

sidering the bill requiring the secret ballot for the voters of Mexico. This bill had passed the Lower House, which had adjourned. We met several Senators from mining and manufacturing states, all of whom expressed a desire to see the workers of Mexico thoroughly and efficiently organized on a national basis. They offered to cooperate in any way they could to bring this about. They were also considering a Federal compensation law at this session.

We learned before leaving the city that the provision for the secret ballot had passed the Senate.

The Mexican workers have a close fellowship feeling and sympathy with the French and their method of organization. It must be borne in mind that they were denied freedom of action or thought for ages, and when the revolution gave them their opportunity for action, they were at the mercy of syndicalism and professional men who had become ultra-radical by reading. When we asked them if they had not read Herve's repudiation of syndicalism, some said it might be a trick of capitalism, and one man said that this was not the first time that twelve months in prison had changed a man's mind. They evidently could not understand how a beautiful theory like syndicalism could be repudiated. At the same time there are many clear thinking men and women who realize that their movement is not bringing results, and are strongly of the opinion that they must unite on a plan similar to ours. This is the preponderance of feeling we found expressed in and out of the meetings and conferences. Santiago Iglesias is well-known among them, as he is known in all Latin American countries. He is conversant with their history and wrongs, speaks their language, and succeeds in bringing the most radical to agree with him on program and methods. He was strongly urged, as were all of us, to hold meetings throughout Mexico. He represents to them a line of thought and action they have not heretofore understood or applied. He convinced them of the possibility of doing that which has not yet been done, organizing a national federation of labor, composed of national, self-governing unions.

It may seem to some of us strange that this idea did not occur to them first, but their opportunity came to them comparatively recently, and Mexico is decidedly a country of localities and low views. The feeling that has animated the local labor movements is now ripe for being molded into a national and international direction. We have repeatedly told them that it is not our purpose to instruct them, but rather to help, assist and cooperate with them in any reasonable manner within our power. They realize that cooperation and helpfulness from the north will be fully assured in a general way and more available, by their participation in the Pan-American Federation of Labor. In the building of a verile, intelligently organized national labor movement in Mexico we see their greatest opportunity and guarantee for democracy. When the workers intelligently respect themselves, they compel respect from society as a whole. We feel confident that this can be done; if their opportunity is

lost, the workers of Mexico face an unhappy future. It is our undivided opinion that with the setting up of the Pan-American Federation of Labor in working order, the closer relations that will exist and the better opportunity for understanding each other's viewpoint and problems, the economic future of the toilers of Mexico, Central and South America, can be placed on a happier and securer basis.

We have here portrayed the essential facts as we have found them, in consonance with the time and opportunity we have had. We extend our sincere appreciation to the A. F. of L. of the trust reposed in us in our being selected for this important mission.

Respectfully submitted,
JAMES LORD, Chairman,
SANTIAGO IGLESIAS,
JOHN MURRAY, Secretary.

The report was adopted unanimously.

Delegate Egan, Pittsburgh, Pa., obtained unanimous consent to the introduction of the following resolution:

Resolution No. 137—By Delegate Michael Egan, Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The United States of America is engaged in the most serious conflict in the history of the world, for democracy, and that all people are called upon to contribute and sacrifice to bring the same to a successful conclusion; and

WHEREAS, The wage-earners, as a whole, are called upon and expected to

loan their resources to the full extent to buy Liberty Bonds, War Saving Stamps and give donations to the Red Cross; and

WHEREAS, The profiteering real estate owners, through their renting agents in certain industrial communities in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, have and are making conditions for tenants intolerable by raising rents from one to ten dollars per month, on account of the scarcity of rentable and habitable living quarters; and

WHEREAS, Such nefarious and unpatriotic acts are in direct conflict with the best interests of the Nation, and it robs such afflicted tenants of the opportunity and the right to purchase and donate to their full extent in behalf of world democracy; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, herein assembled, empower the Committee on Resolutions to draft resolutions protesting to the law governing powers of this government, insisting on the abolishment of this evil practice; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the delegate to the coming convention of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to introduce a resolution therein, that will, eventually, prevent such future abuse and evil placed upon Labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

At 11:30 the rules were suspended and an adjournment taken to 9:30 a. m., Monday, June 17th.

SEVENTH DAY--Monday Morning Session

The Auditorium,
St. Paul, Minn., June 17, 1918.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 a. m., Monday, June 17th, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—Kline, Franklin McKillop, Proebstle, Corcoran, Boyer, Guerin (T. M.), Reeves, Desepete, Feeney, Silberstein, Kaufman, Rickert, Doyle (F.), Heller, Williams (Jno.), Duty, O'Connor, Johnston, Wharton, Van Lear, Hogan, Lane, Schmidt (F.), Redding, White (J. P.), Farrington, Dempsey, Valentine, Hedrick, Skemp, McKeon, Schneider (G. J.), Kearney, Anderson, Sullivan (H. W.), Ryan (E. J.), Thompson (J. V.), Helt, Summer, Heberling, Stillman, Ross (L. J.), Agehen, Curtis, Scott (M. G.), Hatch, Mountford, Toone, Wilk, Spencer (G. M.), Hoof, Conley, Williams (H.), Moncur, Hutton, Morgan, Taylor, O'Dell, Brown (B. T.), Smith (J. T.), Brindell, Greene (M. F.), Vennewitz, Curran, Fricke, Parker, Fanning, Bush, Kuhn, Hester, McGovern, Casey, Bruen, Harte, Browne, Lampa, Morris, Wendell, Schultz, Quesse, Kester, Staunton, Walker (M.), Wapington, de Krafft, Ellicott, Williams (T. J.), Paramore, Riordan, Byrne, Rincker, Sharon (J. M.).

Delegate Hughes, Coopers, obtained unanimous consent to the introduction of the following resolution:

Resolution No. 138—By Delegates Andrew C. Hughes, J. J. Doyle, Coopers' International Union:

WHEREAS, The erection of tanks, and tankmaking clearly is a part of the coo-
perage industry and recognized as such by the A. F. of L.; be it

RESOLVED, That all tank making and tank erecting shall belong to tankmakers who are members of the Coopers' International Union; be it further

RESOLVED, All flooring and balcony work and headjocking shall be recognized as carpenter work.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment. Unanimous consent was obtained for the introduction of the following resolution:

Resolution No. 139—By Delegates Wm. H. Johnston, Wm. L. Hutcheson, D. D'Alessandro, John J. Hynes, Jas. P. Noonan, John R. Alpine, Louis Weyand, Nathan P. Birch, Dan P. McKillop, Chas. MacCowan, James A. Duncan, and James Wilson:

WHEREAS, The basic principle of Workmen's Compensation Laws is good and should be extended to cover larger fields of industry, and such law should be amended so as to provide increased compensation for the workers affected; and

WHEREAS, The ruling on such laws has been that the automatic compensation provided, in specific cases, as for instance in the case of workmen on construction of ships, has been that the said laws apply only while the ship is all on the land and do not apply after the ship has touched the water on being launched, thereby depriving numerous workmen of such protection as the laws are intended to provide; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. in conjunction with representatives of such organizations as are desirous of coming under the protection of such compensation laws, are hereby authorized and instructed to prepare a Bill and introduce same in Congress as soon as practicable, for the purpose of extending the provision of such compensation, if possible in increased amounts, to all workmen in all industries or transportation systems affected.

Referred to Committee on Executive Councils Report.

The announcement was made by one of his delegation that Vice-President W. D. Mahon had been called from the convention in regard to matters before the War Board, and the request was made that he be not noted among the absentees.

The Committee on Credentials announced that the Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union wished to substitute F. Fremont Frey for J. J. Freel, who would be unable to attend the convention. The committee recommended the seating of Mr. Frey. The report of the committee was concurred in.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION.

Delegate Conboy, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Resolution No. 109—By Delegate James A. Duncan of the Seattle Central Labor Council:

WHEREAS, By reason of a peculiar combination of circumstances the workers of our country are today in a more equitable position to bargain as to con-

ditions under which they will dispose of their skill and labor power, than at any time in the history of modern history, which position is eminently desirable to be preserved and improved; and

WHEREAS, Speculation is rife as to what conditions will be after the present war, which speculation can and should be dispelled by thorough organization and economic education of the workers, which would give a positive guarantee of security for the future; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 38th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct its Executive Council to plan and carry into effect the most intensive campaign of organization within its power, and urge and aid all international, state and central bodies to do likewise; and, further be it

RESOLVED, That all internationals, and through them their affiliated local unions, be urged to as far as possible and practicable remove all barriers to the fullest freedom of movement (consistent with the best interests of labor), from one craft union to another, under whose jurisdiction individuals are competent to work; and, further be it

RESOLVED, That local unions feeling that unnecessary burdens are placed upon their members who desire to transfer to other craft unions, from which redress cannot be readily obtained, be invited to avail themselves of the good offices of the Federation in an effort to bring about a better condition.

Your committee approves of the first resolve, that the Executive Council shall carry into effect an intensive campaign of organization among the wage workers of the country, and that all international, state and central bodies be urged to do likewise.

The last two resolves, however, dealing with the transfer of members from one organization to another, cannot be considered by us, as the American Federation of Labor has no right to interfere with the autonomy rights of affiliated international unions.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Duncan, Seattle, opposed the report of the committee and urged the adoption of both resolutions. He stated there was nothing in either of the resolves that would prevent anyone concurring heartily in the entire resolution. He discussed at length the barriers that often prevent the transfer of members from one union to another without loss of membership in the original organization, and without the necessity of paying an additional initiation fee. He urged that the American Federation of Labor go on record in favor of a more liberal policy in the matter referred to in the resolution.

Delegate McClory, Iron Workers, urged that the convention give some expression on the subject dealt with by the resolution. He cited the case of a number of members of his organization in Seattle who had gone into the shipbuilding plants, and in order to secure work there when work was dull in their own industry, joined the Boilermakers, but before doing so were required to obtain withdrawal cards from their own organization, thus sacrificing benefits to which their continuous membership would have entitled them.

Delegate Duncan, Seattle, moved as an amendment to the report of the committee the adoption of the resolution in its entirety. The chairman stated that the motion could not be entertained.

Delegate Duncan, Seattle: Is there anything in the resolution that is inconsistent with the principles of the American Federation of Labor? I want a ruling from the chair.

President Gompers: The chair cannot enter into a discussion on this subject or make reply to it upon any unadopted proposition. The chair, as a delegate, if he has a desire to express an opinion on the pending question, will leave the chair for that purpose.

Delegate D'Alessandro, Hodcarriers and Building Laborers, supported the recommendation of the committee. He stated that if the resolution should be adopted none of the national or international organizations would have anything to say about their members. He objected to the resolution particularly because of the effect it would have upon the members of his organization who, he asserted, would be told to transfer into other organizations and pay initiation fees when working in various branches of industry.

Delegate Duncan, Seattle, again read parts of the resolution, and called attention to the fact that the adoption of it would not cause the conditions to arise that were stated by the previous speaker, that there was nothing in it that would interfere with the jurisdiction of any union and that it was not intended as a means of favoring industrial unionism, which he had opposed in the past.

Delegate Dobson, Bricklayers, spoke at length in opposition to the recommendation of the committee. He stated there was great merit in the resolution, and in his discussion said in part:

"My trade is hard hit by the war. I do not know what the consequence will be to myself and to my colleagues, but I want to serve notice on any international union that in the dilution of labor under the stress of war, if I am one of those compelled to dilute my labor with some other trade, I will never give up my membership in the trade I have had the honor to carry a card of membership in for thirty years in order to transfer my labor and dilute it to help Uncle Sam in this war. I would have to give up benefits that would mean much to me, I would have to give up a pension that I will probably need in my old age. There should be no hesitation on the part of this committee to denounce any wrong method it finds existing in any international union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. We are all good union men and if under the stress of war you and I have to go into another industry to help the nation it is absolutely wrong for the organization in that industry to say that I must first withdraw my membership in the union I have spent so many years in."

Delegate Taylor, Machinists, stated that, coming from an organization that accepts the transfer card of any union represented in the American Federation of Labor, he opposed the recommendation of the committee. He stated further that the Machinists International Union had been trying to induce other international unions to adopt the same plan. He expressed the belief that the committee should have recommended that the convention advise that some understanding be reached by which every man who belongs to the American Federation of Labor should understand that the other crafts are not so far removed from him but that there can be a transfer without paying another initiation fee.

Delegate McClory: I move as an amendment to the committee's report that the American Federation of Labor go on record as condemning the practice of compelling union men to withdraw their affiliations from their unions, thereby losing their rights to pension funds and other benefits, and in addition to pay a new initiation fee in transferring their membership to another union. Seconded.

Delegate Dobson, Bricklayers: I move as a substitute for the whole that this matter be recommitted to the committee for further consideration. Seconded and carried.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON ADJUSTMENT.

Delegate Golden, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Resolution No. 2.—By Delegates D. D'Alessandro, J. B. Etchison, J. V. Moreschi, W. F. Dwyer, and John Carley, of

the International Hodcarriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union:

WHEREAS, The International Hodcarriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America have been granted jurisdiction over all common laborers; and

WHEREAS, Since the entrance of this country into the great war now involving the whole world, a large number of our members (common laborers) are now employed in the ship building industry; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor and some of the international unions have issued charters to the Ship-Building Laborers, who are forcing members of our locals engaged in the above named work to join their unions and relinquish their membership in the International Hodcarriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor instruct its organizers and the National and International Unions to assist in organizing these common laborers under the banner of the International Hodcarriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That all locals now chartered by the American Federation of Labor or any National and International Unions composed of men on the class of work mentioned in this resolution be turned over to the International Hodcarriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America.

The hearings on this resolution brought out the fact that several international organizations were claiming jurisdiction over certain men known as "laborers" in and about shipyards, and the term "Common laborer" is being used in a very large number of instances in a way that does not designate the class of work being performed by the workmen.

Your committee is therefore impressed with the necessity of a conference being held of all parties in interest with a view to working out a satisfactory understanding with all organizations claiming jurisdiction; and further, with a view to ascertaining whether certain organizations now chartering local unions of common laborers and other kinds of laborers are within their charter rights in doing so.

Therefore, your committee recommends that the President of the A. F. of L. call a conference of all parties in interest within ninety days from adjournment of this convention, and if no understanding is reached between the parties attending such conference, or if no conference is held, the Executive Council is instructed to designate the organization or organizations to which such workmen properly belong.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Lancaster: There are two classes of laborers mentioned in the resolution, common laborers who go to the Hodcarriers and Building Laborers, and the ship building laborers.

Chairman O'Connell, of the Committee: This report does not turn the laborers over to anybody; it simply asks that a conference be held to decide whether they are in their proper place, and if the conference does not agree the matter will be turned over to the Executive Council.

Delegate D'Alessandro: What laborers are concerned?

Chairman O'Connell: Several of the building trades, your organization and the Longshoremen have issued charters to these unions.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 22—By Delegate Andries Meyer of the Diamond Workers' Protective Union of America:

WHEREAS, The International Jewelry Workers' Union has accepted diamond workers as members of their organization; and

WHEREAS, The Diamond Workers' Protective Union of America is the only organization affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, that has jurisdiction over diamond workers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention instruct the International Jewelry Workers' Union to cease taking diamond workers into their organization and to withdraw all union cards issued by them to diamond workers.

No conference having been held between the organizations in interest, your committee recommend that the President of the A. F. of L. call a conference of representatives of the two organizations, within ninety days from the adjournment of this convention. If no adjustment is reached at such conference, or such conference is not held, the Executive Council is hereby instructed to render an award in accordance with the charter rights of both organizations.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 35—By Delegates Andrew C. Hughes and James J. Doyle, Coopers' International Union:

WHEREAS, At the Baltimore Convention of the A. F. of L. a resolution was offered by the representatives of the Coopers' International Union protesting against the action of the International Longshoremen's Union for granting a

charter to the Dock Coopers of the Port of Greater New York; and

WHEREAS, At a hearing held before the Adjustment Committee the representatives of both international unions were advised by the committee to meet and confer mutually, to the end that harmony might prevail and a correct appreciation of each organization's rights be adhered to; and

WHEREAS, The President of both International Unions adjourned immediately to New York City, and there, in company with representatives of both sides, entered into a working agreement which called for the immediate revocation of charter issued by the I. L. A. and recognized the trade rights of all coopers working on the docks of that Port; and

WHEREAS, This agreement was then ratified by the convention of the American Federation of Labor which was in session at Baltimore; and

WHEREAS, The I. L. A. did revoke the charter known as I. L. A. Dock Coopers' Local, but immediately issued another charter now known as I. L. A. Cargo Repairers' Local which is a direct defiance of the intent of the working agreement entered into and signed by both international presidents; and

WHEREAS, I. L. A. Cargo Repairers' Local, through the instrumentality and antagonism of its business agent and other business agents of the I. L. A. have defied the mandate of the A. F. of L. and refused to abide by the terms of the working agreement and have many times threatened to strike the piers if members of the Coopers' International Union were given or kept in employment on the Government docks at Hoboken, The Cunard, Quebec, and Mallory Lines; and

WHEREAS, The I. L. A. local known as Cargo Repairers is but a makeshift to confuse ship superintendents and stevedores who desire to have their ship cooperage cared for by craftsmen of long experience; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the A. F. of L. in convention assembled do hereby direct the I. L. A. to immediately cancel charter known as Cargo Repairers and that the terms of the written working agreement be lived up to.

Your committee recommend that the President of the A. F. of L. have a thorough investigation made as to the alleged charges contained in Resolution No. 35, in which it is stated that the International Longshoremen have issued a charter known as "Cargo Repairers," the members of this local union doing the work formerly conceded to the Coopers' International Union. If it is found that the charges alleged in the resolution are true, then the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. is authorized to instruct the officers of the International Longshoremen's Association to withdraw the charter of said local union so that the in-

tent and purposes of the agreement entered into, which was approved by the Baltimore convention, be fully carried into effect.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Hughes, Coopers, opposed the recommendation of the committee and moved as an amendment to the Committee's report that the Resolve embodied in the resolution be added to the committee's report.

President Gompers: That motion is not in order. The only way in which the resolution can be reached is by defeating the committee's report.

1. Delegate Hughes discussed the question at length, and in doing so referred to the conditions that have confronted members of his organization in New York City, who were intimidated and threatened by the Longshoremen and an effort made to compel them to join the Longshoremen's organization. He stated that members of the Coopers' International Union who were good American citizens were not allowed to work on the government piers in Hoboken unless they joined the Longshoremen's Union. He contended that the action of the unions that were assailing the rights of the members of his union were not acting according to the principles of the American Federation of Labor.

Chairman O'Connell: The officers of the Longshoremen's Union are not in attendance at this convention. We had one of the delegates before us but he knew nothing about the New York situation. The committee recommends that if what is alleged in the resolution is true the president be authorized to have an investigation made immediately, and then the Council is authorized to render a decision in accordance with the facts. I do not think Brother Hughes wants the committee to recommend the adoption of the resolution without giving the other side of the case a chance to be heard.

The motion to adopt the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 40—By Delegates T. V. O'Connor, Geo. F. Freitas, Simon P. Brown and John H. Pruett, of the International Longshoremen's Association, and endorsed by delegates representing the various organizations whose names are attached hereto:

WHEREAS, For several years past resolutions have been introduced and

acted upon by delegates in attendance at conventions of the American Federation of Labor, relative to the jurisdictional dispute existing between the International Association of Steam and Operating Engineers and the Licensed Tugmen's Protective Association (an affiliated branch of the International Longshoremen's Association); and

WHEREAS, When the American Federation of Labor issued a charter to the Marine Engineer's Benevolent Association, giving them jurisdiction over certain marine work, this charter carried with it the specific understanding that the agreement in existence since 1907 between the M. E. B. A. and L. T. P. A. would in no manner be changed, or affected, thereby recognizing the rights of both these organizations to all marine work; and

WHEREAS, Since the issuing of this charter to the M. E. B. A. the International Association of Steam and Operating Engineers have continued to infringe upon the rights and work of members of the L. T. P. A., even to the extent of threatening employers of members of the L. T. P. A. that the members of the Building Trades Council of Chicago, Ill. would refuse to permit members of organizations affiliated thereto to handle any of the sand produced by members of the L. T. P. A.; and

WHEREAS, This threat has so far resulted in one of these companies signing up an agreement with the International Association of Steam and Operating Engineers for the delivery of their sand (which work has always been done by members of the L. T. P. A. and rightfully belongs to them); and

WHEREAS, Similar threats are being made to other companies; and

WHEREAS, We believe this convention should take this matter up and instruct the International Association of Steam and Operating Engineers, once and for all, that the work which has always come under the jurisdiction of the L. T. P. A. and M. E. B. A. shall still be considered as belonging to them as it was when the American Federation of Labor issued the charter to the M. E. B. A. (recognizing the existing agreement between these two organizations) and that the International Association of Steam and Operating Engineers shall, and must refrain from further threats or infringement upon the rights of the members of these organizations in future; and be it

RESOLVED, That the decision of this convention on this matter carry with it instructions that the existing agreement between the L. T. P. A. and the American Association of Masters, Mates and Pilots be affirmed.

Your committee recommend that the President of the American Federation of Labor call a conference of the officers of the organizations in interest, within ninety days from the adjournment of this convention, with a view to adjusting the differences complained of in the resolution, and that if the organizations are not represented at the conference when called, or fail to agree if a conference is held, then the Executive Council is hereby instructed

to render a decision, setting forth the jurisdictional rights of the organizations in contention in accordance with their charter rights and previous decisions of the American Federation of Labor.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 51.—By Delegates Dan P. McKillop, Chas. F. Scott, Louis Weyand:

WHEREAS, The B. M. Iron Shipbuilders and Helpers of America, during the present abnormal demand for ships and the corresponding necessary temporary increase in men required, have relaxed their trade restrictions and have permitted and even encouraged workmen from allied trades and unskilled men to enter on service in the shipyards, during this national crisis; and

WHEREAS, Certain employers and organizations are taking advantage of this abnormal demand for men in the industry of shipbuilding, and the patriotism of the organization to violate the jurisdictional rights of the B. M. Iron Shipbuilders and Helpers, thereby unnecessarily complicating the re-adjustment after the war; which will in any case be a sufficiently serious problem because of the excess number of men already provided, as compared with normal demands; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the jurisdictional rights of the R. M. Iron Shipbuilders and Helpers of America be recognized to include all steel, iron or other metal plates and shapes entering into the construction of hulls and equipment of ships of any type, in accordance with the constitution of that organization, including concrete ships, strapping of wooden ships and all composite vessels of part metal construction (excepting such work as is already recognized as properly belonging to other organizations affiliated with the A. F. of L.), and that all honorable means be taken to prevent either employers or other crafts from taking advantage of the patriotism and willingness to serve the nation already proven by the Boilermakers, Shipbuilders and Helpers of America.

Your committee found as a result of the hearings held upon this resolution that a number of organizations are claiming jurisdiction over some of the work referred to in the resolution, and that no conferences have been held between the introducers of the resolution and those in opposition to it, which were the Carpenters, Metal Lathers and Structural Iron Workers; Building and Common Laborers and Sheet Metal Workers.

Your committee therefore recommend that the President of the American Federation of Labor call a conference of all parties in interest, within ninety days from adjournment of this convention, and if the organizations fail to be represented at such conference, or no agreement is reached as a result of the conference, the Executive Council is hereby instructed to

render a decision setting forth the jurisdictional rights of all organizations in interest,

Delegate Hynes: I arise at this time to request that the Sheet Metal Workers be made a party to that conference if held.

The committee accepted the suggestion of Delegate Hynes and added the Sheet Metal Workers to the list of organizations mentioned in their report.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 67.—By Delegates Frank Fisher, James J. McAndrews, Gus E. Brissman, Martin T. Joyce, Jas. P. Noonan of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; O. E. Jennings, of the Trades and Labor Union, St. Louis, Mo., and Herman Derolph of the Federation of Labor, Cleveland, Ohio:

WHEREAS, A serious situation had developed in some localities of the Northwest due to rival claims regarding the operation of electric cranes, and the general electrical apparatus in generating plants and substations; and

WHEREAS, This contention has seriously hampered the work in some of the Government plants, in the Northwest, now engaged in necessary war production and engendered contention and ill-feeling among all of the trades engaged in those industries; and

WHEREAS, Since the organization of the Electrical Workers and their affiliation with the American Federation of Labor, this work has been recognized as coming within their jurisdiction and no contention existed thereon until within the past two years, when the Hoisting and Portable or Steam and Operating Engineers saw fit to encroach upon this jurisdiction with claims for the operating of all electric motors and other electrical machinery; and

WHEREAS, The other affiliated trades coming in contact with this work have and do recognize the work in question as coming properly under the jurisdiction of the electrical workers, many locals of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers being composed entirely of electric cranimen and maintenance men; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the operation and maintenance of electric generating stations, sub-stations and electric cranes come properly under the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

Your committee finds that several attempts have been made to bring about a conference with the officers of the two organizations referred to, without success, and that President Gompers before leaving Washington, arranged with President Snelling and President McNulty for a conference in St. Paul on June 11. President McNulty not being in attendance at the convention, no conference was held. The

President of the Steam Engineers, refused to enter into any conference where the President of the Electrical Workers was not present.

No conference, therefore, having been held, in accordance with the laws of the A. F. of L., which require before a grievance can be brought to the attention of the convention a conference of the interested parties must first be held.

Your committee recommend that the President of the A. F. of L. call a conference of the officers of Electrical Workers, Steam Engineers and Foundry Employes within sixty days from adjournment of this convention, and that if the organizations are not represented at the conference when called, or fail to agree if a conference is held, then the Executive Council is hereby instructed to render a decision, setting forth the jurisdictional rights of the organizations in contention in accordance with their charter rights and previous decisions of the American Federation of Labor.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Joyce, Electrical Workers, opposed the recommendation of the committee. He stated that the Electrical Workers' delegates in the convention were ready and had been ready since June 11th, and including that date, to hold a conference with the Steam and Operating Engineers; that on June 12th they were ready to go into conference but the chief executive of the Engineers had refused to proceed unless the International President of the Electrical Workers was present; that at the request of President Gompers the Electrical Workers' delegates had telegraphed for President McNulty, who sent a communication in reply that the International Vice President, Delegate Noonan, had been given the powers of the president to act in the case, but the Engineers still refused to confer.

Chairman O'Connell: The committee has not inferred that the president of the Electrical Workers, now acting, is not the president. We say in the recommendation that no conferences have been held. It is true that the president of the Engineers and the representatives of the Electrical Workers who are here met in the president's room, but no conference was held, the president of the Engineers refusing to go into conference. The com-

mittee recommends that a conference be held within 60 days. That does not mean you must wait 60 days, but if a conference is called and either or both parties fail to attend, the Executive Council is instructed to render a decision.

Delegate Linn, Foundry Employes: I would like to ask the chairman of the committee if he has any objection, in view of the fact that we were a party to the dispute when it first arose, to including the Foundry Workers?

Chairman O'Connell: We have no objection to your being made a party to it.

Delegate Linn: I move that the International Brotherhood of Foundry Employes be added to the conferees. (Seconded and carried.)

Delegate Noonan, Electrical Workers, opposed the recommendation of the committee and urged that the resolution be concurred in. He referred to the conference that had been arranged for June 11th, of the failure of the Engineers to take part because President McNulty was not present, and stated that two days later President Snellings, of the Engineers, had been notified that Vice-President Noonan had been authorized to act in President McNulty's place, but he still refused to attend a conference. Delegate Noonan claimed that the conference had been held and the law of the American Federation of Labor complied with. He discussed at some length the disputes that existed between the two organizations.

Delegate Snellings, Engineers, stated that the representatives of his organization had been endeavoring to get a conference with the Electrical Workers for some time but had not been able to do so; that a few weeks before the convention an effort had been made to meet the Electrical Workers in conference in Washington, that President McNulty had agreed to attend but at the time set for the conference he had failed to appear, although he was in the city. President McNulty then, in a conversation on the telephone, agreed to meet the Engineers in conference on June 11th, but had not reached St. Paul to attend. The Engineers, he stated, had met the Electrical Workers on the platform in the convention hall but no conference had been held because President McNulty was not present. In concluding he announced that if the convention ordered that a conference be held within sixty days the

Engineers would be present when it was called, but they objected to being called into a conference lasting a few minutes, as the matter would require hours to consider.

Vice-President Green in the chair.

Delegate Jennings, Electrical Workers, opposed the recommendation of the committee, and also opposed the attempt of the Engineers to designate the members of the Electrical Workers who are to attend conferences between the representatives of the two organizations. He objected to the proposal of the committee to allow sixty days in which to hold the conference, stating that the matter should be settled in the convention and not by a further conference or an attempt to hold a conference.

Delegate Comerford, Engineers, spoke in favor of the recommendation of the committee. He discussed at some length the class of work in dispute and the action that had been taken in different cities by representatives and members of both organizations.

Delegate Walker (J. H.) stated for the committee that no actual conference had been held between the representatives of the two organizations, and if the committee wanted to be in a position to justify any decision it might render, an investigation of the entire subject would have taken hours, if not days, to enable them to do so. He urged that the report of the committee be adopted and a conference arranged for so that the entire question might be investigated.

Delegate Taylor, Machinists: I desire to ask, so it will be a matter of record, if the recommendation of the committee is adopted, are we assured that a decision will be rendered sixty days from this date or not?

Chairman O'Connell: The report says the conference shall be held within sixty days and that if no adjustment is reached between the parties in interest the Executive Council is to decide. The Executive Council usually holds a quarterly meeting within a month or six weeks after the adjournment of the convention and at that meeting the subjects referred to it by the convention are considered. I should say the decision would be rendered within sixty days, or very close to that time.

Delegate Taylor explained conditions existing in the shipyards in Seattle, where disputes had arisen in regard to jurisdiction over the cranes and the oper-

ation of cranes, and stated that they had been trying for months to get a decision in regard to the matter from the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Burns, Tacoma, stated that it had required all the power of the local labor movement to keep the work in the shipyards from being interrupted on account of the disputes between engineers and electrical workers, and warned the convention that a decision would have to be given promptly or there would be interruptions of the work, despite the efforts of the Tacoma central labor body.

Delegate Fisher, Electrical Workers, spoke in defense of the resolution and opposed the recommendation of the committee. He asserted that the Electrical Workers were ready to meet in conference and defend their jurisdiction over the class of work in question. He described conditions existing where the fight of the Electrical Workers to do the work in dispute was questioned, and stated that in other sections of the country organizations of cranimen were affiliated with the Electrical Workers and there was no question as to the jurisdiction over the work.

Delegate McAndrews, Electrical Workers: I move as an amendment that all jurisdiction matters between the parties concerned be held in abeyance pending this settlement and that no member of either craft be displaced by the members of the other craft. Seconded.

The amendment was discussed by Delegate McAndrews, Delegate Snellings and Delegate Noonan.

The amendment was carried and the motion to adopt the recommendation of the committee was adopted as amended.

Resolution No. 96—By Delegates E. J. McGovern, J. A. Mullaney and P. H. McCarthy:

WHEREAS, The International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees, sometimes referred to as the International Alliance of Stage Employees, is continually violating the jurisdiction of the several trades engaged in the building industry and affiliated with this American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, In the City and County of Los Angeles, California, this International has so grossly violated the laws herein referred to that the Central Labor Council of that city has repeatedly endeavored, through committees and otherwise, to bring the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees before referred to, to a sense of its duty regarding the Labor movement of America; and

WHEREAS, The said Central Labor Council has failed in its efforts; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this, the 38th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, insist on the International Alliance of Stage Employees living up to and within the laws, rules and regulations governing the jurisdiction of the said International by the American Federation of Labor; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That in the event of the said international failing to comply with this request, that it live within its own jurisdiction, that its charter stand revoked by the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee have had before it the representatives of the several organizations in interest, and all have agreed that the President of the A. F. of L. shall call a conference within sixty days from the adjournment of the convention of all parties in interest, for the purpose of reaching an understanding agreeable to all parties concerned.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 105—By Delegates of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America:

WHEREAS, Resolution 123 of the 37th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, was referred to the President of the American Federation of Labor with instructions to arrange a conference within ninety days after the adjournment of the convention to bring about an adjustment of the differences between the parties in interest, the said resolution reading as follows:

"**WHEREAS**, All painting of ships comes under the jurisdiction of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America; and

"**WHEREAS**, The members of the International Longshoremen's Association in the port of New York persist in infringing upon the jurisdiction of said Brotherhood, despite repeated protests; and

"**WHEREAS**, Several attempts have been made by the officials of the said Brotherhood to arrange a conference between representatives of the two international unions, without result; now, therefore, in view of the premises, be it

"**RESOLVED**, That this, the Thirty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, does hereby direct the International Longshoremen's Association to instruct the officers and members of the local unions to desist from further trespass upon the jurisdiction of the Brotherhood of the Painters, Decorators, and Paperhangers of America."

WHEREAS, The efforts of the President of the Federation of Labor to arrange the conference provided for have been unsuccessful, and the practices complained of have been persisted in; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-eighth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor direct the officers of the International Longshoremen's Association to instruct the officers and members of its affiliated local unions to desist from further trespass upon the jurisdiction of

the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America.

Your committee have had before it the representatives of the several organizations in interest, and all have agreed that the President of the A. F. of L. shall call a conference within sixty days from the adjournment of the convention of all unions in interest, for the purpose of reaching an understanding agreeable to all parties concerned, and if the organizations fail to be represented at such a conference, or no understanding is reached as a result of the conference, the Executive Council is hereby instructed to render a decision setting forth the jurisdictional rights of all organizations in interest.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Chairman O'Connell: A resolution was introduced by Delegate Hughes, of the Coopers, by unanimous consent early in this session and referred to the Committee on Adjustment, Resolution No. 138. I had Delegate Hughes and Delegate Hutcherson, of the Carpenters, in conference with myself as chairman of the committee and they have agreed that a representative of the Carpenters will visit Chicago with a representative of the Coopers and adjust the situation there, the Coopers to send a representative to the next executive board meeting of the carpenters, which will be held in Indianapolis, July 10th, for the purpose of working out a settlement. This statement will be made a part of the record and no further action on the resolution is necessary.

A motion was made and seconded that the statement of Chairman O'Connell be made part of the proceedings of the convention. The motion was adopted.

Secretary Golden: This completes the report of the Committee on Adjustment.

Signed:

JAMES O'CONNELL, Chairman,
COLLIS LOVELY,
JAMES C. SHANESSY,
WILLIAM QUINLAN,
H. J. CONWAY,
MILTON SNELLINGS,
JOHN P. KENNEDY,
EDWARD FLORE,
A. W. RUSSELL,
JOHN H. WALKER,
SAMUEL TOBIN,
C. L. SHAMP,
J. B. ETCHISON,
W. E. RYAN,
JOHN GOLDEN, Secretary.

The report of the committee as a whole as amended by the convention was adopted unanimously.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION.

Delegate Conboy, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Resolution No. 18.—By Delegate Thomas F. Burns, of the Central Labor Council of Tacoma, Wash.:

A resolution to be presented for endorsement by the Central Labor Council of Tacoma, Washington, whereby the American Federation of Labor will be petitioned to give a square deal to colored labor and favorably consider an application for an international charter to organize colored railway men by colored men.

WHEREAS, The influence of world affairs on the present and future condition of the masses of laborers is such as to make necessary a closer and more kindred feeling of sympathy and purpose on the part of all who labor; and

WHEREAS, This spirit of oneness of purpose can and will only be most completely achieved when the benefits derived by the efforts of organized labor are not predicated on race, or creed, or sex, or color, but rather shall be the common lot and heritage of all; and

WHEREAS, In the past, because of a lack of realization on the part of the organized white laborer, that to keep the unorganized colored laborer out of the fold of organization, has only made it easily possible for the unscrupulous employer to exploit the one against the other, to the mutual disadvantage of each, resulting always in creating that undemocratic and un-Christian thing—race prejudice—and its foul by-products, riot and mob rule, as during the mine troubles in the Pacific Northwest in the early 90's; as more recently on the Puget Sound during the Longshoremen's strike; in Pennsylvania and at East St. Louis, Illinois; and

WHEREAS, It is the duty and should be the privilege of every man or woman to labor under such conditions and at such terms, free from restraint because of sex or color or race or creed, as will be conducive to his or her contributing such strength as to effectively aid our common country to successfully wage the battles of war, and to meet the problems of peace; be it

RESOLVED, That we, the undersigned colored railway employes being typical colored laborers, do hereby petition the Central Labor Council of Tacoma, Wash., to give its endorsement to the plea for a plain, square deal for the colored American laborer; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Central Labor Council of Tacoma, Washington, be and is hereby petitioned to instruct its delegate to the forthcoming convention of the American Federation of Labor to give his support to such, and any application for an international charter to organize colored railway employes as might be made by said employes, if presented either during the session of the convention, or if presented to the properly constituted committee or body after adjournment of the convention.

A lengthy hearing was held on the subject matter of this resolution at which the introducer of the resolution appeared in support of the demands for an international charter for colored men working on railways. Mr. Robert L. Mays, representing the Railroad Men's International Benevolent Association, also appeared before the committee in support of the same demand, claiming that the following list of workers should compose the proposed international union: Pullman Porters, Dining Car Cooks and Waiters, Colored Brakemen, Colored Train Porters, Colored Firemen; Colored Switchmen, Colored Yard Engine Men, Colored Shop Workers, Colored Boilermakers and Assistants, Colored Machinists and Helpers, Colored Headlight Tinkers, Colored Coach Cleaners, Colored Laundry Workers, Colored Shop and Track Laborers and Colored Section Men.

The representatives of the Hodcarriers Building and Common Laborers and the representative of the Boilermakers also appeared in opposition to this resolution.

This claim of jurisdiction is a trespass upon the jurisdictional claims of several organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and until such time as an adjustment is reached with these organizations your committee cannot do otherwise than recommend that the charter asked for be denied.

It is not the policy of the American Federation of Labor to grant charters along racial lines. We know that many international organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor admit colored workers to membership, and in these organizations their interests can best be protected and taken care of. There are other organizations that have not as yet opened their doors to colored workers, but we hope to see the day in the near future when these organizations will take a broader view of this matter. Until that time we urge the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to organize the colored workers under charters of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Burns discussed at some length conditions on the Pacific coast where colored men are employed in various occupations, the prejudice that is displayed toward them by some organizations and urged that action be taken as suggested by the resolution rather than by the report of the committee.

Delegate D'Alessandro, Hodcarriers and Building Laborers, stated that colored

laborers were admitted to that organization, that two colored men were members of the executive board and that no discrimination against them is allowed in the organization he represents.

Delegate McGowan, Boilermakers, spoke in favor of the report of the committee. He stated that while the Boilermakers' organization does not accept colored men to membership there is a strong sentiment growing in favor of admitting them, and that the Boilermakers had not at any time objected to the organization of colored men into federal labor unions.

Chairman Duffy, in discussing the question said in part: There are a number of international organizations represented here today that admit colored men to membership. The Plasterers, the Hod-carriers and Building Laborers, the Cigar Makers, Cooks and Waiters, Textile Workers, Miners and other organizations have them, the miners by the thousands. There are international organizations that have not admitted them up to the present time. I hope that state of affairs will soon pass away. In the meantime we want the colored men organized, and if international organizations will not admit them we recommend that the American Federation of Labor organize them under charters of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Friedman, Ladies Garment Workers, stated that colored people were admitted to the organization she represented, and that they were admitted and treated exactly as were the white workers. She stated further that two colored girls were serving on the executive board of Local 15, Philadelphia.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 136—By Delegates O. E. Jennings, St. Louis, Mo., Central Trades and Labor Union; James P. Noonan, Martin T. Joyce, Frank Fisher, C. E. Brissman, I. B. E. W.; Wm. H. Johnston, J. A. Taylor, I. A. M.:

WHEREAS, A serious situation exists at the Wagner Electric Company of St. Louis, Mo., on account of 2,500 of its employes being compelled to go on strike on April 25th, 1918, in order to maintain their American right to join a labor union; and

WHEREAS, The Wagner Electric Company has refused Government mediation in any respect to bring about a satisfactory settlement of the strike; and

WHEREAS, This Company has approximately one million three hundred thousand dollars (\$1,300,000.00) worth of war contracts which pertain to the making of

depth mines and hub artillery, which is very essential to our Government at this time for the successful prosecution of the war; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this, the 35th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor in St. Paul, Minnesota, instruct its officers to use their best effort with the Government to see that the Wagner Electric Company lives up to the policy of the Government or forfeits the aforesaid contracts.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Secretary Conboy: The committee has two resolutions bearing on the same subject, on which we make the same recommendation, Resolutions 46 and 134, as follows:

Resolution No. 46—By Delegate W. B. Gay, Rock Island Federal Union No. 15214:

RESOLVED, This body shall grant the Federal Labor Unions of the Rock Island Railroad System or any other Railroad System who may so desire to enter, a system organizer whose duty is to organize Local Federal Unions and form a system organization. To my knowledge we have no organizer in north Missouri whatever; be it further

RESOLVED, That this body gives the Federal Labor Unions of the Rock Island System, or other systems, a grievance man to represent our interests before the United States Wage Commissioners of Railway Employees, now in session at Washington, D. C. To my knowledge the Rock Island labor on the Missouri Division are the lowest paid men on any system; their minimum rate being 26c per hour. So far our government raise is but a small per cent. We are working from ten to twelve hours for day, no overtime, no time and one-half time for Sundays or holidays. Under the present high cost of living this rate is not sufficient to provide for the comfort and welfare of our dependent ones. Aside from this low rate of pay, we are proud to say that the Rock Island men have shown their spirit of loyalty to their country when the call came for the Third Liberty Loan. This system is today 100 per cent strong in Liberty Bonds, also large contributions for the Red Cross. Again we urge this body to assist us in every possible way they can in getting a better wage rate and better working conditions.

We appeal to the Executive Council for their support and immediate action, also, instruction in regard to system organization for the Local Federal Unions. Our purpose for system organization is to affiliate ourselves together for our mutual benefit and protection, when at any time we have any grievance in regard to wage rate contract or any other difficulty we go before the officials of our system in a body, not as one individual class. So

while we cannot hope to be successful when working individually, by combining our efforts the most skilful and beneficent results may be attained.

Resolution No. 134—By Delegate W. B. Gay, Rock Island Federal Union No. 15214:

RESOLVED, That this committee use their influence in regard to securing an organizer for the Rock Island Railway System for the purpose of organizing the common laborers in the forming of Federal Unions. These men are working at a very low rate of pay, some receiving no more than 23c to 25c per hour. Any reasonable person knows that this rate is not sufficient to secure and maintain the necessities of life under the present high cost of living. We have no organizer in North Missouri whatever. We never have any labor leader to come through our part of the state to give us any instructions or encouragement in regard to union labor. We earnestly urge that this committee use every available means before the Executive Council to give this system a man to look after the unorganized. A part of this may be done through our labor councils on the system. Aside from this we want some one to look after the lower rate men to get them in line and secure for them better rates, better working conditions. Then it can be said we will have better men, better homes, better enjoyment with our families, and better conditions and surroundings on all sides.

Your committee believes that common laborers on the Rock Island System, or

any other system, properly belongs to the Hodcarriers, Common and Building Laborers' International Union. Pre President of that International Union informs your committee that he is ready to assign organizers to do the work asked for in the resolutions.

He is also ready to cooperate with the Railway Trades department in protecting the interests of common laborers on railroads. Your committee therefore recommends that the matter be referred to the Hodcarriers, Common and Building Laborers' International Union for attention under the supervision of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

The report and resolution were discussed by Delegate Gay, who described conditions of employment existing among the class of workers referred to in the resolution. He urged that something be done to raise the wages of these workers to meet the present high cost of living.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

At 12:30 the convention adjourned to 2 p. m.

SEVENTH DAY--Monday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2 o'clock p. m., Monday, June 17th, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—Kline, Proebstle, Corcoran, Guerin (T. M.), Perkins, Reeves, Desepte, Feeney, Woll, Williams (Jno.), Sullivan (J. J.), Gainer, O'Connor, Savage, Van Lear, Hogan (S. C.), Schmidt (F.), White (J. P.), Farrington, Dempsey, Valentine, Hedrick, Anderson, Berry (G. L.), McHugh, Sullivan (H. W.), Ryan (E. J.), Helt, Freel, Ross (L. J.), Agethen, Curtis, Scott (M. G.), Hatch, Mountford, Toone, Williams (Jerry), Wilk, Spencer (G.), Hoof, Ely, Stewart (R. G.), Conkey, Williams (H.), Moncur, Hutton, Morgan, Taylor, O'Dell, Brown (B. F.), Smith (J. T.), Weinheimer, Brindell, Greene (M. F.), Fricke, Parker, Brand, Fanning, Kuhn, Sanders, Hester, McGovern, Casey, Bruen, Harte, Browne, Lampa, Morris, Wendell, Schultz, Quease, Kester, Staunton, Walker (M.), Waplington, de Kraft, Williams (T. J.), Elliott, Welch (W. E.), Burns (W. W.), Paramore, Riordan, Byrne, Sharon.

Delegate Joyce, Secretary of the Committee on Credentials, reported as follows:

Your Committee on Credentials has received communications certifying to the fact that James R. McCoy has been selected to act as delegate from the Railway Mail Association in place of E. J. Ryan; that B. G. Brady as delegate from the International Typographical Union in place of Marsden G. Scott, and Robert H. Harlin as delegate from the Washington State Federation, in place of Wm. Short, and recommend that they be seated.

Respectfully submitted,
H. C. DIEHL, Chairman,
MAX GORENSTEIN,
MARTIN T. JOYCE, Secretary.

The report of the committee was adopted.

President Gompers announced that he had received a communication from Secretary of Labor W. B. Wilson, announcing that he would attend and address the convention Wednesday, June 19th.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION.

Delegate Conboy, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Resolution No. 32.—By Delegate Wm. S. Brown, National Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association:

WHEREAS, During the month of July, 1916, a charter was issued by A. E. Gibson, then National President of the National Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association, to several marine engineers in the port of New York, and while he was acting within his constituted authority as prescribed by this institution in issuing a charter, the marine engineers to whom the charter was issued, by their obligation to the M. E. B. A. were not permitted to affiliate with another subordinate association of the order, therefore this charter was recalled, but later in the year another was issued, which in turn was recalled or revoked by the 42nd Annual Convention, in session at Washington, D. C., on January 24th, 1917. Notwithstanding the fact that a subordinate association of the Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association existed in the port of New York, in fact the largest sub-association in the order, a number of men, many who held a marine engineers' license, but were employed in occupations entirely foreign to marine engineering, attempted to continue in force the organization whose charter had been recalled by our National Association. The existence of this clandestine organization was very precarious, until the declaration of war, by the United States, against the German Imperial Government, when this outlaw organization began to increase their membership materially, on account of conditions arising through our pledge to President Wilson to assist in every way possible to prosecute the war to a successful termination, which excluded the possibility of our taking the necessary steps to adjust this matter in a manner satisfactory to the National Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association; and

WHEREAS, The organization of non-union marine engineers existing in the port of New York and known as Ocean Marine Engineers' Association, is rapidly increasing its membership, for which there are several reasons, and is causing the Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association to be placed in a peculiar position on account of a provision of our constitution which provides as follows:

Section 3 of Article IX—"Members shall not hire or sail with engineers who are not members of the M. E. B. A., or with members who cannot produce a receipt showing that their arrearages for dues does not exceed six months; unless permit to hire or sail with such engineers is granted by the subordinate association having jurisdiction over the port where such necessity may arise. All members on land and water must employ for his assistants brother members, if qualified members for such service are available."

WHEREAS, The shipowners of the United States as well as departments of the U. S. Shipping Board are encouraging the growth of the Ocean Marine Engineers' Association of the port of New York by discriminating against Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association, and while we are desirous of assisting our Government in supplying marine engineers for the American Merchant Marine, and using the funds of our organization

for the successful prosecution of the war, yet we do not intend to allow another organization of marine engineers to come in and profit by our loyalty and patriotism to our country; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor assembled, urge a full and complete investigation of the partiality shown to Ocean Marine Engineers' Association (which is not affiliated with the A. F. of L.) by the Recruiting Service of the U. S. Shipping Board with the view of eliminating this discrimination; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the condition prevailing in the port of New York is not conducive to obtaining the results desired or expected by our Government in this crisis, through organized labor, and that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to have the conditions complained of removed.

Your committee refers this resolution to the Executive Council for investigation and to render whatever assistance they can to remedy the complaints made by the National Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 109.—By Delegate James A. Duncan of the Seattle Central Labor Council:

WHEREAS, By reason of a peculiar combination of circumstances the workers of our country are today in a more equitable position to bargain as to conditions under which they will dispose of their skill and labor power than at any time in the history of modern history, which position is eminently desirable to be preserved and improved; and

WHEREAS, Speculation is rife as to what conditions will be after the present war, which speculation can and should be dispelled by thorough organization and economic education of the workers which would give a positive guarantee of security for the future; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 38th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct its executive council to plan and carry into effect the most intensive campaign of organization within its power, and urge and aid all international, state and central bodies to do likewise; and, further be it

RESOLVED, That all internationals, and through them their affiliated local unions, be urged to as far as possible and practicable remove all barriers to the fullest freedom of movement (consistent with the best interests of labor), from one craft union to another, under whose jurisdiction individuals are competent to work; and further be it

RESOLVED, That local unions feeling that unnecessary burdens are placed upon their members who desire to transfer to other craft unions, from which redress cannot be readily obtained, be invited to avail themselves of the good offices of the Federation in an effort to bring about a better condition.

Secretary Conboy: This resolution was reported on this morning, and after some discussion recommitted to the committee for further consideration. The committee decided there could be no change made by them in the report they submitted to this convention, which is as follows:

Your committee approves of the first resolve, that the Executive Council shall carry into effect an intensive campaign of organization among the wage workers of the country, and that all international, state and central bodies be urged to do likewise.

The last two resolves, however, dealing with the transfer of members from one organization to another, cannot be considered by us, as the American Federation of Labor has no right to interfere with the autonomy rights of affiliated international unions.

Delegate Schlesinger: I move as an amendment that this resolution be referred to the Committee on Resolutions, or that the two resolves of the resolution be referred to the Committee on Resolutions. It seems to me all that is necessary is to make some sort of declaration on the subject contained in the two resolves, and the proper committee to make this declaration is the Committee on Resolutions.

Delegate McClory: I submitted an amendment to the report of the committee when it was made this morning.

President Gompers: The entire subject-matter was recommitted to the committee. The chair is not quite clear as to the full purport of Delegate Schlesinger's proposition. Is it that the entire subject-matter be referred to the Committee on Resolutions?

Delegate Schlesinger: The last two resolves. If the Committee on Organization does not feel it has the power to act upon it it should be referred to the Committee on Resolutions for a recommendation.

President Gompers: We might act separately upon the two recommendations made by the committee, and if that is agreeable we will do so. The sense of the recommendation of the committee admits of its division.

The committee approves of the first resolve.

A motion was made and seconded that the first part of the recommendation of the committee, approving of the first resolve, be adopted.

Delegate Dobson: My purpose in moving to have it recommitted to the committee was for the purpose of being permitted

to appear before the committee to make a suggestion in connection with their recommendation. I would ask the chairman of that committee whether they are not open to conviction, in view of the statements made this morning."

Chairman Duffy: The committee, knowing what was said on the floor this morning, held a meeting and came to the same conclusion as expressed in the original report.

In discussing the question Delegate Dobson said in part: "I have no desire to interfere with the autonomy of any union represented on this floor, and I do not want anyone to interfere with the autonomy of my union, but I want to here and now declare that when one union on the floor of this convention demands that when I make application for membership in that union that I must withdraw my membership from the union I have the honor to represent, I say then that this is interfering with my autonomy, interfering with my freedom to carry a card in any organization I desire, and it is for that purpose I asked the committee to amend their recommendation and here and now declare that it is against the principles of trade unionism to demand that a man sacrifice his membership in one organization in order to be permitted to join another."

President Gompers: What is now before the house is this recommendation of the committee:

"Your committee approves of the first resolve, that the Executive Council shall carry into effect an intensive campaign of organization among the wage workers of the country, and that all international, state and central bodies be urged to do likewise."

The first section of the recommendation of the committee was adopted as read by President Gompers.

President Gompers: The committee reports further as follows:

"The last two resolves, however, dealing with the transfer of members from one organization to another, cannot be considered by us, as the American Federation of Labor has no right to interfere with the autonomy rights of affiliated international unions."

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the second section of the report as read by President Gompers.

Delegate Schlesinger: I move that these two resolves be referred to the Committee on Resolutions. (Seconded.)

Delegate Weyand, Boilermakers, opposed the amendment.

Delegate Connors, Switchmen, moved to lay the matter referring to the two resolutions on the table. The motion was seconded but not adopted.

Delegate Lennon (J. B.): It seems to me we have here a question that has been the policy of the Federation since its foundation and there is no necessity for this body to refer to any other committee. It is not a mandatory matter, it does not say that unions must do this, that or the other thing; it advises them that there are existing circumstances that warrants their careful consideration of the proposition laid down in this resolution. How anyone who is familiar with the workings of the Federation can construe it as a mandatory matter is more than I am capable of comprehending, for it has no element of that kind in it. It says "consistent with the best interests of labor." Who are the judges of that? We are advising that where it is for the best interests of labor this be done. Who has the carrying of it out? The national and international unions. The American Federation of Labor may advise. There is no compulsion or interference with autonomy or anything of the kind in the resolution.

The motion to refer to the Committee on Resolutions was defeated by a vote of 92 in the affirmative to 119 in the negative.

A roll call was asked for on the motion to adopt the second section of the committee's report. A sufficient number of delegates supported the demand and the secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Roll Call on Second Section of Report of Committee on Resolution No. 109.

Ayes—Noschang, Fischer (Jacob), Shanessy, Felder, Foley, Noonan, Kline, Kramer, Powlesland, Franklin, Weyand, Scott (Chas. F.), MacGowan, McKillop, Lovely, Baine, Grant, Noonan (Mary), Schmidt (F. C.), Sullivan (John), Kugler, Froebste, Oberstfell, Rader, Ryan (M. F.), Schnorr, Anderson, Shoemaker, Thompson, Hutcherson (Wm. L.), Duffy (Frank), Woodbury, Guerin, Van Duyn, White (Bob), Ross (J. A.), McCarthy, Cigarmakers' delegation (316 votes), Forrester, Yates, Smith (Fred W.), Reeves, Baker, Conway, Desepete, Hughes (Andrew C.), Doyle (J. P.), Noonan, Joyce, McAndrews, Fisher (Frank), Erisman, Brown, Comerford, Woll, Brady, Newmyer, Steward, Nagl, Spellacy, Dunn, Healy, Shamp, Morton, Brennan, Rickert, Larger, Manning, Daley (Margaret C.), Doyle (Frank), Voll, Clifton, Eames, Clarke, Kennedy, O'Brien, Nestor, Duncan (James), Russell, Will, Lawlor, McCue, Humphrey, D'Alessandro, Etchison, Moreschi, Carley, Dwyer, Kane, Marshall, Flore, Sullivan (J. L.), Farrell,

Koveleski, McDevitt, Gould, McSorley, Duty, Fljoldal, Finnson, Pruett (J. H.), Hynes, Redding, Moriarty, Ryan (Jas. J.), Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers delegation (42 votes), Hayes (Frank J.), White (J. P.), Green, Walker, Farrington, Moore, Lewis, Dempsey, Miller (Owen), Painters' delegation (197 votes), Wilson (Jas. A.), Gernon, Alpine, Kearney, Anderson (Chas.), Rau, Britton, Leary, Diehl, Menge, Blake, Lyons, Hassett, Berry, McHugh, Isaacson, Yould, Strunk, Mahon, Quinlan, Sheehan, Cahill, Railway Mail Association delegation (63 votes), Flynn, Thompson (John V.), Fleming, Welsh, Funder Burk, Heberling, Clohesy, Connors, Tobin (D. J.), Hughes (Thos. L.), Neer, Gillespie, Wilson (James), Railroad Telegraphers' delegation (189 votes), Golden, Conboy, McMahon, Daly (James J.), McAndrew, Brady (B. G.), Morrison, Stevenson, Hays (J. W.), Marquardt, McGrath, Jennings, Hall, Wines, Holland, Boyle, Fenton, Egan, Iglesias, Ferguson, Patterson, Stevens, Kehoe, Doyle (John J.), Derolph, Dill, Hardy, McGurty, Alden, Gregson, Knutson, Brown (Jos. H.), Sellins, Brindell, Richie, Ott, Young, Linck, McGurk, Jennings, Curry, Fallon, MacKellar, Scanlan, Campbell (J. B.), Bush, Hankins, Teitelbaum, Scott (Alice), Bohm, Weinstock, Voligt, Rincker, representing 17,736 votes.

Nays—Mullaney, Myrup, Beisel, Schneider (R. C.), Sovey, Reddick, Bowen, Preece, Dobson, Geddes, Corcoran, Price, Butterworth, McClory, Tobin (Sam), Morrin, Ryan (F. M.), Boyer, Cigarmakers' delegation (78 votes), Meyer, Edgerton, Linn, Silberstein, Kaufman, Schlesinger, Heller, Gorenstein, LaPorta, Friedman, Feinberg, Neenan, Montross, Bryan (W. E.), Gainor, Mugavin, Duffy (Charles D.), Swartz (L. E.), Bock, Buxbaum, O'Connor (Thos. V.), Woodland, Freitas, O'Brien, Johnston (Wm. H.), Wharton, O'Connell, Savage, Taylor, Van Lear, Hart, Lane, Schmidt (Fred), McCrash, Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' delegation (125 votes), Valentine, Frey, Regan, Burns (Arthur), Mara, Winkler, Carey (D. A.), Painters' delegation (378 votes), Carey (J. T.), Schneider (G. J.), Bergstrom, Dold, McGivern, Donlin, Hede, George, Flaherty, Burke, Sullivan (H. W.), LaBelle, Sultor, Railway Mail Association delegation (51 votes), Sands, Gaylak, Furuseth, Scharenberg, Carlson, Shay, Dolliver, Barry, Suarez, Freel, Sumner, Griggs, Drayer, Sweeney, Lennon, Biggs, Stillman, Railroad Telegraphers' delegation (94 votes), Konenkamp, Hayes (Max S.), Sebree, Donoghue, McDonald, Stack, Clinedinst, Weber, Christenson, Weiss, Van Houten, Spencer (G. M.), Malloy, Crickmore, Foster, Hoage, Bailey, Williams (Harold), Kress, Thompson (G. H.), Ryan (P. J.), Chinn, O'Shea, Barbour, Lish, Gayton, Ryerson, Newman, Duncan (James A.), Burns (Thos. F.), Mosher, Tucker, Beck, Millner, Gay, Worland, Berger, Birch, Moore (C. O.), Campbell (W. A.), Hunter, Crane, Butler, Miller (Oliver G.), Bell, Pinkston, Frazer, Yarrow, Coulter, Lancaster, representing 7,675 votes.

Not Voting—Feeny, Snellings, Hanahan, Williams (John), Sullivan (J. J.), Brock, Hogan, Weber (J. N.), Painters' delegation (360 votes), Hannah, Helt (D.

W.), Railroad Telegraphers' delegation (94 votes), Agethen, Curtis, Hatch, Mountford, Toone, Williams (Jerry), Spencer (Harry L.), Wilk, Hoof, Ely, Milhollan, Stewart (R. G.), Conley, Moncur, Hutton, Morgan, Taylor, O'Dell, Brown (E. F.), Smith (J. T.), Breslin, Burton, Weinhelmer, Nelson, Ross (Samuel), Greene (Michael F.), Draper, Vennewitz, Curran, Fricke, Wilkinson, Brand, Reardon, Fanning, Raven, Woodmansee, Lemke, Kuhn, Sanders, Hahne, Hester, McGovern, Casey, Mezzacapo, Bruen, Harte (Grace H.), Browne (M. J.), Lampa, Morris (Mary), Levi, Davanzo, Wendell, Schultz, Quesse, Kester, Staunton, Walker (May), Waplington, deKrafft, Williams (Thos. J.), Ellicott, Welch, Burns (W. W.), Paramore, Rlordan, Byrne (Frank A.), Pruitt (E. B.), Sharon, Giles, Hall (F.), Bondfield, Moore, representing 1,207 votes.

Delegate Schlesinger: After this report has been adopted is a member of an organization compelled to surrender membership in his own organization if he finds it necessary to work at another trade?

President Gompers: Certainly not unless his organization so directs.

Special Committee on Resolution No. 17.

President Gompers appointed the following members to serve on the special committee provided for in Resolution No. 17: Delegate James A. Holland, New York City; Paul Scharrenburg, San Francisco; James A. Taylor, Seattle.

President Gompers: The chair is advised that A. O. Wharton, of the Machinists organization, has been detained in Washington and cannot attend this convention. Mr. Wharton was appointed a member of the Committee on Executive Council's Report. The President of the Machinists' Association suggests that Thomas Savage, one of the machinists' delegates, be appointed on that committee. The chair appoints him, with the consent of the convention.

Delegate Lennon (J. B.): I ask unanimous consent to introduce a resolution in regard to the situation among the Commercial Telegraphers. The War Board made certain decisions as to the right of men to belong to trade unions. The President of the Western Union has called a convention of employes of the Western Union, and this resolution has to do with that situation.

Delegate Brindell, New York, objected to the introduction of the resolution.

Vice-President Perham in the chair.

Secretary Conboy continued the report of the Committee on Organization, as follows:

Resolution No. 27—By Delegate James O'Connell, of the International Association of Machinists:

WHEREAS, The Mine, Mill and Smel-

ter Workers compel Metal Trades mechanics and their helpers in or about the mines to become members of that organization; and

WHEREAS, The Metal Trades Craftsmen belong to and have been given jurisdiction over their respective craft organizations by the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, As a result of this unwarranted violation of the principles of trade autonomy, much dissatisfaction and discontent is always in evidence in the mining localities; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled instruct the officers of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers to turn over to their respective organizations all men that rightfully belong to and come under the jurisdiction of the several Metal Trades organizations within ninety days after the adjournment of this convention; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That failure of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' Union to carry out the instructions contained herein, that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to take such means as in their judgment is warranted to secure the end sought by this resolution.

An extended hearing was held on this matter at which were present the representatives of the Plumbers and Steam Fitters, the Machinists, the Sheet Metal Workers, the Boilermakers, the Blacksmiths, the Mine, Mill and Smelter Men and a representative from the State of Montana. It developed that the Metal Miners of Montana are divided among themselves on the question of organization. In Butte there are four distinct unions:

1. The Mine, Mill and Smeltermen's Union.
2. The Western Federation of Miners Union, No. 1.
3. The Metal Mine Workers of America.
4. The Independent Miners' Union.

All these unions claim the same class of work and this causes confliction and jurisdictional controversies with international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. On account of the existing independent unions this is a difficult matter to adjust.

Your committee therefore recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to call a conference of the executive officers of all organizations involved and affected within ninety days from the adjournment of this convention.

1. For the purpose of laying plans to properly organize the men employed in the metal mining industry in Butte, Montana.

2. To reach an understanding so that friction, contention, controversies and strikes may be avoided in the future.

3. That the members of other organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor going to work in and around the mines be protected from infringement on their rights.

We further recommend that a representative of the Council of the American Federation of Labor attend this conference and act as chairman of same. The results of the deliberations of such conference to be reported to the Executive Council as soon thereafter as possible.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Secretary Conboy: Resolution No. 26 was reported on last Thursday, and after discussion the convention instructed that it be held until the proposer of the resolution could be present.

Resolution No. 26—By Delegate David L. Gould, of the Amalgamated Lace Operatives of America:

WHEREAS, Efforts have been made through conferences to bring about the amalgamation of the United Textile Workers of America, the National Mule Spinners Union, and the Amalgamated Lace Operatives, all of which have failed; and

WHEREAS, During said conferences there have been statements made to the effect that the United Textile Workers would stand by Resolution No. 36, adopted by the delegates assembled in the Buffalo Convention of the American Federation of Labor, giving the impression to the representatives of the other organizations involved that there was a feeling existing that they (the United Textile Workers) were not willing to amalgamate, but had an earnest desire to absorb said organizations, and such absorption is not desired by the membership of said organizations; and

WHEREAS, It is a fact that the Textile Workers throughout the country are very poorly organized and that there has been considerable defection from the ranks of the United Textile Workers; especially is this so in the Eastern part of the country; and

WHEREAS, We feel that the only solution to the difficulties now confronting the Textile Workers in general which will establish them on a sound basis and enhance the labor movement amongst this class of workers, is to bring about the establishment of a Textile Department within the Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor stand instructed by this convention to take such steps as are necessary to bring about the formation of a Textile Department within the American Federation of Labor, which will embody the various organizations now affiliated with the Federation of Labor, and which will eventually bring all Textile organizations not

at present within the jurisdiction of the Federation of Labor into and under such jurisdiction.

Your committee non-concurs in this resolution, as we believe the formation of a Textile Department would not bring about the results desired, and would only add additional cost to the organizations composing such a department.

Delegate Gould discussed the question at some length. He opposed the recommendation of the committee and urged the adoption of the resolution.

Secretary Conboy defended the report of the committee, and also discussed the question as a delegate from one of the organizations of textile workers.

Delegate Golden, United Textile Workers, opposed the resolution and favored the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Fleming opposed the committee's report and made an extended statement in regard to the position occupied by the Spinners' Union he represented.

The motion to adopt the recommendation of the committee was carried.

Secretary Conboy read the following recommendation of the committee:

Your Committee on Organization received the information that white organizers of the A. F. of L. have been deported from Birmingham, Alabama, and colored organizer tarred and feathered, their only offense being their efforts to organize the miners of that district. We therefore urge the Executive Council to have an investigation made as soon as possible by the Federal Government, at Birmingham, Alabama, to the end that representatives of the A. F. of L. and its affiliated bodies may be protected in their rights as American citizens.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Secretary Conboy: This completes the report of the Committee on Organization, which is respectfully submitted and signed:

FRANK DUFFY, Chairman,
A. J. KUGLER,
WM. A. NEER,
JOHN L. LEWIS,
THOMAS S. FARRELL,
W. M. WELSH,
JAS. G. GERNOY,
PATRICK FLYNN,
CHAS. F. SCOTT,
WM. S. BROWN,
THOMAS G. SPELLACY,
CHAS. H. MOYER,
SARA A. CONBOY, Secretary.

The report of the committee as a whole was adopted.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON UNION LABELS.

Delegate Hayes (M. S.), Secretary of the Committee, submitted the following report:

Resolution No. 25—By Delegate A. McAndrew, of the Tobacco Workers' International Union:

WHEREAS, The Union Label is one of the most important factors for the maintenance of union factory conditions, as it gives the purchaser of products a means of identifying the Union-made article; and

WHEREAS, The practice of demanding the Union Label is not receiving the attention it should, thereby causing a great waste of time, energy and money, in the work of agitation on the part of the unions having labels, who are trying to keep them before the public eye; and

WHEREAS, The tobacco products bearing the Tobacco Workers' Union Label are not receiving the patronage to which they are entitled, a greater demand for which would be the means of organizing many thousands of the unorganized Tobacco Workers throughout the United States and Canada; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, as delegates to this 38th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled in Saint Paul, Minn., pledge our united effort in creating a greater demand for tobacco, cigarettes and snuff bearing the Union Label and that on our return to our respective unions we will make a special effort amongst the membership of our local unions to the end that a greater demand shall be created for tobacco, cigarettes and snuff bearing the Union Label.

Your committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 56—By the Cigarmakers' Delegation:

WHEREAS, The United Cigar Stores Company, a trust with a chain of stores extending from Coast to Coast, in which it sells cigars and tobaccos, made in its system of controlled cigar and tobacco factories, 95 per cent or more of the employees of which are underpaid, unorganized workers, struggling under long, excessive, exhausting hours of toil, in a hopeless, desperate attempt to maintain life, has recently extended its efforts to control and monopolize the outlet for cigars and tobacco by establishing lunch counters, soda and soft drinks departments in its existing chain of stores, and by securing space in drug stores, hotels, pool rooms, former saloons, corner stores and every available possible place; and

WHEREAS, Ninety-five per cent or more of the sales of the United Cigar Stores Company, is non-union, non-labeled products and is slowly taking the place of union made labeled cigars to the great detriment and financial loss to union cigar makers and several other unions and organized workers thereof; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to this convention of the American Federation of Labor, be and are hereby urged to take note of the facts set forth in the foregoing and that they and all friends be and are hereby earnestly urged to insist upon Union Made cigars bearing the Union Label of the Cigarmakers International Union.

Your committee recommends concurrence in this resolution with the addition of the words "as well as other union labeled products" to the concluding line of the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 129—By Delegate Anna Weinstock, Necktie Workers' Union No. 15200:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor, through its label department, issues labels to be appended to merchandise or articles made under union conditions printed on paper and also on cloth; and

WHEREAS, The labels printed on paper can be made a means of committing frauds upon the public, since such labels can be pasted on merchandise not manufactured under union conditions; and

WHEREAS, The only real evidence that merchandise had been manufactured under union conditions is possible where the label is actually sewed on at the specific place in the course of making the article; be it therefore

RESOLVED, By the thirty-eighth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that no paper labels should be issued through the Label Department of the American Federation of Labor to be used on such articles to which a cloth label can be attached by sewing on at the time of making the article.

Your committee recommends concurrence in this resolution as far as practicable after striking out the words "through its label department" in the first whereas and the same words in the resolve because the Union Label Trades Department does not issue the A. F. of L. or other labels.

The report of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 31—By Delegates J. T. Carey, Geo. J. Schneider, International Brotherhood of Papermakers:

WHEREAS, The International Brotherhood of Papermakers has had its union watermark label on the market for a number of years, and has been consistently urging the use of the paper so watermarked by all users of paper; and

WHEREAS, There are many organizations now using the paper who have complained about the inferior quality of the paper; and

WHEREAS, There are many other organizations who have refused to use the union watermarked paper, setting up the claim that they wanted a better grade of paper at the prevailing prices of other grades; and

WHEREAS, Recognizing the demand for higher grades of paper, the officers of the International Brotherhood of Papermakers have been making diligent efforts to obtain an agreement that would make possible the use of the union watermark label upon various kinds of high grade papers; and

WHEREAS, This effort has at last been crowned with success and an agreement reached with the largest manufacturer of really high grade papers in the country whereby these high grade papers may now be purchased bearing the union watermark label of the International Brotherhood of Papermakers, thus eliminating all the objections and excuses for not using union made paper; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 38th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor urges upon the American Federation of Labor, its various departments, affiliated international and national unions, state and city central bodies, the labor movement generally, and all its friends, that hereafter they see to it that they use no paper for any purpose that does not bear the union watermark label of the International Brotherhood of Papermakers; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Union Label Trades Department be, and hereby is, requested to send out a circular letter to all the international and national unions, the various departments, the state and city central bodies, and all local unions whether affiliated directly with the American Federation of Labor or with international and national unions, urging them to see to it that hereafter they use only paper with the union label watermark of the International Brotherhood of Papermakers.

Your committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

The question was discussed by Delegate Alden, who urged the unions to patronize the mills manufacturing the high grade paper that now bears the watermark of the papermakers' organization for the first time.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Recommendation.

Your committee is pleased to report that, despite the abnormal conditions which exist because of the war, there has been an increased demand for goods made and distributed under union conditions since our last convention, and we cannot too strongly impress upon our fellow-workers the need of a continual and persistent demand for union made goods. Union labor is morally bound to support union labor, and one of the most practical ways to do this is to spend money earned under union conditions only for commodities made and distributed under union conditions. Be consistent and practice what you preach.

Your committee believes that the dissemination of information relative to the advantages secured by the organized workers of our country is absolutely essential to the maintenance of fair working and living conditions, as exemplified by the various union labels, shop cards and working buttons, and that all efforts in this direction should receive the hearty support and cooperation of trade unionists and all fair-minded people.

The activities of the national and international unions having union labels, shop cards and working buttons to exploit are being supplemented by a regularly constituted Department of the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee learns that there are several national and international unions eligible to membership in that department which are not in affiliation to the Union Label Trades Department, and, as each of these organizations should rightfully assume their full share of work and responsibility, we recommend that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be requested to cooperate with the Executive Board of the Union Label Trades Department in an effort to have these unions become affiliated with the Union Label Trades Department.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

JOHN J. MANNING, Chairman.
R. S. SEXTON,
THOMAS SWEENEY,
A. McANDREW,
JACOB FISCHER,
THOMAS NOONAN,
CORNELIUS McCUE,
HUBERT S. MARSHALL,
JAMES F. BROOK,
WILL R. BOYER,
PETER BEISEL,
MARY NOONAN,
CHAS. O. ISAACSON,
AL. LAPORTA,
MAX S. HAYES, Secretary.

The report of the committee as a whole was adopted.

Delegate Konenkamp obtained unanimous consent to the introduction of the following resolution:

Resolution No. 140—By Delegate S. J. Konenkamp, Commercial Telegraphers:

WHEREAS, The President of the United States, in a letter to the heads of the telegraph companies has asked them to cooperate with him by accepting the decision of the National War Labor Board by

(1) Reinstating all employees who were discharged for holding membership in the

Commercial Telegraphers' Union of America and by

(2) Granting the right to organize in legitimate trade unions, and

WHEREAS, President Newcomb Carlton of the Western Union Telegraph Company has followed this request by issuing a call under date of June 13, for a convention of his employes to be held in Chicago, Illinois, on July 10, such convention being for the purpose of perfecting an industrial constitution to control practically all Western Union Workers, the expenses of the convention to be borne by the company; and

WHEREAS, This proposed plan of organization was rejected by ex-President Taft, acting as mediator of the National War Labor Board and was later rejected by the Board itself as being contrary to the principles laid down in President Wilson's proclamation of April 8; and

WHEREAS, This action of the Western Union does not comply with the request of the President nor with the decision of the National War Labor Board neither in fact, spirit or purpose, but seeks to fasten on to the workers the made-to-order, company controlled association of employes so frequently promoted by unscrupulous corporations; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the President of this Convention be and is hereby instructed to wire the President of the United States, the protest of the delegates assembled against this action of the company which is a continuance of their denial to the workers of their right to belong to a legitimate trade union and of the reinstatement of the locked-out employes, a situation which if continued will make it impossible to maintain industrial peace during the period of the war.

Consent was obtained for the immediate consideration of the resolution.

Delegate Noonan, representing the Electrical Workers: As a craft very much interested and which will take part in the trouble, if there is any, I move the adoption of the resolution. (Seconded and carried unanimously.)

Resolution No. 122 was reported on by Committee on Resolutions at the Friday morning session, and after some discussion action was deferred until the presidents of the printing trades could be present. The resolution and report of the committee are as follows:

Resolution No. 122—By Delegates Matthew Woll, Peter J. Brady of the International Photo Engravers' Union; M. G. Scott, Max S. Hayes, Frank Morrison, Hugh Stevenson of the International Typographical Union; George L. Berry, Jos. C. Orr, Chas. O. Isaacson, Wm. H. McHugh, Chas. L. Strunk of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union; A. P. Sovey, Walter N. Reddick of the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; Jas. J. Frezel, Chas. A. Sumner of the International Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union:

WHEREAS, Less than two-thirds of the required news print paper is manu-

factured in the United States, and the production of news print paper being seriously curtailed due to the government's necessities and requirements of power, fuel, oil, tankers, transportation, etc.; and

WHEREAS, Credible information indicates that a substantial percentage of present exports of print paper from this country and Canada is going to newspapers and publications unsympathetic to the cause of our country and the interests of our allies; it is, therefore

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled that the War Trade Board of the United States and the War Trade Board of Canada be requested to immediately prohibit all exports of newsprint paper from the United States for the duration of the war to other than Allied nations.

The committee recommended concurrence.

Delegate Carey had offered as an amendment that there be added after the word "transportation" the words "strikes and lockouts because of low wages and refusal of the companies to recognize the rights of the men to organize."

The amendment was renewed.

The question was discussed by Delegate Hays (J. W.), Typographical Union; Delegate Burke, Pulp and Sulphite Workers; Delegate Woll, Photo Engravers, and Delegate Guerin, Carpenters.

Delegate Hayes (M. S.), Typographical Union: I move that the entire matter be referred to the committee to give the paper makers and everybody interested an opportunity to appear before them. (Seconded and carried.)

Delegate Wilson (James), moved that the report of the Committee on Report of Executive Council be made a special order of business for ten o'clock Tuesday morning. (Seconded and carried.)

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON COOPERATION.

Delegate Walker (J. H.) submitted the following report for the committee:

We, the undersigned Special Committee on Cooperation, whose report was accepted by the Buffalo Convention, submit herewith a report to the St. Paul Convention on the subject of Cooperation as follows:

Subject matter:

(1) The efforts to put into effect the letter and spirit of the action of the Buffalo Convention on the report of the committee to the convention on that occasion:

(2) The financial response from the central labor unions and local unions in the various international and national unions as result of President Gompers' circular letter asking for funds;

(3) Withholding the appointment of a lecturer and adviser as directed by the convention;

(4) The advisability of keeping the subject of cooperation before our membership until a definite line of action is agreed to.

Notwithstanding the fact that little progress since the close of the Buffalo Convention can be reported in behalf of cooperation, by the American Federation of Labor this committee feels that when all the other activities which have engrossed the attention of our unions since the convention closed are considered no just criticism can be made. Only six months have elapsed since the Buffalo Convention decided to assist cooperation practically, and owing to the pressure of other business it was not possible for the Executive Council to authorize submission of the cooperative circular to the separate unions until March of this year; and even though the amount in response to that circular had on June 1 only totaled about \$750 as subscriptions from the local unions, we do not feel that this should in any way be considered a cause to relax our efforts in behalf of cooperation. With so small a fund in hand it has been deemed inadvisable to seriously consider the question of the appointment of any one to the position of lecturer and adviser, as required by the resolution adopted at the Buffalo Convention.

We deem it also advisable to incorporate in this report the fact that the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, in a communication on April 8, 1918, to a member of this committee, Mr. J. H. Walker, President of the Central States Cooperative Society, Springfield, Illinois, in reply to Mr. Walker's letter of March 23, on the subject of income tax and its application to the Central States Cooperative Society, ruled as follows:

"It is, therefore, held that the Central States Cooperative Society is not exempt from filing reports for income tax purposes, as no provision is made in Section 11 (a) of the Act of September 8, 1916, as amended by the Act of October 3, 1917, for the exemption of corporations organized and conducted as is this company."

But since this ruling was made by the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, further correspondence has passed between Mr. Walker and the Treasury Department of the United States. On May 6, Mr. Walker reported as follows:

"I am pleased to say, however, that on taking the subject of income tax up with them further, I have received a communication from Arthur Ballantine, Solicitor of Internal Revenue, and approved by Daniel C. Roper, Commissioner for the Internal Revenue Department, to the effect that Rochdale Cooperative societies will not be required to pay income tax on returned savings (so-called dividends); that the only moneys they will be required to pay taxes upon will be the profit they make selling goods to non-members. As this is usually a small item in the cooperative movement, and there is always a division made in keeping accounts as between the sales to members and those to non-members, it will be easy to make the separation, and it will work practically no hardship on the movement to pay what little tax they are entitled to pay on that basis.

"This, in my judgment, is everything that the cooperative movement could ask or expect from the Government in the way of a ruling on this matter."

We deem it advisable to specifically call the attention of the convention to this latter interpretation of the Income Tax law by Solicitor Ballantine, for the express purpose of cautioning our membership not to accept any official ruling as a permanent interpretation of the present law. The Income Tax law is a law which will be regularly upon our statute books. Our organizations were largely responsible for its enactment. As time progresses, other officials will occupy the positions now filled by both Messrs. Roper and Ballantine, who have given conflicting opinions, and the interpretations of the coming officials may be entirely different and may possibly reverse the opinions here cited.

We therefore recommend that the convention favor an amendment to the Federal Income Tax laws, by which cooperative societies, organized under the "no profit" system, be added to the exemption section of the Income Tax law, and that every reasonable effort be made to obtain relief from Congress by this suggested method. To bring about an amendment to the law is the only safe and positive course to adopt. Under a proper exemption clause cooperative societies would be entirely free from any possible reverse or cross rulings by administrative officials.

We feel it incumbent upon us to advise that our general membership should be impressed with the fact that cooperative enterprises cannot be established merely by the adoption of formal resolutions in national conventions or at local meetings. Hard individual work, constant application of collective service and the employment of necessary funds, if cooperative activity and success are seriously contemplated, must be the prospect for all who sincerely favor cooperation.

We believe that while it may take some time and considerable effort to interest our membership generally in the desirability and practicability of cooperative development, it is within possible achievement and in agreement with the trend of times. With cost of living at its present high level it seems to us that now is the most favorable occasion to impress upon our membership the value of the Rochdale Cooperative System.

We therefore respectfully urge the convention to keep the subject-matter on the program of the American Federation of Labor and keep it there until the sentiment of our membership becomes finally crystallized in favor of this progressive economic movement.

At the Buffalo Convention your Committee on Cooperation had the following recommendations which we take the liberty to reiterate. The recommendations were:

1. A democratic organization.
 2. One vote for each member with equality in share ownership.
 3. Cash returns quarterly to members of the difference between the total amount they have paid for their purchases and the lesser total cost of these purchases to the cooperative society; including among the costs depreciation and a reasonable amount for a reserve fund to meet emergencies and extend the business.
 4. Rejection of the principle of profits.
 5. Current interest on loan capital.
 6. Sales where possible, preferably to members only.
 7. Distributive cooperation to precede productive.
 8. A sufficient number of retail stores to be established to assure a market before a wholesale department is created.
 9. Observance of methods recommended by the International Cooperative Alliance.
- This report and the foregoing quoted recommendations were referred to the Committee on Executive Council's Report which concurred in and recommended that the report of the Committee on Cooperation be endorsed with the following qualifications: "Your committee is therefore in full accord with the intent and purposes sought to be attained in this report, approves the submitted plan and recommends reference of the entire matter to the Executive Council with authority to make such deviations therefrom as it may deem expedient, advisable or essential."

We hold and declare that a movement which is of such vital importance and concern to the organized workers and the people in general, should be under the guidance of a substantial recognized force such as the American Federation of Labor, those who are most closely and vitally interested,

while it would accept information voluntarily given from any source whatever.

We wish to give full credit to the good intentions of persons not members of actual working cooperative societies who have brought the subject to public attention and assisted in promoting the principle in the United States. But there should be no room left for doubt at any time that the dominating influence and control of the societies should be the actual workers.

The committee has received since our last report and is holding letters, documents, et cetera, bearing on cooperation, which matter is now on file at the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor.

Since our last report to the Buffalo Convention many of the existing cooperative stores and societies have added new departments and enlarged their activities to an appreciable extent; a considerable number of new stores have been started, especially in Illinois and in the western states. Wherever these societies have adhered to the fundamental principle as exemplified by the Rochdale System, they have been uniformly successful, and, moreover, that which is of interest not one failure has come under the observation of your committee.

While your committee is mindful of the fact that the time of the members of the Executive Council has been taxed to the limit, we, realizing the importance of the welfare of the workers, the masses, from the benefits of the cooperative movement, earnestly urge and respectfully recommend that the members of the Council place the

foregoing recommendations among the foremost purposes for practical enactment.

G. W. PERKINS, Chairman,
A. E. HOLDER,
W. D. MAHON,
J. H. WALKER,
J. W. SULLIVAN, Secretary.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Walker made a brief address at the close of the report. He spoke of the growth of the cooperative movement in Illinois, where there are now about seventy cooperative societies established, and stated that in addition to the retail stores a wholesale department has been started which already employs two men and promises to be successful. He explained at length the importance of the movement and the advantage it will be to the workers when fully established.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

At 5:30 the convention was adjourned to 9:30 a. m., Tuesday, June 18th.

EIGHTH DAY--Tuesday Morning Session

The Auditorium,
St. Paul, Minn., June 18, 1918.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 a. m., Tuesday, June 18th, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—Kline, Proebstle, Obergfell, Corcoran, Boyer, Reeves, Desepthe, Fisher (F.), Feeney, Humphrey, Williams (Jno.), O'Connor, Wharton, Van Lear, Lane, Schmidt (F.), McCreash, White (J. P.), Moore (J.), Valentine, Weber, Hedrick, Kearney, Anderson (C.), McHugh, Ryan (E. J.), Thompson (J. Y.), Stillman, Curtis, Scott (M. G.), Hatch, Mountford, Toone, Clinedinst, Wilk, Spencer (G. M.), Hoof, Stewart (R. G.), Bailey, Conley, Moncur, Hutton, Morgan, Taylor (C. O.), O'Dell, Brown, (B. F.), McGurty, Smith (J. T.), Thompson (G. H.), Nelson, Brindell, Barbour, Greene (M. F.), Curran, Fricke, McGurk, Wilkinson, Fanning, Bush, Kuhn, McGovern, Hester, Casey, Bruen, Harte, Browne, Lampa, Morris, Wendell, Schultz, Quesse, Kester, Staunton, Walker (M.), Waplington, de Krafft, Williams (T. J.), Birch, Ellicott, Paramore, Riordan, Byrne.

Fraternal Delegate Moore, Canada: I stated the other day that the government had ordered printed the speeches of President Gompers while he was in Canada. I have secured, through the courtesy of the Canadian Government, sufficient copies of the speeches for your use and they will be passed around among you.

Secretary Morrison read the following communications:

Minneapolis, Minn., June 17, 1918.

To the Officers and Delegates of the 38th Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Dear Sirs and Brothers:

You are cordially invited to be present at a reception tendered by the Alliance of Labor and Democracy and the Trades and Labor Assembly of Minneapolis to the European and Mexican Labor Missions of the American Federation of Labor at the Minneapolis Court House Assembly

Room, Wednesday evening, June 19th, at 8 p. m.

Yours fraternally,
Alliance of Labor and Democracy,
By G. PLAGMAN, President.
Trades and Labor Assembly of Minneapolis and Hennepin County,
By LESLIE SINTON, Secretary.

American Federation of Labor Convention, Frank Morrison, Secretary, St. Paul, Minn.:

Seattle Central Labor Council, representing 60,000 Loyal Unionists, sends hearty good wishes and trusts history will record this the most progressive and constructive convention ever assembled in the interests of America and American workers. We also extend to you a most cordial invitation to hold your next convention in Seattle, the best city in the world.

CENTRAL LABOR COUNCIL OF SEATTLE,

C. W. DOYLE, Secretary Pro Tem.

Delegate Sebree asked the President if the British Fraternal Delegates had arrived in the United States.

President Gompers: They have not reached the United States. Some difficulty has arisen in regard to the passports. On May 31 a cablegram was received from Mr. Charles Bowerman, of the Parliamentary Committee of the British Trades and Labor Congress, in substance saying that difficulty was being encountered in securing the passports of the fraternal delegates, and asking me to help in securing them. Within half an hour after I received the cablegram I addressed a letter to the Secretary of State, quoting the cablegram, and relating the history of the interchange of fraternal delegates between the American Federation of Labor and the British Trades Union Congress since and including 1895, and asking that a cablegram be sent the American Embassy asking that the passports be vised and given to Miss Bonfield and Mr Hall. At the same

time I cabled Mr. Bowerman that I had referred the matter to the State Department. However, it is apparent the passports were not given, and Mr. Bowerman cabled me a few days ago that it was then too late for the fraternal delegates to leave for the United States, and protesting against the action of the American government.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON BUILDING TRADES.

Delegate Griggs, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Carpenters-Sheet Metal Workers.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption the committee reported as follows:

Your committee heartily endorses the efforts of the officers of the American Federation of Labor and the Building Trades Department to assist the officers of the Carpenters and Sheet Metal Workers to bring this long standing contention to a successful termination and we further recommend that their efforts be continued.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Machinists-Carpenters.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption the committee reported as follows:

Your committee recommends the two contending parties have an early conference and attempt to adjust their differences at an early date.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Fire Prevention Laws.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption the committee reported as follows:

At the Buffalo Convention Resolution 88 dealt with the loss of life and property through fire, and the convention took favorable action on the passage of state and national legislation which will relieve the present great loss of life and property caused by fire. Communications were addressed by the State Federation of Labor relative to this subject, and the responses to these communications show that the following states have fire prevention laws:

Arkansas, Colorado, Connecticut, District of Columbia, Georgia, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, New Hampshire, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Tennessee, Texas, Vermont, Virginia, Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin.

In order that the various statutes effective in the various states may be increased in their effectiveness, it is essential that the various organizations engaged in the building industry should seek such amendments as would carry into effect the purposes of the resolution referred to.

The entire matter is brought to the attention of the convention for the purpose

of affording opportunity to make further specific recommendations in dealing with this subject in the future.

Your committee recommends that the subject matter be referred to the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department for the purpose of having all states adopt uniform laws for fire prevention.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

The committee amended Resolution No. 103 by inserting in line 7, first whereas, the words "in certain localities," the amended resolution to read:

Resolution No. 103.—By Delegates of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paper Hangers of America:

WHEREAS, Numerous complaints have been received from local unions of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paper Hangers of America that the War Department, the Navy Department, the Emergency Fleet Corporation, Government officials and private contractors doing work for the Government, have refused in certain localities to pay the prevailing rate of wages and to live up to union conditions that it has taken years of effort to establish; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor was given assurance that the standard rate of wages and the established conditions in the various trades in the different localities would be recognized and maintained; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor and its affiliated International Unions are a unit in their loyalty to our Government and our country and in their whole-hearted support for the winning of the war and are doing, and will continue to do, their utmost to press the struggle to a successful issue; and

WHEREAS, In virtue of the assurances given, we are justified in expecting that on all Government work, whether done directly by the departments or through private contractors, not less than the prevailing rate of wages shall be paid and union rules regarding hours of labor and payment for overtime shall be respected; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be and are hereby instructed to cooperate with the officers of the Building and Trades Departments that this understanding between the Government and organized labor may be carried out and, if necessary, that they take up the matter with the secretaries of the several departments and with President Wilson, in order that the spirit and purpose of this resolution may be accomplished.

Your committee recommends the adoption of resolution as amended.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 104.—By Delegates of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paper Hangers of America:

WHEREAS, In order to provide for the housing and training of the men of the National Army, the Government was compelled to establish cantonment camps and to erect a great number of buildings and to have them ready for occupancy in the shortest possible time and, in order to do this, was forced to defer the painting of the exterior and the finishing of the interior; and

WHEREAS, The exposure of the buildings to the winter storms and the summer sun has already rendered them unsightly, and will soon cause them to become dilapidated and unsanitary and unfit for habitation; and

WHEREAS, This valuable property, costing hundreds of millions of dollars, could be preserved indefinitely and made sanitary, wholesome and attractive by the expenditure of a comparatively small sum of money; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be directed to urge the authorities at Washington to make provision for the protection of the health of our soldiers and for the preservation of these buildings by painting them upon the outside and by taking the measures necessary to render them sanitary upon the interior.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 107—By Delegates of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paper Hangers of America:

WHEREAS, It has been reported that the men in the United States military service are painting buildings, in the training and other camps, and vessels in the transport service, which reports upon investigation have been shown to be well-founded; and

WHEREAS, The Government has given assurance that enlisted and drafted men should not be employed to do painting and other work of a like nature; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be directed to urge upon the War Department, Navy Department and other departments to discontinue this practice that, if persisted in, will result in the disemployment of civilian citizens.

Your committee recommends concurrence of the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Secretary Griggs: Your committee submits the following report in the form of a resolution:

WHEREAS, The Housing Commission of the United States Emergency Fleet Corporation, have awarded contracts for building of government houses in the city of Philadelphia, Pa., and vicinity, to certain contractors, who have been and are in opposition to the building craftsmen, and to the fair contractors in Philadelphia, Pa., inasmuch as they have discriminated

against the members of organized labor, and have steadily refused to pay the standard rate of wages, or conform to the working conditions, as established by the wage earners, and their employers in the building industry, at Philadelphia, Pa., and vicinity; and

WHEREAS, These contracts were awarded despite the protests of the international officers, whose members would be seriously affected by the letting of these houses to these contractors who discriminate against their members; and,

WHEREAS, It is a well known fact that the contracts awarded to these antagonistic firms was brought about by the strong influence exerted upon the Housing Commission, by the admiral in charge of this district who has shown his antagonism to the labor movement upon many occasions; and

WHEREAS, This method of discriminating against legitimate contractors and builders in the city of Philadelphia and vicinity, in favor of a few employers, who have never met the standard conditions of the wage workers, is bound to lead to dissatisfaction, delays, waste and inefficiency; and,

WHEREAS, Organized labor has pledged and has given its support unreservedly to our government, to the end that the war may be prosecuted to a speedy and successful termination, and stands prepared to do everything within its power to prevent any stoppage in essential work during the period of the war; and,

WHEREAS, We believe that all Government officials, empowered to award contracts should put forth every effort to coordinate with the officers of organized labor to carry out their pledges given and agreements made with the Government, and to this end should not award contracts to firms whose policies are in direct conflict with these pledges and agreements; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we insist that the Government officials, who have charge of the housing programme of the United States Emergency Fleet Corporation, shall require that the established wages, hours and working conditions, as established in the City of Philadelphia and other places where similar conditions prevail, shall be enforced on the work of these contracts to the end that organized labor shall not be hampered or interfered with in carrying out its patriotic pleasures to our Government; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of these resolutions be sent by the secretary of the American Federation of Labor to President Wilson, Mr. Hurley and to the Housing Commission of the United States Emergency Fleet Corporation.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Stevens, Boston, moved that the report be amended by adding after the word "Philadelphia," line 5, second paragraph from close of report "and other places where similar conditions prevail." Seconded by Delegate McClory, Ironworkers.

The amendment was adopted and the report of the committee as amended was adopted.

Secretary Griggs: This completes the report of the committee.

Signed: JOHN DONLIN, Chairman,
 JAMES P. NOONAN,
 THOMAS M. GUERIN,
 WM. MCSORLEY,
 J. C. SKEMP,
 CHARLES RAU,
 FRANK FEENEY,
 JOHN J. HYNES,
 JOSEPH D. WILL,
 HENRY SANDS,
 J. M. GAVLAK,
 WM. J. BOWEN,
 J. E. MCCLORY,
 DOMINICK D'ALESSANDRO,
 SAM GRIGGS, Secretary,
 Committee on Building Trades.

Delegate Griggs moved the adoption of the report of the committee as amended as a whole. The motion was seconded and carried.

President Gompers: A telegram has been received which I am sure the delegates will be gratified to hear read. It is from Nashville, Tenn., dated June 18th, addressed to Samuel Gompers:

Nashville Railway Company's injunction against the Amalgamated Association of Street Railway Men dissolved by the court. Court ruled that the railway company's contract with individual men not to join the union void. Great victory for labor.

ALBERT E. HILL.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON REPORT OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

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

Report of Trustees of A. F. of L. Building.

Reporting on that section of the Executive Council's Report, entitled "Report of Trustees of A. F. of L. Building," on page 47, your committee has looked into this subject in as comprehensive a manner as the time allotted would permit. We have examined both the expenditures and the receipts and find them correct.

We also express our belief and confidence in the able and efficient manner in which the trustees of the A. F. of L. Building have administered the affairs entrusted to their care. We agree in the viewpoint that the A. F. of L. building has added prestige and dignity to our cause and our country, and endorse the expenditures and financial policy as noted in this report.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Compulsory Labor Laws.

Under the title of "Compulsory Labor Laws" on pages 82-83, the Executive Council sets forth at length the campaign which has been undertaken to create an impression that voluntary institutions and methods are not effective in war work, and relates in detail some of the features in the law enacted by the State of Maryland, which need careful observation lest they may prove injurious to the best interests of the workers.

Your committee is of the opinion and belief that willful idleness should be discouraged, especially during the period of the war, but we question the wisdom and efficiency of compulsory legislation that does not safeguard and protect the inalienable rights of the worker to organize and maintain adequate wages and fair-working conditions. Many serious and grave problems may arise under the enforcement of these laws, and many hardships may be imposed on men placed at a peculiar and sudden disadvantage through no fault of their own. There is a grave suspicion that the enactment of so-called anti loafing laws may prove to be a subtle attempt to inaugurate a system of industrial conscription and that these laws may be used by private commercial and industrial interests to compel workers to accept employment under a wage and working condition wherein the American standard of living cannot be maintained.

Your committee believes there is altogether too much talk of the conscription of labor and that too many persons look to coercion as the remedy for industrial ills. We hold that the American worker does not need to be forced to serve his country in industry, but that he will gladly give the best that is within him to assure victory in the noble cause in which our country is now engaged.

Your committee is in accord with the recommendations of the Executive Council and all that is said on this subject and that we should not advocate this sort of legislation, but that when proposed and pending as a war emergency measure, that we insist on effective guarantees for the full protection of the rights of the workers along the lines indicated in the Council's Report.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Injunction Case—United Mine Workers.

In reporting on the subject of "Injunction Case—United Mine Workers," contained in the Executive Council's Report on pages 86-92, it should be clearly understood that this case of the United Mine Workers and the case of the Coronada Coal Company vs. the United Mine Workers of America, reported on separately, do not involve the application or interpretation of the Clayton Anti-Trust Law, inasmuch as the litigation in these cases was instituted before the enactment of the Clayton Anti-Trust Law.

Your committee is therefore of the opinion that similar litigation in our Federal Courts is not probable, though one cannot say with any degree of certainty what liberties may be taken by some of our Judges in the exercise of their powers of interpretation and construction of laws and assumption of legal fictions to justify certain fixed conclusions. Your committee, however, realizes fully that the principles invoked by the United States Supreme Court in this case will unquestionably be followed by some of our State Courts, where laws similar to the Clayton Anti-Trust Law are not in existence. It is therefore imperative that immediate steps be taken for the early enactment of anti-injunction laws by all our States, similar to the Clayton Act.

Your committee is of the opinion that hostile employing interests will no doubt take advantage of this decision by requiring their employes to enter into contracts, as a condition for their employment, not to join or affiliate with the trade union movement. It is therefore necessary and essential that we clearly declare and define our attitude on this subject. We hold that the requirement as a condition of employment by any employer, that the workers shall not join a union, is a direct violation of the constitutional right to freedom of action, and places into the hands of the employing interests the sole power of determining the conditions of life of the overwhelming mass of our people. This requirement is therefore clearly and unmistakably in conflict with every principle and ideal of democracy. In our opinion, the same principles which impel governments to enact rules to prevent fraud—to protect those who observe the accepted moral code against those who disregard every moral principle, to protect the weak against the strong, demands

enactment of laws to protect the workers against the power, influence and dominance of those in possession and control of the opportunities of employment. We affirm that contracts of employment entered into by force of hunger and distress, by suffering and denial of an opportunity to freedom of choice, are unilateral in character and accepted only by force of industrial duress, and therefore not binding either in law or morals. Your committee is in full accord with the report of the Executive Council on this subject, and agrees that relief from such decisions lies not only in legislation but in educating public opinion and in changing the personnel of the Judiciary so as to secure judges who not only understand economic problems, but who will respond to the necessities of our time in fully protecting the workers in the assertion of their right to a just reward for service given.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee. The motion was adopted unanimously.

Coronada Coal Company vs. United Mine Workers of America.

Reporting on that portion of the Executive Council's Report under the caption of "Coronada Coal Company vs. United Mine Workers of America," pages 83 and 84, your committee submits the following:

There is involved in this case, not alone the right to strike—the right of the workers to combine for the purpose of dealing collectively with their labor power, and by reason of the control of labor, demand and command a voice in determining the working conditions which should prevail, but there is also involved in this case a direct attack and encroachment on the system of trial by jury—the fundamental guarantee to the rights and liberties of a free people. It is evident from a careful reading of the attitude and expressions, that Judge Elliott was determined to find the Miners' Union guilty, whether right or wrong. Never in the history of our land has there been such a flagrant and vicious disregard to the constitutional guarantee of our people to a fair and just trial. The threatened attitude by which the court in this case required the jury to find the Miners' Union in error, is an attack as well on the right and freedom of the jurors to determine issues submitted to them. As American citizens, as lovers of freedom and fair play, we are in duty bound to resist to our fullest extent the

encroachment of our courts upon the right to a fair trial by jury, uninfluenced, much less coerced in its judgment. We believe this attack upon this fundamental institution of our government to protect the rights and liberties of a free people by Judge Elliott, disqualifies him to be longer vested with any degree of judicial authority, and your committee recommends that the Executive Council be authorized to immediately consider at the earliest possible time steps looking to the impeachment from office of one who has so flagrantly disregarded his oath of office, to maintain inviolate the constitutional rights, privileges and guarantees of our people.

We also direct your attention to the dangerous extent to which the principles of agency have been invoked in this case, and upon the attack made upon the right of the workers to strike. If these principles are permitted to be used by our Courts the trade union movement will be seriously hampered if not ultimately destroyed in its successful and effective operation carrying with it the possibility of substituting in place of a peaceful, orderly and responsible trade union movement, a movement violent in temper and irresponsible in character. The best interests of all citizens therefore demands that the principles devised and applied in this case must be repudiated and that the workers shall be unmolested by our courts and judges to deal with industrial problems and relations.

We recommend that the officers of the A. F. of L. be authorized and empowered to the fullest possible extent to cooperate with the United Mine Workers to have this decision reversed and annulled and the principles involved repudiated.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Green, United Mine Workers: I arise for the purpose, first, as a representative of the United Mine Workers of America, directly involved in the question reported on by the committee, to say that we are in hearty accord with the report they have made; and, secondly, to impress upon the delegates the far reaching importance of this case. I feel the committee has covered the question in an admirable manner. The report of the committee, I think, places the position of the American Federation of Labor squarely before the courts of our country and before the people of our land.

I might explain that this case is so important that the final decision of it not only affects the United Mine Workers' organization, but it affects the well being, the permanency and the effectiveness of every organization affiliated in this great movement. The final decision of this case must not be considered as applying to only the United Mine Workers' organization, but it applies to the entire American labor movement. If the United Mine Workers can be mulcted under the Sherman Anti-Trust Law, as decided by the jury in the federal court at Ft. Smith, Ark., because a local strike took place and as a result of that strike certain damages were inflicted upon the coal company in that community, then the same can be true when a local strike occurs for which an international union is responsible in reference to and in relation to any organization affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

We were required, in appealing this case, to furnish a cash bond of \$300,000. This bond was supplied by the United Mine Workers of America. The judgment was for \$600,000, the costs approximately \$200,000, and the court fixed the bond at \$800,000. We cannot tell, of course, what the decision will be. We most earnestly hope and believe that the judgment of the lower court will be reversed. We believe the whole proceeding is full of errors, and especially the part referred to by the committee, wherein the judge showed himself so biased as to practically instruct the jury to bring in a verdict against the United Mine Workers. We have appealed the case and we are determined to carry it to the Supreme Court of the United States for a conclusion. We have employed the best council we could get and we are doing all we can to win the case. Hon. Alton B. Parker has been employed as associate counsel, and we hope that the final decision will be in our favor.

Delegate Walker (J. H.), United Mine Workers: The action of the state courts in issuing injunctions is being used at the present time to accomplish the purposes the federal courts used to accomplish for them, in preventing the establishment of organizations through the issuance of injunctions which made it practically impossible without violating the court's orders to do any of the activities of the trade union movement where the employers opposed organization. In Illinois we have something like eight or nine hundred thousand trade unionists.

Some of the courts in Illinois are probably the worst in the country in doing the work formerly done by the federal courts in preventing the work of organization. We tried to get the Injunction Limitation Bill passed in the last session of the Illinois legislature and were defeated by one vote. There were 220,000 members of the Illinois State Federation of Labor at that time, out of approximately 900,000 trade unionists in the state. This is not only important to the state movement, it is just as vitally important to the national organizations as it is to the state organizations, because the state courts throughout the country are working along the same lines, and the effect is to prevent, from a national point of view, the work being done.

It is as important for the national and international organizations to see that their locals are in the state federations and making the fight to get this law enacted as it was to get the Clayton Law enacted. I hope the officers of the national and international unions will take this up and use their influence to get their locals into the state federations so that we can get these state anti-injunction bills enacted and eliminate the last chance the corporations have of violating the exact language of the Clayton Law.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried unanimously.

Delegate Koveleski: I move that the remarks of the two miners' delegates be printed in full in the proceedings. Seconded and carried.

Health Insurance—Insurance Against Employment.

Upon Resolutions No. 101 and No. 135, and the sections of the Executive Council's report under the above caption the committee reported:

Resolution No. 101—By Delegates John F. Stevens, of the Boston, Mass., Central Labor Union; P. Harry Jennings, of the Massachusetts State Branch; Martin T. Joyce of the United Brotherhood of Electrical Workers:

WHEREAS, During the past few years great efforts have been made to obtain the approval and support of organized labor to a scheme for Social Health Insurance, promoted by persons and organizations who have no affiliation with the Labor movement; and

WHEREAS, Owing to the intensive and costly campaign which the promoters of this scheme have carried on during the past two years, at one time seeking to have this legislation adopted in twenty-eight different states, suspicion has been aroused that this scheme is supported

by those who, for years, have sought to disrupt and retard the cause of the workers; and

WHEREAS, The Executive Council in their report, submitted to this convention, have pointed out the necessity of investigating this matter; and

WHEREAS, We believe that the best interests of the Trade Union movement demands that an immediate investigation be made of the subject in order that the workers may be authoritatively advised of the benefits or dangers of this scheme and the advisability of supporting or rejecting it; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council are hereby instructed to make an immediate investigation of this question and to point out its dangers or benefits with their recommendations thereon as soon as possible, and the Executive Council are further instructed to ascertain, if possible, what are the financial resources of the persons and organizations promoting this scheme and what relation they may have with those interests who are opposed to the best interests of the Labor movement; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the report of the Executive Council on this subject and their recommendations thereon be printed in the American Federationist when completed.

Resolution No. 135—Introduced by Benjamin Schlesinger, J. Heller, I. Feinberg, Max Gorenstein, Mollie Friedman and Alfred LaPorta, Delegates of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union:

WHEREAS, The workers are the creative forces of wealth of the Nation and contribute towards its industrial growth and development; and

WHEREAS, In the absence of proper provisions for caring for the physically incapacitated workers, these in very large numbers yearly become public charges; and

WHEREAS, It is generally recognized that it is the supreme duty of the Nation to maintain and uplift the physical and economic standards of its citizens and to care for such of its workers as become physically unable to earn a livelihood; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor declares itself in favor of the adoption by the Government of a comprehensive national system of Social Insurance, and instructs its executive council to take all such steps as lie within its power to hasten the adoption of this measure.

Under the captions of "Health Insurance" and "Insurance Against Unemployment" on page 94 and page 116, the Executive Council in its report expresses the urgent need for a careful study on the desirability of enacting laws providing for the payment of sick benefits during times of illness.

Resolution No. 101 relating to this same subject, affirms the necessity for an investigation but seeks to extend its scope in

order to determine what financial or industrial interests, if any, are supporting movements which are interested in furthering this kind of legislation.

Resolution No. 135 seeks an immediate approval of legislation of this character and denies the opportunity for an investigation.

Your committee notes that the Executive Council rightfully distinguishes trade and occupational diseases from general illnesses not attributable to employment in industry and commerce. We believe that trade and occupational diseases should be considered in law as well as in fact an obligation on industry and that those who contract for the employment of the workers should be required to provide compensation to those suffering by health impairment due to their employment. Your committee, therefore recommends approval of this part of the Executive Council's report.

Your committee also views with favor the recommendation of the Executive Council on the general subject of "Health Insurance" in that a special committee should be appointed for the purpose indicated in its report.

Your committee therefor recommends approval of that part of the Executive Council's report.

Your committee believes that the investigation intended in Resolution No. 101 should be considered by this special committee and therefore recommends reference of Resolution No. 101 to the special committee hereby provided.

Your committee believes the action asked for in Resolution 135 is at variance with the investigation which should necessarily precede a definite conclusion or program on this subject. Your committee therefore recommends non-approval of that resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Gorenstein, Ladies Garment Workers: We introduced Resolution No. 135, and I take issue with the committee in the report. The object of the committee is not to establish immediately a certain plan but to have a thorough investigation. The main object of the introducers of the resolution was to back up the Executive Council and to emphasize the necessity of the government taking control of this insurance. We do not want private corporations or companies to come out and offer all kinds of disability insurance to the workers. I therefore amend the motion that this resolution be embod-

led and referred to the same special committee as the other resolutions.

The motion to adopt the recommendations of the committee was carried.

Charges Against Arthur Yager.

Under the caption, "Charges Against Arthur Yager, Governor of Porto Rico," page 98, the Executive Council relates the serious difficulties encountered by the workers of Porto Rico in their exercise of the right of free assemblage and voluntary association for the purpose of solving their problems of working conditions.

Your committee is in accord with the demands made by the workers of Porto Rico and recommends that the American Federation of Labor should do all in its power to help our fellow workers in Porto Rico to secure that degree of freedom and opportunity for the improvement of their lot as workers as we claim and exercise for ourselves.

It is evident that the sugar interests, said to be largely controlled by German capital, are dominating the affairs in Porto Rico. It should be our purpose to assure the workers of Porto Rico and impress those land holding interests that governments are not instituted for the monopolizing of lands and exploiting of labor, but that they are created and can only survive when administered to safeguard life, establish liberty and justice and promote happiness of all peoples under its influence and control.

Your committee believes that the industrial unrest in Porto Rico demands a thorough investigation into the conditions of living and employment of these workers, and therefore recommends that the War Labor Board be requested to make such an investigation and do everything within its power to right the wrongs being perpetrated on these workers.

Your committee has also considered the charges made against Arthur Yager, Governor of Porto Rico, by President Gompers, and is in full accord with the action taken by President Gompers in requesting President Wilson to investigate the conduct of Governor Yager, not only as it has to do with the suppression of the workers' rights, but also as to his dilatory and seemingly evasive tactics toward all measures essential to the successful prosecution of the war. German military influence must be stamped out in high as well as in low stations of life. We recommend that the Executive Council continue to press these charges.

The report of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 50—By Delegate Samuel Gompers of the Cigarmakers:

WHEREAS, The Island of Porto Rico, as a result of the war with Spain came under the control of the United States Government in 1898 and was governed directly by federal representatives until 1917; and

WHEREAS, Congress by enactment of the so-called "Jones Bill," provided for the people of the Island citizenship and local self-government with the right to choose their representatives in both branches of the Insular Government; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled that it is the sense of this convention that to continue the policy of keeping the Island of Porto Rico in the Bureau of Insular Affairs of the War Department as a part of the military arm of the national government, is repugnant to every principle of our democratic form of government, especially now when one hundred thousand young men of that Island have registered under the selective draft act to make the world safe for democracy; and be it further

RESOLVED, That inasmuch as the people of Porto Rico having been granted a civil form of government in harmony with our territorial form of government, and being a law-abiding and peaceful race of people that this convention, through its officers, requests of the President of the United States to transfer the official governmental business of that Island from the Bureau of Insular Affairs to a civic department and in our judgment the Department of the Interior, which department has always had official supervision over all our territorial forms of government.

Your committee considered Resolution No. 50, in connection with that part of the Executive Council's report on the subject of "Charges Against Arthur Yager, Governor of Porto Rico," and finds that the proposal contained in this resolution is not only timely, but that the ideals and principles of our government demand its adoption.

Your committee therefore recommends approval of this resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Vice-President Duncan in the chair.

Report on Labor Legislation.

Under the caption, "Report on Labor Legislation" page 100, the Executive Council sets forth in the form of a summary, legislation of interest to labor enacted during the second session of the Sixty-Fourth Congress and portion of the second session of the Sixty-Fifth Congress. Contained in this summary are

thirty-one laws, each of which in some way or other protects or promotes the best interests of the workers. This presentation of legislative achievements is a splendid tribute to the influence and effectiveness of the American Federation of Labor, and amply demonstrates the prudence and foresight displayed by the officers of the A. F. of L. and the representatives of the trade union movement; we therefore recommend approval of this part of the Executive Council's Report.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

President Gompers: I arise at this time to make an observator on two upon a matter which seems to me timely and appropriate. In the report which the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor has submitted to this convention is contained, as the committee states, a number of laws which have been proposed or promoted and supported by the American Federation of Labor. There have been other laws proposed which have been opposed by the American Federation of Labor, and there is not a law of a practical character proposed by the labor movement of this country that has not had a great measure of success. There has not been a law proposed in antagonism to the American labor movement which has not been defeated.

In the report which the Executive Council submitted and upon which the committee has just reported there is no consideration—and necessarily so—of the laws proposed and the laws opposed in the previous sessions of this Congress and of previous Congresses. There is one feature your attention should be called to, that when a bill was recently under consideration in Congress there was an amendment adopted by the House of Representatives, proposed by Joseph G. Cannon, of Illinois—dear Uncle Joe—which if it became a law would have made any cessation of work for any reason, no matter what the high purposes or the necessity of it, a criminal act and punishable by a fine or by a long term of imprisonment, or both.

I have just been informed that the committee has a report to make on this feature of the matter I was just attempting to discuss, and with your consent, Mr. Chairman and delegates, I will yield that the committee may read, for the information of the convention, what the Ex-

Executive Council has attempted to do. I yield, therefore, for that purpose.

Injury to War Material Law.

Secretary Woll read the portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption and read the following report of the committee thereon:

Reporting on the subject contained in the Executive Council's Report entitled "Injury to War Material Law" page 108, your committee unhesitatingly recommends approval and endorsement of the action and attitude of the officers of the A. F. of L. as set forth in this report. Nothing would have proven more disastrous than the adoption of the amendment proposed by ex-Speaker Cannon. This amendment not only displays a most pronounced prejudice hostile to the best interests of the workers, but evidences either a total lack of understanding, or complete disregard for the fundamentals underlying industrial relations. To place peaceful strikes in the category of crimes is not a remedy for industrial unrest. Strikes do not signify that men are unwilling to work, but do mean that the workers are not willing to give services under conditions that private employers consider more conducive to their own prosperity.

Your committee finds that the Executive Council and its officers met this proposal diligently and effectively and approves this part of its report.

President Gompers: Representative Lund, from New York, offered a further amendment that the strikes or cessations of work caused by a resistance to inferior conditions attempted to be imposed, or for better conditions of labor, should not be regarded as in conflict with the law, or should not be regarded as criminal. The bill came before the Senate and the discussion became so acute there was almost complete dissent from the action taken by the House. It came to a conference between the representatives of the Senate and the House, and then the American Federation of Labor, through its officers and its legislative committee, began a campaign of insistence upon the right of the toilers to own themselves and their labor power, and to give it freely in support of our government, but opposed to any attempt to make the normal activities of the workers criminal. I haven't with me at this moment a copy of the letter I had the honor of addressing to the conferees of the Senate and the

House, and furnished a copy to each member of the Senate and of the House. The position we took was that if the Cannon amendment was retained the Lund amendment also should be retained, that either both should be retained or both eliminated—and both were eliminated.

To you men and women who are actively participating in the labor movement this statement may be entirely superfluous, but I hold in my hand a copy of a weekly publication which characterizes the American Federation of Labor and our movement generally in such terms that I feel it necessary to read a paragraph in which reference is found to our activities. The paper is "The New Republic." It has in the past quite frequently indulged itself in its self-constituted censorship and mentorship of the American labor movement. It is not alone in the position it takes, for there are some few others, and it was necessary only a few months ago to take issue with the editor of another weekly publication, "The Survey," which also undertakes to be the censor and mentor of the American labor movement. The sum total of our offense is that, although we welcome the advice and the suggestions and the sympathetic support of any and all who are willing to give them to our men and women and our movement, we decline to yield the leadership of our movement to those who do not work.

"The New Republic," on June 8th, has an article of two and one-half pages under the caption, "The American Federation of Labor Convention." The first paragraph of that article is as follows:

"The American Federation of Labor will hold its 38th annual convention in St. Paul on the 10th of June. Always until this year the Federation convened in November after the national elections. For years it has had its legislative committees, it has sent its lobbyists to the conventions of the great political parties, it has formulated its demands for protective legislation, and then offered its political support to the highest bidder. As the representative of organized labor the Federation has maintained a timid attitude toward politics; it has feared the disruptive effect of a too explicit partisanship upon its own constituency, it has preferred to make its political activities entirely subsidiary to its activities in the industrial field. Militant in the mines and factories, it has been gains, cap in hand, a self-distrustful supplicant to the anterooms and lobbies of the two great parties."

This is not the first time, nor is it strange, that flings and attempted insults have been made upon the American Fed-

eration of Labor and its activities. You who may have come in contact in the past both with legislatures and in committee rooms where the representatives of employers and employers' associations well know that the American Federation of Labor has never bent its knee or went cap in hand begging for anything. In truth, the attorneys for the employers appearing before the committees of Congress charged that the American Federation of Labor and its representatives never came before Congress or its committees demanding legislation but what it was accompanied by a threat of political opposition.

No, the American labor movement never went before Congress with cap in hand, except as one man in respect would take off his hat when speaking to another man. But in all that is implied of yielding, of docility, of begging—never! And this is equally true in the insistence upon legislation at the hands of our state legislatures, of our city councils and boards of aldermen in municipal governments. It has been the attitude of independent men who pressed home upon employers, who pressed home upon law-making bodies the immediate demands which we make as the return for our economic and our political service to society.

During the first part of this convention, when it fell to me to make some response to the addresses of welcome, I made a reference to two pieces of legislation quite apart from all other constructive legislation demanded by the American labor movement. One was that for the first time in hundreds of years we secured from the Congress of the United States a law—not perfect, not administered as fully as we would like to have it, and as we propose it shall be—but a law which gave the right to seamen, when their vessels were in safe port, to leave their vessels the same as any other free men. Not in any other country on the face of the earth is there any such law.

In addition we secured from the Congress of the United States the enactment of a law which provided and declared that the labor of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce. And in no other country on the face of the globe is there any such law or declaration. We have not secured the legislation which we believe should come to the toilers, but we have not finished our business. The American Federation of

Labor will live. Two years ago I rather facetiously or hopefully made a declaration imploring the workers to struggle for the three million mark. We have nearly reached that, and I am in great hopes that before the close of the year 1918 we shall have passed the three million mark. Our movement is going to live during the war and after the war, and it will grow in numbers and power and influence for good.

Are these achievements to which I can only by inference refer indicative of weakness? Are they indicative of failure? And, after all, things must be judged by the failure or the achievements of a movement, and I am willing to have our position judged with the position of any other labor movement in any country and ask which has had the greatest achievements in the interests of labor.

This free advertising which I have just given to this publication called "The New Republic" is freely offered. No compensation will come to me except additional criticism and abuses. While this is not per se any criticism or abuse of me there is of the American Federation of Labor, and is simply one of a series of attacks upon the Federation and upon your humble servant in particular and by name. My name appears in many places in the entire article, and it appears in the article in "The Survey," as it appears in the press that is opposed to the labor movement. Not what is usually called the "capitalistic press," but the press which assumes and presumes to talk in the name of labor.

Some years ago there was a discussion of whether we ought or ought not change our activities, and my position was that until the time comes when we can report nothing but failure as a result of the policy and tactics we are pursuing I did not propose to give my support to the change of front. If now or in the future it shall be demonstrated at any time that we cannot achieve the purposes and the high ideals for which our movement stands, why, then the time is propitious for change. Until such time neither the slurs nor the criticisms nor the censorship or ill will of the publications I have named and to which I have referred are not going to deter me from pursuing the consistent course which has brought so much of benefit to the workers of our country.

Delegate Frey (John P.): The statement just made by President Gompers leads me to feel that I may be justified

In continuing the thought, because of the opportunities for observation that have recently come to me. Like other trade unionists, I have been aware for many years of the criticisms which our legislative efforts or political activities met with from those who wanted to direct our program, not only in this country but abroad those criticisms have been heard and those attacks made. Some individuals or groups have endeavored to impress the workers with the belief that the methods of the American Federation of Labor to protect the workers through legislation are less effective than in any other country because of the methods we have pursued.

From what I know of what has been accomplished in other countries by trade unionists, none of them has accomplished as definite material labor gain as has been accomplished in the United States through the methods which we have adopted. During all this period we have had a united movement. What we have done is to avoid many of the dangers to a labor movement that have shown themselves in some other countries. At least we are united in our methods when we endeavor to secure legislation. In other countries where they have those definite labor political movements I found that the political leader was much more interested in maintaining his political position than he was in solving trade union problems. I found this, not in one instance, but in many, that as soon as the trade unionist in a country having a labor party begins to acquire political ambitions he finds it difficult to determine where his hopes and duties as a labor leader ends and his interests as a politician begin. The psychological effect of a worker trying to be a trade union official and at the same time seeking for votes to hold public office kills the one or the other, the two have never been a success in any country that I have come in contact with.

I had the privilege of talking with the leaders of the movement in Great Britain and France. I found that today they are concerned over two things, one the political jealousies developing between the leaders in the trade union movement and political ambitions. The men of the movement who during recent years have given their activities wholly to the political movement and whose concern today is the maintenance of their political positions are endeavoring to swing the trade union movement to their own political position, to the injury of the trade union

movement and of the men in the shops. So far has that movement gone that in Great Britain there is a determined movement on the part of such leaders as Have-lock Wilson, that heroic figure of the seamen; Will Thorne, Sexton, Jim O'Grady and others to purge the movement by working everybody out of it who is not a trade unionist, pure and simple, attending to his duties as a trade union official.

I am more convinced today than I ever was that the sanest, soundest, most practical, most efficient method the workers in any country have ever adopted to protect their interests are those that have guided the American Federation of Labor for thirty years. Regardless of what some of our critics say about us, regardless of the ambitions of some men, regardless of those who think there must be a political movement to secure what the workers demand, in none of the countries of the Allies is the trade union movement given the recognition that is given to us by the President of the United States. In none of these countries is the trade union movement co-operating more thoroughly than is the movement in the United States, and that is possible because we have maintained the position we have in the matter of securing legislation to protect our interests, and have not launched into the dangerous field that has done so much damage to the workers of the European countries.

Delegate Schlesinger: Judging by the experience of some of the delegates, or one delegate at least, on the second day of this convention, I hardly believe that those who take issue with the speech made by President Gompers and the speech made by Mr. Frey, would care to speak at this time. What transpired last Tuesday is enough to make a delegate hesitate to do that. I therefore, Mr. Chairman, move the previous question.

Vice-President Duncan: It is not very pleasant for the rest of the delegates for a man to make an address and then end it by moving the previous question. The chair in stating the question and asking for a vote may be excused for being happy in the thought that if, with all our shortcomings, we have had the accomplishments recited by President Gompers with two and a half million members, the destructive critics of our movement may look out when we have reached the fifteen million mark.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee on the report of the Executive

Council on Labor Legislation was adopted unanimously.

The report of the committee on the report of the Executive Council on the subject "Injury to War Material Law," was adopted by unanimous rising vote.

Immigration Legislation.

On the subject, "Immigration Legislation," page 118, the Executive Council reports the enactment of a law providing for the naturalization of aliens who have, or desire, to enlist in the military service of the United States.

Your committee, in recommending approval of this legislation, directs attention to the advisability of further improving our immigration laws by requiring that all persons eligible to citizenship and who locate permanently in our land, become citizens of our country. In the opinion of your committee, legislation of this character will discourage that class of immigrants, which has for its purpose the securing of advantages and benefits of our institutions and evade any of its responsibilities. It is our belief that those who come to our land, profit by our institutions and indirectly assist in shaping the destinies of our people, should be required to assume the full obligation of citizenship in times of peace as well as in times of war. Your committee realizes that complex problems are involved in this proposal and therefore recommends that the Executive Council be authorized to give this proposal careful consideration and proceed as it finds best.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Wage Raise for Federal Employees.

Reporting on that part of the Council's report under the caption of "Wage Raise for Federal Employees," page 120, your committee expresses regret that Appropriation Bill H. R. 10358 did not apply to those departments of government where lump sums are appropriated to defray the cost of employment in such departments.

We note with satisfaction that the bill introduced into the Senate intended to remedy this defect. We urge continuance on the part of the Executive Council in its effort to bring to all governmental employes a compensation commensurate with services given and adequate to meet existing conditions of living and allow to the government employes at least that degree of comfort and convenience generally prevailing in the organized private employments. If anything, the govern-

ment should be the leader rather than the follower in setting improved standards of work and compensation making for the health, comfort and contentment of the workers of our nation.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 87.—By Delegates Chas. F. Nagl, Luther C. Steward and E. J. Newmyer of the National Federation of Federal Employees:

WHEREAS, The employes who are engaged in the custodian service in all of the Federal buildings are the most underpaid of all the Government employes and have not been awarded any increase in wages at any time during the past ten years, except the 10 per cent increase granted for the current year only, since which period the cost of living has been doubled; and

WHEREAS, Although a readjustment of wages has been effected as applied to practically every other branch of the Government service, the men and women employed in the Custodian's Department have pleaded in vain for an increase in wages that will enable them to support themselves and their families in reasonable comfort; and

WHEREAS, Many of the workers, such as charwomen, elevator men, laborers, marble polishers, watchmen and window cleaners have found it necessary to take on additional employment outside of the custodian service in order to earn a mere livelihood; and

WHEREAS, An example of the injustice shown to the above named class of workers can be seen in the following scale of wages, now being paid to men and women employed in the custodian service of the Government:

Charwomen	\$27.08 per month
Laborers	55.00 per month
Window Washers.....	55.00 per month
Elevator Conductors..	60.00 per month
Marble Cleaners.....	60.00 per month
Watchmen	60.00 per month
Cabinet Makers.....	65.00 per month
Oilers	70.00 per month
Stenographers	75.00 per month
Engineer-Helpers	83.33 per month
Foreman	83.33 per month

and

WHEREAS, The foregoing scale of wages is so much lower than that being paid outside of the custodian service of the Government that it is difficult to obtain workers for the Federal buildings; because in order to procure employment in the custodian service the workers are required to undergo a Civil Service examination demonstrating unusual efficiency; and many employes, such as the elevator men and watchmen, out of their meager wages, at their own expense, furnish the uniform they are required to wear; and

WHEREAS, None of said employes receive any extra compensation for Sunday or Holiday work, such as is usually conceded to workers employed outside of the Federal service. Many of said employes are now working faithfully from twelve (12) to fifteen (15) hours every day, hav-

ing no time for recreation or for the enjoyment of home comforts; and

WHEREAS, It is inconceivable to believe that Congress has any true knowledge of the wage scale and conditions under which the employes in the custodian service are now working; or that it desires to subject these workers to the low standard of living, forced upon them by a wage scale wholly out of proportion to the present high cost of the means of subsistence; and

WHEREAS, The Honorable Secretary of the Treasury and his numerous department heads have repeatedly recommended a just increase in wages for these employes, and have urged Congress to grant an appropriation sufficient to cover such an advance in the wage scale; because of an insufficient appropriation made by Congress in 1917, the already underpaid employes in the custodian service in all Federal buildings in the United States were compelled to lose two weeks' time without pay; and

WHEREAS, All of the foregoing is a plea for a just recognition of the service performed by the workers employed in the Federal buildings, and for a wage that will enable them to live according to American standards; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of American Federation of Labor be instructed to forward a copy of this resolution to each and every United States Senator and Congressman, and to urge the members of the Senate and House of Representatives to take immediate action in the matter granting an appropriation sufficient to meet an increase in the wages of these employes, as has been recommended by the Honorable Secretary of the Treasury and his assistants.

Referred to Committee on Executive Council's Report.

Your committee considered Resolution No. 87 in connection with the report of the Executive Council on the subject "Wage Raise for Federal Employes."

Your committee concurs in the cause prompting this resolution and approves the object desired. It believes it best, however, not to circumscribe the methods by which this object can be speedily and effectively realized. It recommends, therefore, reference of this resolution to the Executive Council with the suggestion that the method of co-operation set forth in the resolution, as well as any other methods deemed advisable by the Executive Council be used to accomplish the purpose desired.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Carpenters, Lathers—Bridge and Structural Iron Workers.

Your committee has given much thought and attention to the problems involved in the appeal set forth in the Executive Council's Report under the caption, "Car-

penters, Lathers—Bridge and Structural Iron Workers" pages 124 and 125. The protest and appeal of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers is predicated on the question as to legality as to procedure rather than as to the substance of the contention at issue.

Your committee finds that at the Buffalo, A. F. of L. Convention, certain resolutions, Nos. 14 and 21, were referred to the Building Trades Department to be acted on at its next following convention; subsequently the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. considered the validity of the procedure on these resolutions by the Buffalo, A. F. of L. Convention, and found that reference of these resolutions to the Building Trades Department with the specific direction that only the next convention of the Building Trades Department could act on these resolutions was in violation of the "Rules and Regulations" of the A. F. of L. governing departments, in that these "Rules and Regulations" vested complete authority in the departments as to methods of procedure by which any matter could be considered. We find that the Executive Council ruled that the convention acted within its authority in referring these resolutions to the Building Trades Department, but that the A. F. of L. Convention erred in limiting the Building Trades Department to only one method of dealing with the subject referred to it.

Your committee also finds that the Executive Council in ruling as it has, did not intend, and as a matter of fact and law could not have deprived the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers from an appeal to the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. from any decision that the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department or the convention of this Department may take on the questions involved in these resolutions. The Executive Council in its report in the last two lines of the paragraph next to the last, uses the following language, "Said action was within the constitutional authority as per the established rules and regulations." Your committee has been advised that the words "rules and regulations" should have been particularized by quotation marks or identified in some manner so as to indicate that reference to the established "rules and regulations" meant the "Rules and Regulations" set forth in the constitution of the A. F. of L., and as governing departments, and wherein there is contained the right of

an appeal; that the Executive Council did not intend either by inference or in fact, to deny the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers the right of an appeal from the action of the Building Trades Department to the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., and thereafter to the convention of the A. F. of L. itself.

In view of this clear interpretation and construction of the Executive Council's decision, your committee recommends approval of the decision of the Executive Council without prejudice to the right of appeal to the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers from any action of the Building Trades Department.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate McClory, Iron Workers: In taking up the appeal submitted we had in mind specific violations of the established laws, not alone of the Building Trades Department itself, but of the American Federation of Labor, and we set forth our claims and contentions in a brief which we submitted to the committee. As the committee did not read any portion of the brief submitted by our delegation, we ask that it be incorporated in the proceedings of the convention on this subject.

President Gompers asked the delegate to read the brief. Delegate McClory proceeded to read the document.

Delegate Guerin, Carpenters: I want to raise a point of order. The delegate is reading an appeal against the Building Trades Department without taking the regular process of taking an appeal to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

President Gompers declared the point not well taken, as Delegate McClory was discussing the report of the committee and reading a brief submitted to the committee.

Vice-President Alpine in the chair.

Delegate Guerin asked if the brief submitted by Delegate McClory had been considered by the committee.

Secretary Woll: The brief was read by the committee.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Delegate McClory moved that the brief submitted by his delegation be made part of the proceedings. The motion was seconded and carried.

Following is the brief submitted by the delegation of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers:

To the Committee on Executive Council's Report:

The following is a brief outline of the facts and reasons pertaining to our appeal:

Point 1:

The Buffalo Convention, of the Building Trades Department was not called in compliance with Section 7, Article XV, of the laws in general then existing on governing the Building Trades Department, which reads as follows:

"Sec. 7, Article XV of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor.

"Departments of the American Federation of Labor shall hold their conventions immediately 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 January 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 railroad, 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."

This section above quoted was the provision of the law and constitution which should have been adhered to and respected. If the convention and proceedings were to be considered legal and binding on affiliated organizations.

This Section 7, of Article XV, of the then existing laws of the American Federation of Labor made and provided for the legal guidance of the department and its officials was not changed until the 37th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, which convened at Buffalo November 12th to 24th, inclusive, 1917, and did not become effective until January 1st, 1918, as provided in the laws of the American Federation of Labor.

In view of the fact that the Building Trades Department did not adhere to the laws then existing and in view of the further fact the International Association of Bridge & Structural Iron Workers had been suspended, they were prevented from being represented and taking part in the Buffalo Convention of the Building Trades Department held November 7th to 10th inclusive, 1917.

At the American Federation of Labor Convention held in Buffalo in strict accord with the law, the order of suspension of the International Association of Bridge & Structural Iron Workers was rescinded and the said International Association of Bridge & Structural Iron Workers were reinstated with all their legal rights and privileges.

And if the Building Trades Department convention had been called in accordance with the then existing laws, the International Association of Bridge & Structural Iron Workers having been reinstated, could have attended a legally called convention of the Building Trades Department, which, in accordance with the then existing laws, should have convened following the adjournment of the convention of the American Federation of Labor which was held at Buffalo and at this legally called Building Trades Department Convention the International Association of Bridge & Structural Iron Workers would have been in a position to defend their long established rights.

The evident, but not legal reason, of the Building Trades Department officials in holding the so-called 11th Annual Convention preceding the 37th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor was due to the fact that the 10th annual convention of the Building Trades De-

partment, held at Baltimore, November, 1916, had a subject under discussion that had for its purpose the changing of the date of holding its annual convention, but being a subordinate body to the American Federation of Labor and subject to all that body's laws, and rules, the fact was pointed out by First Vice President Duncan that any changes, as contemplated, would have to meet with the approval of the parent body, the American Federation of Labor, before becoming a law and becoming operative.

The resolution and discussion that led up to this question being finally taken up and discussed by the Joint Executive Councils of the American Federation of Labor, the Building Trades and Metal Trades Departments can be found on pages 87, 88 and 89 of the proceedings on the Baltimore Convention of the Building Trades Department, with subsequent result that at a later date the three above Executive Councils met in joint session and formulated the following recommendations as to changing the date of holding the convention of the American Federation of Labor and its subordinate departments.

This recommendation is set forth in the report of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to the 37th Annual Convention of that body held at Buffalo, November 12th to 24th, inclusive, 1917.

Recommendations of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor on this subject can be found on page 135 of the Buffalo convention proceedings of the American Federation of Labor.

The report of the Committee on Executive Council's report bearing on this subject, and the action of the convention on the committee's report, can be found on pages 455 and 456 of the proceedings of this convention.

The recommendations of the committee were unanimously adopted.

The following is Section 7, Article XV, as amended at the Buffalo convention.

"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 go into effect the first day of January 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."

The Building Trades Department in holding its convention November 7th to 10th, inclusive, 1917, did so in direct violation of the laws of the American Federation of Labor.

Point 2:

President Gompers, in his communication to President Donlin, of the Building Trades Department, under date of February 11, 1918, states that Section 5, of the General Rules governing departments, specifically provides that affiliated organizations should comply with the actions and decisions of the departments subject to appeal therefrom to the Executive Council of the Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Section 5, of Article XV, general rules governing Departments of the American Federation of Labor, reads as follows:

"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 American Federation of Labor. When an organization has interest 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 occupation come under such other departments, but this in no instance shall be less than 20% of the membership upon which it pays per capita tax to the American Federation of Labor."

You will note that in the above section the right of appeal is recognized as the rights of affiliated organizations of the departments.

Point 3:

The following section of the constitution of the Building Trades Department clearly sets forth the methods of appeal governing that Department and reads as follows:

"Section 29 of the Building Trades Department Laws.

"Sec. 29. In the event of an appeal being taken from a decision of this Department to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, notice of same shall be made to the President of the Department and to the President of the American Federation of Labor within ninety days of the date when the parties in interest are officially notified of the decision of the department on which appeal is based.

That all appeals taken by International or National organizations from a decision rendered by the department must be submitted first to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor (the first Court of Appeals) and thence from said first Court of Appeals to the Convention of the American Federation of Labor following the decision of the Building Trades Department."

The International Association of Wood, Wire & Metal Lathers availed themselves of all their constitutional rights and privileges, as set forth in Section 29, and carried their appeal to the highest court, namely: the American Federation of Labor and their appeal was denied as the records of the American Federation of Labor and the Building Trades Department will show, which can be found on page 211 of the proceedings of the St. Louis Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

The United Brotherhood of Carpenters & Joiners did not appeal from the decision of the Seattle Convention held in Seattle November 24th to 26th, inclusive, 1913, and the said decision being unanimously adopted by and with the consent of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters & Joiners (See Report of Adjustment Committee's report on pages 157, 158, of the proceedings of the Building Trades Department Convention, on Resolution No. 6).

This decision was again considered by the Baltimore Convention of the Building Trades Department, held at Baltimore, November 27th to 29th, inclusive, 1916, and can be found on page 86 of the proceedings of the Building Trades Department Convention.

Said convention, by unanimous vote, the United Brotherhood of Carpenters concurring therein, did instruct the United Brotherhood of Carpenters to carry out the decision of the Seattle Convention, on Resolution No. 6 of the Seattle Convention above referred to.

Point 4:

Section 37 of the Building Trades Department Laws clearly sets forth the method under which

grievances may be considered, which reads as follows:

"Sec. 37. 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 the conference and attempted to adjust the same themselves."

Now, in view of all of the above facts it is inconceivable to us wherein any logical reason can be furnished that would form a basis for such unlawful procedure to merit the approval of the delegates of the American Federation of Labor in its 35th annual convention.

We hold in brief the above cited violations have and will effect the interest and general welfare of our International Association, and, therefore, seek the proper redress and reparation and respectfully request that your honorable committee thoroughly investigate the facts as herein set forth in order that justice may be done not only to our Association but to any other affiliated body that now or hereafter may become effective.

We hold further that it is the bounden duty of this committee to closely examine the laws and procedure that have been violated and if in your judgment the facts, as herein set forth, are borne out, that a recommendation should be made to the delegates of the 35th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor that the wrongs done to our organization should be righted and all of our established claims and classifications of work that were recognized and conceded prior to the Buffalo convention of the Building Trades Department shall stand and be in full force and effect.

We further request your honorable committee to recommend to the delegates of the American Federation of Labor convention that the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Wood, Wire & Metal Lathers Association be instructed to comply with all the laws and decisions of the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor that were in force and effect up until and prior to the Buffalo Convention of the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor.

J. E. McCLODY,
F. M. RYAN,
P. J. MORRIN,
SAMUEL C. TOBIN.

Representing International Association of Bridge & Structural Iron Workers.

The introducer of Resolution No. 63 requested your committee for permission to withdraw this resolution and to have it expunged entirely from the records of the proceedings of this convention.

Your committee, while without authority to act on this request, earnestly recommends to this convention that the best interests of all concerned should prompt approval of this request.

The report of the committee was adopted.

While considering that part of the Executive Council's report entitled "Flint Glass Workers—Machinists" and Resolution No. 75, the introducer of this resolution requested permission to withdraw the twelfth clause contained in the preamble and asks that this section be expunged from the records of the proceedings of this convention.

Inasmuch as this request can only be granted by the convention, your committee hereby conveys this request of the introducer and expresses the hope that the request will be complied with.

The report of the committee was adopted.

The following is the resolution as amended:

Resolution No. 75—By Delegates Wm. P. Clarke, John B. O'Brien and John F. Kennedy of the American Flint Glass Workers' Union of North America:

WHEREAS, A decision was rendered by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor November 18, 1906, and later sustained by the Minneapolis Convention held during the same month, subsequently approved by the Norfolk and Denver Conventions and embodying emphatic instructions to the Executive Council to issue a charter to the American Flint Glass Workers' Union under certain definite conditions, which conditions were complied with and the charter issued with a clear and distinct understanding (in writing) to the effect that the said American Flint Glass Workers' Union was awarded jurisdiction over "The making of all moulds to be used for moulding glassware."

After the issuance of said charter, October 21, 1912, and previous to the Seattle Convention held in 1913, three additional separate and distinct decisions were rendered, each of which affirmed the action of the Executive Council in granting a charter to the American Flint Glass Workers' Union which provides for exclusive jurisdiction over "The making of all moulds used for moulding glassware."

The dispute continued, however, and was brought to the attention of the Seattle Convention in 1913, and thoroughly aired before the Adjustment Committee, which committee reported as follows:

"Your committee reports that it has considered in connection with this resolution that part of the report of the Executive Council under the caption, 'Flint Glass Workers-Machinists' on pages 91 and 92. It finds that jurisdiction over the work of making moulds for moulding glassware is vested in the American Flint Glass Workers' Union, and your committee recommends that this exclusive jurisdiction be recognized by all organizations affiliated to the American Federation of Labor." (See page 329 Seattle Proceedings.)

In substantiation of the report of the committee its chairman, John Mitchell, stated:

"I desire to call the attention of the convention to this fact: no organization affiliated to the American Federation of Labor was admitted under the same conditions as was the Flint Glass Workers' Organization. It is the only organization whose jurisdiction in exact terms was defined and endorsed by a convention of the American Federation of Labor prior to their admission." (From notes of official stenographer, and page 330 of the Seattle Proceedings.)

When the report of the Adjustment Committee at the Seattle convention was under discussion, Wm. H. Johnston, President of the International Association of Machinists, presented a substitute for the report reading:

"That a committee of three be appointed, one each by the two trades in interest and one by the President of the American Federation of Labor, said committee to visit the shops located at Alton, Ill., Toledo, O., and all other shops in question if it deems necessary; the committee to be appointed prior to the adjournment of this

convention and arrange to visit such shops and render its decision on or before March, 1, 1914; the committee to have full authority, and its decision shall be in full force and effect from date agreed upon; said decision to become a matter of record and contained in the report of the Executive Council to the 1914 convention."

The foregoing substitute, it being an appealing one, naturally won favor and was adopted (over the protest of the representatives from the American Flint Glass Workers' Union) in lieu of the report of the Adjustment Committee. A tribunal was selected in keeping with the provisions of President Johnston's substitute and an exhaustive investigation was made which resulted in another clear cut decision in favor of the American Flint Glass Workers' Union, which decision met with the unanimous approval of the committee on Executive Council's report at the Buffalo Convention and later received the endorsement of the Buffalo Convention proper. (See pages 124 and 387 of the proceedings of the Buffalo Convention.)

In the face of all this, Wm. H. Johnston, President of the I. A. of M. and author of the substitute heretofore quoted, wrote Wm. P. Clarke, President of the American Flint Glass Workers' Union, saying in part:

Under no circumstances will the International Association of Machinists accept the conclusions brought out by the investigation, and the I. A. of M. will positively not go along with the conclusions reached.

In the face of the eleven (11) decisions herein referred to, the officers and members of the I. A. of M. have disregarded the spirit and the letter of Section 11, Article 9, page 16 of the constitution of the American Federation of Labor where it states:

"* * * And it is further provided, that should any of the members of such National, International, Trade or Federation of Workers' 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."

For their refusal to comply with the eleven decisions that have been rendered giving the American Flint Glass Workers' Union exclusive jurisdiction over the making of all moulds used for moulding glass ware, and because of their repudiation of the intent and purpose of the substitute presented by President Wm. H. Johnston, which substitute brought forth the decision that was confirmed by the Buffalo convention, as well as the violation of Section 11, Article 9, page 16 of the constitution; be it

RESOLVED, That those in authority to speak for the International Association of Machinists be compelled to declare their intention to abide by the decision of the tribunal appointed at the solicitation of President Johnston, which decision was approved of by the Buffalo convention, and upon their failure to announce in writing to the President of the American Federation of Labor their intent to strictly abide by and put into effect the decision in all its phases by July 1, 1918, shall, along with all other members of the said organization, stand suspended from membership in this American Federation of Labor.

Flint Glass Workers—Machinists.

The directions of the Buffalo Convention in the case of the Flint Glass Workers—Machinists will be found upon pages 124-125, 387-389 of the printed proceedings of that convention. The officers of the Flint Glass Workers and the Machinists were directed to comply with the findings of the representative of the American Feder-

ation of Labor in this case as approved by that convention.

The Flint Glass Workers protest that the Machinists have failed to abide by the decision, but that on the contrary, the Machinists entered into an agreement with an employing company the provisions of which were in direct conflict with the decision of the A. F. of L. The officers of the A. F. of L. have exerted every effort to be helpful in the matter but without bringing about any change in the situation.

Having considered that part of the Executive Council's report entitled "Flint Glass Workers—Machinists," page 140, and Resolution No. 75, in its amended form, your committee regrets exceedingly to note that the International Association of Machinists has failed to comply with the decisions of the American Federation of Labor as expressed at the Buffalo and previous conventions.

We view a disregard to the decisions of the A. F. of L. as destructive to the best interests of the workers, promotive of discord and dissatisfaction and as a weakening rather than a strengthening factor to the efficiency of our movement. We deplore this disregard to self-obedience to the dictates of our movement. We believe the time is here that voluntary acquiescence in the decisions of the American Federation of Labor must be the dominant motive inspiring and directing our attitude and relations to each other and to our great movement.

Prompted by these dictates, your committee, in lieu of the resolution offered, submits for your approval and for the acceptance of the International Association of Machinists the following:

1. That the International Association of Machinists be immediately directed to comply with the decision of the American Federation of Labor as approved at the Buffalo convention, which decision was arrived at under a plan which the International Association of Machinists, through its officers and delegates, proposed at the Seattle Convention, and which conclusions they pledged themselves to accept and fully observe.

2. That the International Association of Machinists be directed to take immediate steps to discontinue the violations of the decision of the A. F. of L. and give obedience to its requirements.

3. That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed and directed to do all in its power to the end that the rights of the

Flint Glass Workers will be fully recognized, observed and safeguarded; that the decision of the American Federation will be enforced and to prove helpful in removing the discord and friction now existing between these two organizations at difference with one another.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Clarke, Flint Glass Workers: I withdrew my resolutions with the clear and distinct understanding that the International Association of Machinists, through their representatives in this convention, have signified a willingness to abide by the decisions of the American Federation of Labor; and I arise at this time to ask of the international president of the International Association of Machinists as to whether or not it is the intent of the officials and members of that organization to conform to the decision of the American Federation of Labor as adopted on twelve different occasions, especially in the Buffalo Convention last November. I would like to have an answer to that question and the entire matter made a matter of record.

Delegate Savage, Machinists: The question of the Machinists to act upon the decision of this convention will be a matter for our General Executive Board and our membership to consider.

Delegate Clarke discussed the question at length, reviewing all the proceedings in the Buffalo, Seattle and other conventions of the Federation. He also discussed conditions in the industry he represented and the work done by the men who make moulds in the glass factories where members of his organization are employed.

At the close of his discussion Delegate Clarke said: "With the view of bringing this question clearly and pointedly before the convention, I move as an amendment to the report of the committee that upon failure of the officers and members of the International Association of Machinists to abide by the Buffalo decision in all its phases by September 1, 1918, that the said International Association of Machinists shall stand suspended from membership in the American Federation of Labor until they do abide by the decision, and I move the adoption of the amendment."

The amendment was seconded.

Delegate Savage, Machinists, discussed the question at length. He referred specifically to the action taken by the Flint Glass Workers' organization in Toledo, where a strike of machinists is in progress. He opposed the amendment and defended the conduct of the Machinists' organization during all the years it has been connected with the American Federation of Labor.

Further discussion of the subject was postponed to the afternoon session.

President Gompers: It has been suggested that the delegates give demonstration in a practical way of the sons they have in the service, and it is also suggested that they add those who are of their blood relations who are in the service. As a practical way of obtaining that information the delegates are asked, when they place their attendance cards in the box, to write this information on the back of the cards.

At 12:45 the convention was adjourned to 2:15 p. m. of the same day.

EIGHTH DAY—Tuesday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2:15 p. m., Tuesday, June 18th, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—Kline, Proebstle, Obergfell, Corcoran, Boyer, Reeves, Desepte, Feeney, Williams (Jno.), O'Connor, Lane, Schmidt (F.), McCreash, White (J. F.), Valentine, Hedrick, Kearney, McHugh, (T. J.), Agethen, Curtis, Mountford, Toone, Wilk, Spencer (G. M.), Hoof, Stewart, Conley, Williams (H.), Hardy, Moncur, Hutton, Morgan, Taylor (C. O.), O'Dell, Brown (B. F.), Smith (J. T.), Knutson, Nelson, Brindell, O'Shea, Greene (M. F.), Curran, Fricke, Rynerson, Fanning, Burns (T. F.), Bush, Kuhn, Tucker, Hester, McGovern, Casey, Bruen, Harte, Browne (M. J.), Lampa, Morris, Wendell, Schultz, Quesse, Kester, Staunton, Walker (M.), Waplington, de Krafft, Williams (T. J.), Ellicott,

Burns (W. W.), Paramore, Riordan, Byrne.

Discussion was resumed on the report of the committee and the amendment pending at the time of adjournment.

Delegate Neenan, National Window Glass Workers, in discussing the question supported all the contentions of the Flint Glass Workers' delegates and opposed the position taken by the Machinists' delegates. Statements had been made by the latter in regard to action taken by the Flint Glass Workers' officers to man the Owens shop in Toledo after the Machinists had called a strike there, and Delegate Savage criticised severely a letter he claimed had been written by the President of the Flint Glass Workers to their members. Delegate Neenan read the letter, which was later made part of

the records of the convention by motion of Delegate Clarke. The letter is as follows:

Toledo, Ohio, Dec. 29, 1917.

Dear Sir:

It is our understanding that you are a member of the International Association of Machinists and worked for the Owens Bottle Co. until last Wednesday, at which time the men in the shop quit work, and the statement has gone forth that a strike prevails there.

With this introduction we want to bring to your attention the following facts so that you may have an opportunity to meditate thereon and then decide what your future course shall be, thereby avoiding the possibility of your falling to understand the true situation.

We first want to inform you that a dispute has been pending for years as to what organization was entitled to jurisdiction over the Owens shop. In November, 1913, Wm. H. Johnston, president of the International Association of Machinists, proposed a plan of settlement, and for your convenience we insert here copy of his proposition as follows:

"That a committee of three be appointed, one each by the two trades in interest and by the President of the A. F. of L.; said committee to visit the shops located at Alton, Illinois; Toledo, Ohio, and all other shops in question, if it deems it necessary, the committee to be appointed prior to the adjournment of this convention and arrange to visit such shops and render its decision on or before March 1, 1914; the committee to have full authority, and its decision shall be in full force and effect from date agreed upon; said decision to become a matter of record and contained in the report of the E. C. to the 1914 convention."

The American Flint Glass Workers' Union was forced to accept the plan of procedure outlined by President Johnston, and patiently awaited the outcome. The investigation was finally made and a decision rendered in our favor. This decision was endorsed by the delegates attending the Buffalo convention of the American Federation of Labor, the highest tribunal in the labor movement, by a vote of 140 to 64, making in all seven separate and distinct decisions that have been rendered in our favor and having for their object that the making of all moulds for moulding glassware comes under the jurisdiction of the American Flint Glass Workers' Union, while not one single decision has ever been rendered in favor of the International Association of Machinists.

Now we wish to quote a paragraph from the final decision which effects you as a member of the International Association of Machinists and a trade unionist, as follows:

"Your committee further recommends that all members of the machinists' union working as mould makers on moulds used for moulding glasswares shall on or before January 1, 1918, be transferred to the A. F. G. W. U. without initiation fees."

In conformity with the provisions of the decision, as heretofore quoted, we will welcome you to membership in our organization, free of initiation fee, and we

will establish a local union to be composed of men employed in the Owens shop alone. Should you later become dissatisfied with membership in our union we will on one week's notice issue to you a special withdrawal card that will permit of you severing your membership with our organization.

The American Flint Glass Workers' Union does not recognize any strike at the Owens shop. We contend that no officer of the International Association of Machinists had the power or authority to call a strike there. If the officers of the International Association of Machinists fail to abide by the results of the investigation and decision they planned for and forced on our organization, then by no known method of reasoning are we required to follow in their foot-steps; but, as heretofore, we shall abide by the decision; and, regardless of consequences, we shall take jurisdiction over the Owens shop beginning with January 1, 1918.

If you wish to join our organization and retain your position in this shop in harmony with the decision rendered, you are welcome. On the other hand, if you fail to join our organization, then it becomes our duty to secure men to man the shop, and this we shall do.

Copy of this letter is being sent direct to each man who was employed in the Owens shop whose address we could locate in the city directory, while all others are having copy mailed to them in care of Victor Gauthier, 403 Colton Bldg., City.

If you have any doubt about the accuracy of any statement made in this communication, then we stand ready to substantiate same by the record.

We shall wait until Wednesday, January 2, to learn whether or not you are agreeable to join the American Flint Glass Workers' Union and continue in the employment of the Owens Bottle Machine Co. If we fail to have your reply by that time we shall interpret your silence to mean that you are not willing to abide by the decision of the highest tribunal in the labor movement, and we shall proceed to act in whatever manner we deem best to execute the decision and bring the Owens shop under our jurisdiction.

Very truly yours,

American Flint Glass Workers' Union.

WM. P. CLARKE,

President.

738-46 Ohio Building, City.

Secretary Woll, of the Committee, discussed the report of the committee. He stated that the substance of the amendment was contained in the original resolution which had been withdrawn and regretted that it had been again introduced.

The question was again discussed at length by Delegate Clarke, who replied to arguments advanced by Secretary Woll against the adoption of the amendment. In referring to the attitude of the Machinists' delegates he stated that their president had stated positively before the committee that he would not abide by

the decision of the Buffalo convention and turn over to the Flint Glass Workers the men in question. He discussed at length the work done in the factories and the action taken by his organization to protect the interests of the men at making moulds, the men over whose jurisdiction the dispute arose.

Delegate Johnston, Machinists, replied at length to the arguments of Delegates Clarke and Neenan and defended the course taken by the Machinists. He referred to the situation in Toledo where a strike of the Machinists is in progress, and urged that to take the action contemplated in the amendment would endanger the interests of the men there. He referred briefly to decisions obtained by the Machinists which had never been obeyed by other organizations, and urged that further efforts be made to settle the controversy with the Flint Glass Workers.

Delegate O'Brien, Flint Glass workers, discussed the question and defended the action of the organization he represented in the Toledo case.

Delegate Farrington, a member of the committee, asked if Delegate Clarke, also a member of the committee, had not signed the report he was proposing to amend. Delegate Clarke stated that he signed it with the understanding that the Machinists' organization was willing to go along with the decision, but they had not given the assurance that they would, and for that reason he offered the amendment.

A roll call on the question was asked by Delegate Johnston, of the Machinists. The demand was supported by the required number of delegates, and the Secretary proceeded with the roll call.

Roll Call on Amendment to Report on Flint Glass Workers—Machinists.

Ayes—Sovey, Reddick, Hughes (Andrew C.), Doyle (J. J.), Newmyer, Steward (L. C.), Nagl, Spellacy, Dunn, Clarke (W. P.), Kennedy (J. F.), O'Brien, Neenan, Montross, Duncan (James), Russell, Will, Lawler, McCue, Humphrey, Kane, Marshall, Williams (John), Sullivan (J. J.), Bryan, Galnor, Mugavin, Duffy (Chas. D.), Swartz, Painters' Delegation (338 votes), Dold, Menge, Blake, Helt, Shay, Dolliver, Barry, Suarez, Sumner, Frey (J. Fremont), Tailors' Delegation (80 votes), Perham, Bode, Ross, Gorman, Doyle (J. J.), Malloy, Brown (Joseph H.), Thompson (G. H.), Ryan (P. J.), Sellins, Wilkinson, Fallon, Davanzo, Hankins, Worland, Hunter, representing 2,349 votes.

Nays—Mullaney, Myrup, Beisel, Schneider (R. C.), Noschang, Fischer (Jacob), Shanessy, Felder, Foley, Noonan (Thos),

Kline, Kramer, Powlesland, Franklin, Weyand, Scott (Chas. F.), MacGowan, McKillop, Lovely, Baine, Grant, Noonan (Mary), Schmidt (Fred C.), Sullivan (John), Kugler, Froelstie, Obergfell, Radner, Bowen, Preece, Dobson, Geddes, Corcoran, Price, Butterworth, McClury, Tobin (Sam), Morrin, Ryan (F. M.), Ryan (M. F.), Schnorr, Anderson (Venner), Shoemaker (O. J.), Thompson (Theo.), Hutcherson, Duffy (Frank), Woodbury, Guerin, Van Duyn, White, Ross, McCarthy, Perkins, Gompers, Barnes, Campbell (W. A.), Sexton, Forrester, Yates, Smith (Fred W.), Reeves, Meyer, Noonan (J. P.), Joyce, McAndrews, Fisher (Frank), Brissman, Brown (W. S.), Snellings, Hannah, Comerford, Edgerton, Woll, Braly (Peter J.), Healy, Shamp, Morton, Brennan, Linn, Silberstein, Kaufman, Rickert, Larget, Manning, Daley (Margaret C.), Doyle (Frank), Schlesinger, Heller, Gorenstein, Laporta, Friedman, Feinberg, Voll, Clifton, Eames, D'Alessandro, Etchison, Moreschl, Carley, Dwver, Flore, Sullivan (Jere L.), Farrell, Koveleski, McDevitt, Gould, McSorley, Duty, Bock, Buxbaum, O'Connor, Wexland, Farnham, O'Brien (S. P.), Johnston, Wharton, O'Connell, Savage, Taylor (J. A.), Van Lear, Fljozdal, Finsson, Hogan, Pruett, Hart, Lane, Schmidt (Fred), McCreash, Hynes, Redding, Moriarty, Ryan (Jas. J.), Moyer, Davidson, Deloughery, Cannon, Hayes (F. J.), White, Green, Walker, Farrington, Moore (John), Lewis, Dempsey, Valentine, Frey (J. F.), Regan, Burns, Mara, Painters' Delegation (507 votes), Wilson (James), Gernon, Bergstrom, McGivern, Donlin, Hede, George, Alpine, Kearney, Anderson (Chas.), Rau, Britton, Leary, Dehl, Flaherty, Lyons, Hassett, Berry, McHugh, Isaacs, Green, Walsh, Burke, Sullivan (H. W.), LaBelle, Sultor, Mahon, Quinlan, Sheehan, Cahill, Collins (W. M.), Brown (W. J.), McCoy, Sands, Gavlak, Furuseth, Scharrenberg, Flynn (Patrick), Thompson (J. Vance), Carlson, Fleming, Welsh (W. M.), Funder Burk, Tailors' Delegation (40 votes), Stillman, Tobin (D. J.), Hughes (T. L.), Neer, Gillespie, Wilson (James), Kolenkamp, Golden, Conboy, McMahon, Daly (James J.), McAndrew, Hayes (Max S.), Morrison, Stevenson, Hays (J. W.), Brady (B. G.), Hatch, Marquardt, McGrath, Sebree, Jennings (F. Harry), Hall (E. G.), Wines, Donoghue, Holland, McDonald (S. S.), Boyle, Fenton, Stack, Egan, Iglesias, Williams (Jerry), Clinedinst, Christenson, Van Houten, Ferguson, Patterson, Stevens, Kehoe, Foster, Dill, Hoage, McGurty, Alden, Kress, Gregson, Knutson, Burton, Weinheimer, Ross, Chinn, Barbour, Lish, Ott, Young, Linck, McGurk, Brand, Jennings (E. O.), Curry, Rynerson, Duncar (Jas. A.), Woodmansee, Scanlan, Campbell (Jas. B.), Tucker, Beck, Millner, Levi, Teitlebaum, Scott, Bohm, Berger, Weinstock, Welch, Moore (C. O.), Pinkston, Voigt, Lancaster, Rincker, representing 22,954 votes.

Not Voting—Boyer, Baker, Conway, Desepete, Feeney, Nestor, Brock, Weber (J. N.), Miller (Owen), Winkler, Carey (D. A.), Carey (J. T.), Schneider (Geo. J.), Hannah, Griggs, Drayer, Heberling, Clohessy, Connors, Agethen, Curtis, Mountford, Toone, Spencer (H. L.), Weber (F. J.), Harlin, Winess, Walk, Spencer (G. M.), Hoof, Ely, Milhollan, Stewart (R. G.), Crickmore, McFadden, Deroiph, Bailey,

Conley, Williams (Harold), Hardy, Moncur, Hutton, Morgan, Taylor (C. O.), O'Dell, Brown (B. F.), Smith (J. T.), Breslin, Nelson, Brindell, O'Shea, Greene (M. F.), Draper, Richie, Vennewitz, Gayton, Curran, Fricke, Newman, Beardon, Fanning, Mackellar, Raven, Burns (T. F.), Moshier (S. C.), Bush, Lemke, Kuhn, Sanders, Hahne, Hester, McGovern, Cassey, Mezzacapo, Bruen, Harte, Browne (M. J.), Lampa, Morris (Mary), Gay, Wendell, Schultz, Quesse, Kester, Staunton, Walker (May), Waplington, deKrafft, Williams (T. J.), Birch, Ellcott, Burns (W. W.), Campbell (W. A.), Crane, Butler, Miller (O. G.), Bell, Frazer, Paramore, Yarrow, Coulter, Riordan, Byrne, Pruitt, Sharon, Giles, Hall, Bondfield, Moore (Thos.), representing 1,317 votes.

President Gompers: The amendment is lost and the question recurs upon the recommendation of the committee.

The report of the committee on the report of the Executive Council on the Flint Glass Workers—Machinists dispute was read by the secretary of the committee.

A viva voce vote was taken and the motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Jewelry Workers—Metal Polishers—Machinists.

Under the caption "Jewelry Workers—Metal Polishers—Machinists" on page 126, the Executive Council sets forth its decision in the jurisdictional dispute between the organizations named.

Your committee finds that the decisions of the Executive Council are well founded and fully justified, and recommends approval of these decisions.

In recommending approval of these decisions, it is the opinion of your committee that the term, "metal polishing" used in the first decision includes the work of "buffing and plating." It is with this understanding that we recommend approval.

Your committee's attention has been directed to the disregard of these decisions by the Jewelry Workers and that no attention has been given to these decisions of the Executive Council by this organization. We recommend therefore that the Jewelry Workers' Union be notified by the officers of the A. F. of L., that unless their members will respond to and observe these decisions, that the Executive Council will be required to inform organized labor of their disregard of the decisions of the A. F. of L., and that whatever inconvenience may follow thereafter will then be due because of their disregard to the decisions of our

movement and not because of any desire on the part of the A. F. of L.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Resolution No. 47—By Delegates Philip Bock, Leopold Buxbaum, Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association:

WHEREAS, The 37th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor instructed the Executive Council to draw up a plan of amalgamation between the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union and the International Photo Engravers' Union, and the Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association; and

WHEREAS, The form of amalgamation as recommended by the Executive Council, if carried into effect will disrupt the present unity in the lithographic industry, where all are organized in the one union, it will divide the working forces of a lithographic plant, thereby giving to the employers an advantage where grievances present themselves. It will in no manner be beneficial to the lithographers, while permitting the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union and Photo Engravers' Union to remain intact and in no manner being affected by this form of amalgamation; and

WHEREAS, The Lithographers' International Union, by its action in establishing an organization on industrial lines, has proven to the labor movement that such a form of organization meets the full approval of its representatives, providing said amalgamation is such in all that the word implies; and

WHEREAS, The Lithographers' representatives, willing and anxious to prove to the satisfaction of skeptics the sincerity of the above declaration, hereby offer the proposition to the International Printing Pressmen's Union and the Photo Engravers' International Union, parties to the controversy, to amalgamate with the two above named unions, or with either one or the other of the two, providing the plan meets the approval of one of the unions and not of the other, under one Board of International officers and under one set of laws; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the plan of amalgamation as offered by the Executive Council be set aside and in its stead the plan herein proposed receive the consideration and approval of this convention.

Lithographers—Printing Trades.

The report of the Executive Council on the subject of "Lithographers-Printing Trades" pages 127 and 128, was considered in connection with Resolution No. 47.

Your committee finds that the plan of amalgamation proposed by the Executive Council conforms in every detail to the instructions and directions of the previous convention of the A. F. of L. and therefore approves this plan as submitted.

Your committee also finds that Resolution No. 47 does not comply with the instructions of the previous convention of the A. F. of L., and therefore recommends that it be disapproved of.

Your committee is also in accord with the requirement that a definite time be set for the enforcement of the terms of amalgamation reported by the Executive Council and your committee recommends that the organization or organizations failing to comply with this plan by September 1, 1918, shall stand suspended.

We recommend approval of these requirements.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Bock, Lithographers, opposed the report of the committee and recommended the adoption by the convention of a plan submitted by the Lithographers, which provided for amalgamation with both the Pressmen and the Photo-Engravers, or with either one, providing the plan meets with the approval of one of the unions and not the other, under one board of international officers and under one set of laws. The plan submitted by the Executive Council and the committee was opposed by the speaker, his contention being that it would divide the trade in a way that would be beneficial to none of the unions concerned. He referred to the many years the Lithographers' Union had been in existence, the work accomplished by it for the members and its long record of faithful and loyal membership in the American Federation of Labor, the organization having become affiliated at the foundation of the Federation.

Delegate Buxbaum, Lithographers, opposed the adoption of the committee's report and favored the plan of amalgamation proposed by the Lithographers. He urged the right of small organizations to self-government and self-determination, and asked that the rights given the Lithographers under their original charter be safeguarded. He stated that the organization had been in existence for more than thirty-five years, and in all the time since its formation it had been able to establish conditions and maintain the wages of the membership.

Delegate Hays (J. W.), Typographical Union, favored the report of the committee and opposed any other plan of amalgamation. He stated that the organizations composing the Allied Printing

Trades Association had endeavored for years to induce the Lithographers to join with them in action in regard to the union label and in questions in connection with the printing trades, but the Lithographers refused to join with them until the question of amalgamation came up and the American Federation of Labor had ordered them to affiliate with the Pressmen and Photo-Engravers. He discussed at length the general evolution of the printing trades, the methods employed in the modern plants, and described particularly the work done by the offset presses. He claimed that the offset press rightly came under the jurisdiction of the Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union, and not under the jurisdiction of the Lithographers.

Delegate Berry, Printing Pressmen, spoke at length in support of the report of the committee and the plan of amalgamation submitted by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor. He stated that the delegates in every convention of the American Federation of Labor since 1913 and the members of every conference held since that date, the Executive Council, the members of committees in the convention and special committees appointed to investigate the matter were unanimous in maintaining the contentions of the Printing Pressmen's organization that the offset presses belonged to them and the transferring to the Photo-Engravers' Union.

Delegate Hoage opposed the report of the committee and advocated the adoption of a plan of amalgamation favored by the Lithographers.

Delegate Woll, Secretary of the Committee, said in part: This matter has come before conventions of the American Federation since 1913, and at each and every convention every committee that has considered the subject, the Executive Council and the special committees to which it has been referred have agreed that amalgamation should take place. Six weeks ago the officers of the Federation called a conference of all the interested unions before the Executive Council. Mr. Gompers presided at that meeting. He asked the representatives of the Lithographers if they had any plan of amalgamation they desired to have the Executive Council consider. He urged them to go into conference with the printing trades in order that they might reach an understanding as to the terms of amalgamation, and the answer of the

Lithographers was: "We will not discuss the terms of amalgamation. The Executive Council has been authorized to fix terms of amalgamation. Let them fix the terms, and after they are fixed let us consider them." The first knowledge we had that the terms were fixed was a week before this convention. The Lithographers did not then submit the terms fixed by the Executive Council to their membership, but instructed their officers coming to this convention, without first having a conference, to submit what they

consider a plan of amalgamation. We even went into conference with them on their plan as proposed, and were surprised to find that those who introduced the resolution had not consulted with the membership as to the plan, and could not give us an assurance that the plan would be accepted by their members.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

At 5:30 the convention was adjourned to 9:30 a. m., Wednesday, June 19th.

NINTH DAY--Wednesday Morning Session

The Auditorium,

St. Paul, Minn., June 19, 1918.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 a. m., Wednesday, June 19th, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—Kilne, Reddick, Schmidt (F. C.), Proebstle, Obergfell, Corcoran, Boyer, Baker, Conway, Desepte, Feeney, Doyle (F.), Williams (Jno.), O'Connor, Savage, Van Lear, Lane, Schmidt (F.), McCreech, White (J. P.), Lewis (J. L.), Valentine, Miller, Hedrick, Guerin (P. J.), Lynch, Kearney, Anderson (C.), McHugh, Yould, Brown (W. J.), Gavliak, Connors, Agethen, Curtis, Hatch, Mountford, Toone, Harlin, Wilk, Spencer (G.), Hoof, Stewart, Derolph, Balley, Conley, Williams (H.), Hardy, Moncur, Hutton, Morgan, Taylor (C. O.), O'Dell, Brown (B.), Smith (J. T.), Brindell, Greene (M.), Gayton, Curran, Fricke, Wilkinson, Reardon, Fanning, Fallon, Burns (T.), Kuhn, Sanders, Tucker, Hester, McGovern, Casey, Mez-zacapo, Bruen, Harte, Browne, Lampa, Morris, Wendell, Schultz, Quesse, Kester, Staunton, Walker (M.), Waplington, de Kraft, Williams (T. J.), Birch, Ellicott, Paramore, Riordan, Byrne, Voigt.

Telegrams from the Mayor of Detroit, Mich., Joint Board of Brewery and Soft Drink Workers, and Allied Printing Trades Council were read, all containing invitations to the American Federation of Labor to hold its next convention in that city.

The following telegram was read, addressed to the convention, and dated Cincinnati, June 18th:

Congratulations and best wishes for the success of the convention. May the good work for the cause of humanity continue.

LADIES GARMENT WORKERS' UNION of Cincinnati, O.

The following telegram, dated Chicago, Ill., June 18th, addressed to the Secretary, was read:

On behalf of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, Chicago Federation of Labor and Women's Trade Union League, we extend to the officers, delegates and visitors to the American Federation of Labor convention a most cordial invitation to attend a Public Patriotic Welcome to be given the members of the American Labor Mission who are in Chicago on next Sunday afternoon, June 23rd, at the Garrick theatre, 2:30 o'clock.

OLIVE SULLIVAN,
Sec'y Committee of Arrangements.

Delegate Bock, Lithographers, obtained permission to address the convention and refute statements made by speakers during the discussion on the question of amalgamating the Lithographers with other organizations, a subject considered during the Tuesday afternoon session. He replied particularly to statements made by Delegate Hays, Typographical Union. A brief reply was made to his statements by Delegate Hays.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON REPORT OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

Delegate Woll, Secretary of the committee, continued the report as follows:

Tile Layers—Bricklayers and Masons.

Upon that part of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, and upon Resolution No. 106, the committee reported as follows:

Resolution No. 106—By Delegate James J. Daly of the Ceramic, Mosaic and Encaustic Tile Layers and Helpers' International Union:

WHEREAS, The Ceramic, Mosaic and Encaustic Tile Layers and Helpers' International Union has been affiliated with the American Federation of Labor for the past 25 years; and

WHEREAS, The Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union has only been affiliated with the American Federation of Labor for a period of two years, and seeks by threats, coercion and intimidation to apportion to themselves jurisdiction over the work of the Ceramic, Mosaic and Encaustic Tile Layers' International Union, and to this end has continually infringed upon the jurisdiction rights of this organization as granted and recognized by the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union are hereby ordered to refrain directly or indirectly from such practices; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union are hereby ordered to recognize the jurisdiction claim of the Ceramic, Mosaic and Encaustic Tile Layers and Helpers' International Union, as granted to them by the American Federation of Labor, and to further comply with the provision of Section 11, of Article IX or stand suspended after a period of

thirty days from the adjournment of the convention for failure to comply.

In the appeal of the Tile Layers, set forth in the report of the Executive Council, under the caption of "Tile Layers—Bricklayers and Masons," pages 128 and 129 and Resolution No. 106 relating to this same subject, there is involved the question of approving or disapproving the action of the Building Trades Department in directing the Tile Layers to affiliate with the Bricklayers and Masons, and the conditions and terms of amalgamation agreed to by the officers of the Tile Layers' Union and accepted by the Bricklayers and Masons.

Your committee finds that the Executive Council did not err in ruling that the Tile Layers should comply with the actions and decisions of the Building Trades Department and that this decision by the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. upon the action of the Building Trades Department was in accord with the "Rules and Regulations" governing the departments.

In view of these decisions and rulings it devolved upon your committee to review the actions of the Building Trades Department and investigate the terms of amalgamation proposed by the department, as well as consider the procedure whereby the early affiliation of the Tile Layers can be realized.

Having investigated and considered all problems involved, your committee recommends as follows:

1. Approval of the decision of the Executive Council set forth in its report on this subject.
2. Approval of the terms of amalgamation agreed to by the officers of the Tile Layers and accepted by the Bricklayers and Masons, and that the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. be authorized and directed to use its good offices in bringing about amalgamation.
3. That the amalgamation approved shall be complied with not later than ninety days from the time of the acceptance of this report. That the organization failing to comply to these terms of amalgamation shall be suspended.
4. Disapproval of Resolution 106.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Daly, Tile Layers, submitted the following as an amendment to the report of the committee:

That the amalgamation of the Bricklayers and the Tile Layers shall take place under the direction of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., to whom shall be referred all questions growing out of

the terms of such proposed amalgamation, and whose decision in the matter shall be final and binding upon both organizations.

Signed: JAMES J. DALY.

Delegate Daly, Tile Layers, in discussing the question said in part: For twenty-five years the Tile Layers' organization has been affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and during those twenty-five years it felt safe because of the pledge made when its charter was granted, when it was declared that the autonomy of this organization was secured and ordained. We felt secure in our autonomy rights. The Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' organization was admitted to membership in the Baltimore Convention of the American Federation of Labor. Previous to their admission we had some correspondence with the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor relative to their jurisdiction claims, and in a letter to our secretary the General Secretary Treasurer of the Bricklayers said: "The only disputes we have with your organization, to the best of our knowledge, is over brick and tile mantels and to your members setting marble. These matters, we think, can be easily adjusted between your officers and ours. The word 'tile' in our constitution, therefore, does not cover, nor is it intended in any way to interfere with your members in their jurisdiction over the work they have applied themselves to for years, and to which they are continuing to apply themselves."

With this assurance our secretary withdrew the formal protest he had made, and the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union became a member of the American Federation of Labor. Shortly after that, owing to jurisdictional trouble that existed in the city of New York, the Bricklayers met in conference with another organization and proclaimed their intention to absorb the Tile Layers. This was less than six months after they had become part of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Daly discussed at some length the manner in which the Bricklayers proceeded to work in cities where the Tile Layers were organized, taking the places of members of the Tile Layers' organization and in many ways infringing on their jurisdiction. He stated that the Tile Layers were unable to get protection from the Building Trades Department or from the American Federation from this aggression, on the part of the Bricklayers.

In concluding his argument Delegate Daly said: Here are some of the things the Tile Layers want in this proposition: All local unions as now constituted or as may be agreed upon shall be admitted to affiliation in the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union. The autonomy of the Tile Layers within the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union is hereby conceded, subject to such modifications as may be imposed by the agreement now in existence between the Tile and Mantel Contractors' Association and the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union.

It is further agreed that in all future agreements the words "Tile Laying Branch" shall be used in connection with the wording of such agreements governing the tile industry, thus giving recognition to the tile laying industry as a separate department of the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union; and all such agreements shall be entered into by the officials of the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union. These are some of the things the Tile Layers want, and they do not propose to be tied down by this agreement.

Delegate Bowen, Bricklayers, in discussing the question, said in part: I arise to oppose the amendment. To say to those who listened attentively to the delegate I want to say that the brother is simply sparring for time; that he recognizes that the handwriting is on the wall, the inevitable is about to happen; that he desires to be retained in office just so long as it is possible for him to remain there. President Daly is in office by reason of the fact that at a rump convention of his adherents it was made possible for him to occupy the position he is now in. The regularly elected and duly installed officers of the Tile Layers' Union unanimously agreed to the terms of an amalgamation that they and the international officers of our organization drew up for the settlement of the difficulties that beset this part of the trowel trade industry. The Buffalo Convention of the Building Trades Department acted unanimously on this question, and in compliance with the order issued by the Building Trades Department the former officers of the Tile Layers' Union and the officers of the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union entered into a conference and terms of amalgamation were drawn up. They were drawn up under

the supervision of the president of the Building Trades Department.

Delegate Bowen discussed at some length the activities of President Daly, of the Tile Layers, in connection with the affairs of the two organizations in various parts of the country and the manner in which he had disturbed the relations existing between them in different cities where the difficulties were about to be adjusted. After describing the efforts made to adjust the matter in a meeting of the national officers of the building trades industry in New York, Delegate Bowen said:

When the terms of the amalgamation were made known President Daly immediately sent forth circulars throughout the United States and Canada asking for a referendum vote of the local unions and the membership of the Tile Layers' organization, seeking to oust the international officers of the Tile Layers. He failed. The proposition, by referendum vote, was rejected by the members of the Tile Layers' union, thus endorsing the terms of the amalgamation endorsed by the international officers of the Tile Layers and the international officers of the Bricklayers, drawn up under the supervision of the president of the Building Trades Department.

Finding himself foiled in this direction President Daly hitched his cart to the terms of amalgamation. A convention of the Tile Layers was called. The result was, with the feeling of the Tile Layers' Helpers predominating in that convention, they having equal vote with the skilled portion of the industry, and the disgruntled members of the Tile Layers' Union, they ousted their international officers. The proceedings of that convention will show very clearly that they did not even pass upon the terms of the amalgamation by vote, but ousted their officers, and the president that was elected to succeed the legally elected president is now sitting in this convention trying to begof the issues, and his only object is, recognizing that the inevitable is about to happen, to retain his office a little longer. He is pleading that he may be continued in the office he has usurped in order that he may draw a few months more salary. A large percentage of the large centers of the United States have accepted the terms of amalgamation, have taken out charters of membership in the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union and are now regular subordinate unions of

that organization—and they are pleased with the change.

Delegate Dobson, Bricklayers, in discussing the question, said in part: We did not know what the decision of the committee would be, but we had fully made up our minds that whatever it was, the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union was big enough to accept it and abide by it. When we were granted a charter in the American Federation of Labor and a charter in the Building Trades Department we made the declaration that we would live up to their constitutional requirements, to all of their decisions in every particular, no matter what they might be. We also decided that under no consideration would we, in any of the trade differences with other organizations, ever inflict the Building Trades Department or the American Federation of Labor with those differences; we decided that we would fight them out on the outside and settle them between the parties directly involved.

I think your experience will convince you that in all jurisdictional differences, no matter who gets the decision, the other fellow will not live up to it, and if I had my way I would have the Building Trades Department and the American Federation of Labor say to every organization that comes before them with jurisdictional differences: "Take them away, we won't listen to them. Settle them on the outside." When you do otherwise you play one trade against the other. I don't believe it is right. My position has always been and will always be that one trade shall not be called upon to strike against the other in jurisdictional or other differences. I believe that instead of strikes, wherever disputed work is in possession of one side in one operation and in possession of the other side in another operation they should remain at work until the unions can come together and settle their differences among themselves.

Delegate Dobson discussed the progress of his organization in settling the disputed jurisdiction in various parts of the country, and in referring to the present organization of the Tile Layers, said: "What organization has President Daly got left? Today we have the city of Washington, organized it from 15 tile layers to 65; we have the city of Philadelphia, we have the city of Pittsburgh, that has accepted a charter voluntarily since the

rump convention of the Tile Layers, and we have in our organization, with a card of membership ex-President Williams and the man who had been their secretary for fifteen years. The city of Cleveland applied voluntarily for a charter and they are now part of our organization. The city of Boston applied for a charter, it has been granted and a union instituted. They were both dissatisfied with the action of the rump convention. The city of Milwaukee and the city of Indianapolis are now part of our organization. Rock Island, Ill., Omaha, Neb., and other cities are applying to be admitted to membership. There is no organization left that amounts to a pica-yune except in New York and Chicago, but we are already in communication with those cities and when the expression of this convention is conveyed to them Brother Daly's organization will be gone.

Speaking of the election of President Daly, Delegate Dobson said: There is a bona fide and conservative element of the Tile Layers' International Union of America that did not put him there and would never have put him there, if they had an opportunity to discuss the terms of the amalgamation in a decent and orderly fashion. It is true we were informed that Delegate Daly was ready to meet in conference here to try to settle this trouble without going any further. We met the gentleman and his colleague, Mr. Claffy, and we practically agreed upon every question submitted to us, but the following day, after he had agreed to formulate this question in writing, we were handed a document that contained two or three questions that had not been raised in their conference. I want to say right now that there is no difference between us on the question raised by Brother Daly, but when we refused this particular one he retired from the conference, leaving the matter in a very vague condition, and did not agree that this question should determine the difference between us. Here is what he submitted:

"And it is further mutually agreed, for the purpose of perfecting this amalgamation, that the present officers of the Ceramic, Mosaic and Encaustic Tile Layers and Helpers' International Union shall be continued as the officials for the period for which they have been elected under the same terms and conditions." The officials of the Tile Layers in a rump convention were elected for a term of two

years. President Daly desires that we shall keep them in office for that period, pay their salary and collect the per capita tax from the Tile Layers to pay it. We don't propose to do any such thing. It is a question of office, pure and simple, and we are not going to be a party to it.

Delegate Donlin, President of the Building Trades Department, made a brief statement of the position taken by the Building Trades Department and its efforts to eliminate jurisdiction disputes. He explained the action of the recent convention of the department in sustaining the plan to amalgamate the two organizations.

After a further statement by Delegate Daly a vote was taken on the amendment, which was defeated.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

At the opening of the session President Gompers announced that Hon. William B. Wilson, Secretary of Labor, had reached the city and was in the convention; that he would address the convention during the day and had stated that it would be agreeable to him to speak at 11 o'clock. The address was made a special order for that hour.

When the hour for the special order had arrived the chairman appointed Delegates James Duncan, Frank Hayes and William L. Hutcheson to escort the Secretary of Labor to the platform. Upon his arrival and again upon his appearance on the platform the entire delegation arose and applauded Mr. Wilson for several minutes.

President Gompers, in presenting Mr. Wilson, said: We have with us this morning the cabinet member, the former congressman who served for two terms in the House of Representatives, who was the general secretary of the United Mine Workers of America for several years, who was the spokesman and defender of the coal miners in particular and the workers in general of his own district, a working coal miner, a member in good standing today in the United Mine Workers of America, a delegate to the conventions of the American Federation of Labor many times, a spokesman and counselor par excellence, an American one hundred per cent and, supported by his trades unionism, equally one hundred per cent, a man honored by preferment and promotion into the councils of the President of the United States, regarded as the wise counselor, he has grown out of the cause

of labor and freedom, but the same old Bill Wilson as of yore. I have the honor and privilege, the pride and satisfaction of presenting to you Hon. William B. Wilson, Secretary of Labor.

ADDRESS OF HON. WILLIAM B.
WILSON, SECRETARY OF
LABOR.

Mr. President and Fellow Trade Unionists: I have come here today, leaving strenuous and much needed work in Washington, for the purpose of conveying to you in person the greetings of the President of the United States and his high appreciation of the splendid work that has been done by the president of your organization, the Executive Council, the officers of the national and international unions, and the rank and file of the bona fide trade union movement of the country in preparing our country industrially to meet the enemy of democracy in the trenches.

I have frequently been severely criticized, both in congress and from the public forum, for having dared in the years gone by, when I had the honor of addressing you, to salute you as fellow trade unionists. I am proud of that criticism. I am proud of my association from boyhood on with the great and growing trade union movement. Industrially it has been the greatest factor in maintaining democracy within our country of any single element that has contributed to that result. The trade union movement as it has been constituted from the development of modern industry, has been one of the strong forces in the development of democracy. Away back yonder in the revolutionary period the trade union movement as it then existed contributed toward the success of the revolutionary arms and the establishment of our country as it is today.

There is one little word in our language, brought into existence at that time, which will remain as long as our language remains as the historical demonstration of the part played by the trade union movement in that great contest. We were not an industrial nation at that time, we were devoted almost exclusively to agriculture, we had but a nucleus of commercial enterprise, but even then the shipwrights and caulkers' organization was strong in our principal seaports. The leaders of the movement, the rank and file, were with those who signed the Declaration of Independence and had helped to pave the way for their doing so. When Otis and Samuel Adams and their associates in Boston, desired to take counsel concerning the steps that should be taken, they went to the meeting place of the shipwrights and caulkers to hold their consultation, and they spoke of it as "going down to the caulkers," hence there came into our language a corruption of that word, namely, "caucous," meaning taking counsel with each other.

When we had established our democracy it was not anywhere near as perfect as it is today. The franchise was limited in almost all of the states. It was the trade union movement in the early part of last century that laid the basis for conducting the agitation, handling the campaign for

the extension of the franchise so as to give us almost universal manhood suffrage. Today there are a number of states in the Union that have extended the suffrage from that of manhood suffrage to manhood and womanhood suffrage. It was the trade union movement, with its ideals of democracy that took up the struggle for woman suffrage when it meant ostracism in many instances to advocate it, and carried it through until now it is so popular that many of the highest functionaries in the land are supporting woman suffrage.

With the beginning of our modern industrial system the workers were engaged from daylight until dark, and when a system of lighting was devised that enabled the worker to continue his efforts by lamplight the day's labor frequently extended beyond the period of from daylight until dark and ran on into the night. The trade union movement of our country took up the question of a shorter work day and conducted a campaign for it. President Van Buren, in the latter part of the thirties of last century, issued an order establishing a ten-hour work day as the limitation for government employees. That was brought about by virtue of the pressure from trade unionists in the state of New York, from which President Van Buren came. Out of the proclamation issued by the president and the agitation conducted by trade unionists, within ten years a ten-hour day had come to be recognized as the accepted day's labor, except in a few lines of industry where they had continuous operation. And, unfortunately, in those continuous operation plants we still have a continuation of the twelve-hour work day.

It was the trade union movement taking up the theory, based upon the increased productivity of man and the right of labor to participate in that increased productivity, that started the agitation for an eight-hour day and carried it on to the point where today vast numbers of the workers are working upon an eight-hour basis, and working longer than eight hours solely by virtue of the fact that the necessities of the war require it. But the shortening of the hours and the advancement of democracy have not been the only things in which advancement has been made through the efforts of the trade union movement. Improvements have come, not improvements imposed by the Kaiser to suit his will, his whim or his purpose, but improvements brought about by the economic pressure of the working men themselves.

When I started to work in the mines of Pennsylvania some forty-eight years ago there was no child-labor law in existence anywhere in the United States. Today there is not a state in the Union that does not have its child-labor law. Forty-eight years ago children were being placed at work at gainful occupations at seven, eight, nine and ten years of age. Today the minimum limit of any of the states is twelve years. We had hoped, by virtue of federal legislation, to establish a minimum of fourteen years, and while the Supreme Court has announced that the method by which we sought to accomplish it is not within the limits of the constitution, those who are favorable to the higher limitation—and that means

the great multitude of our people—will find some other way by which the limitation can be made universal throughout the United States. When I started to work there was not a factory inspection law or a mine inspection law on the statute books of any state in the Union. Today every industrial state in the Union has a factory inspection system and a mine inspection system with established standards written into the law. When I started to work there was not a law on the statute books anywhere limiting the hours a woman might be employed in gainful and even dangerous occupations. Today many of the states have limitations of that kind, brought about by the insistent efforts of the trade union movement of our country.

When I started to work in a little mining town in Pennsylvania, a town of some three thousand souls, there was not a working man in the village who had a carpet on his floor, a musical instrument larger than a mouth organ in his home or any screens to his windows. The reason was not that the workers did not desire these things, but because the real wage measure in purchasing power could not secure them. Today in that same mining village there is not a house without a carpet or its rug, there are few homes without pianos, and there are curtains on all the windows.

I cite these things simply to show there has been a going forward of the standard of living because of the increasing of the real wage of the workers of the country. And that increase in the real wage for the workers was not brought about because of the generosity of the employers. There are multitudes of men engaged in large business enterprises who have not impulses who are charitably inclined, who are willing to grant of that which they have to help those in distress; but men do not engage in business out of charitable motives, they engage in business for the returns they are able to secure from the business, for the dollars and cents that come back from their investment, and, no matter how generous they may be, no matter how charitable they may be, there is a point beyond which they cannot go in improving the conditions of their respective workmen unless their competitors take steps along the same line. The improvement has not come by virtue, then, of the generous impulses of the employers, but has come by virtue of the persistent, intelligent action on the part of the trade unionists of the country.

These developments—and there are multitudes of others—are only possible in a democracy; there are not possible under an autocratic government. The institutions under which we have progressed, under which we are endeavoring to work out our destiny in our own way, have been threatened by a military government in Europe. Most of our people now realize that it is not simply because of the violation of the treaty with Belgium and the overrunning of that country, not simply because of the massacre of the Armenians, not simply because of the destruction of Serbia, not simply because of the overrunning of Northern France that we are engaged in this struggle, although all of these, or any of

them would be sufficient justification for our having engaged in the contest; but we are engaged in it, in addition to these things, because our right to work out our own destinies in our own way, to live our own lives in our own way, has been threatened by the military government of Germany.

While we were at peace with Germany her agents were busy in our country planting bombs, exploding shells, destroying our factories and taking the lives of our workmen, without a particle of justification for doing it. Germany went out upon the high seas and destroyed our vessels there, sinking them with passengers and sailors aboard without giving them an opportunity to reach a point of safety. And there were people in our country, some of them even yet, who said that passengers should not have been permitted to travel upon these vessels, that they should not have been allowed to endanger the peace of their country by taking passage on vessels that might possibly be destroyed, thereby creating international complications. Those who have made this kind of assertion, and are making it yet, fail to take into consideration the important facts in the problem. There could be no passengers on those vessels unless there were seamen to operate them, and we were placed in the position of either abandoning our overseas trade altogether or of supporting and protecting our seamen in their right to earn their livelihood in the usual way.

I do not know what may be the sentiment of some of our people, but I think I know what your sentiments are. I know what the sentiments of the President of the United States were, and they were my own—that the officer on the bridge, the sailor on the deck, the steward between the decks, the engineer in the engine room, the stoker in the fire room and the coal passer in the bunker were just as much entitled to the protection of this great government of ours as any millionaire who ever took passage on a ship. And we decided to protect them. Germany withdrew from her attitude for a brief period of time, and then she said to us over night that she was going to renew her submarine warfare, but in doing so she would condescendingly permit the American people to send one vessel a week to England, provided it went on a certain day of the week and was painted in a certain manner.

Now, that was not our congress attempting to impose upon us a rule of conduct; that was not our congress, responsible to us for its actions, saying to us what we should and should not do; that was the German Imperial Government laying down a rule of conduct for the free-born citizens of the United States. We could not accept their orders, we could not acknowledge their right to issue these orders without immediately acknowledging that we were subjects of the German Imperial Government. There was a time when the people of the United States were subjects of the government or the king of England. They declared their independence of that subjection, they are no longer subjects of the king of England, they are no longer subjects of any king or potentate on earth—they are sovereigns in their own

right, subject only to the will of Almighty God.

Our institutions being at stake,—we as trade unionists having more at interest than any other portion of our people, because it involves our right to work out our own problems in our own way—I feel that you have been justified in taking the course you have taken in the past more than a year in providing the means whereby our boys can be equipped at the front. In years gone by, under the old methods of warfare, it was nothing unusual for an army to maintain itself on the territory through which it was passing, receiving only the contribution of munitions from the workers in the rear. That has been changed. It is variously estimated that it takes from six to ten workers behind the trenches to furnish the supplies for each boy who is doing the actual fighting, and that makes our industrial establishments more important than they have ever been before and our workers in the industries more vital to the success of our arms than in any other previous conflict.

In going through this conflict there will be sacrifices and there will be grumbling, but the sacrifices will have to be made, and I know that most of you have the same sacrifices behind you that I have. I have gone through scores of strikes from the time I was a mere child until I was a mature man. Many of those strikes were in the early days when organizations had not been perfected as they are perfected today, when there were no defense funds and no accumulation of money in a central treasury with which to support the men who engaged in an industrial conflict, when they had to draw upon their own resources, and hunger existed in every home in the striking community. They went through the suffering, the privation. Altogether the conditions were worse than the conditions that existed prior to the strike. The conditions before the strike may have been bad, extremely bad, difficult for men and women working with all the energy they possessed to secure the means to eke out an existence, but when that little means was cut off, then the conditions were still worse, temporarily, than they were before. But men suffered those inconveniences, they made the sacrifices either to maintain the standards they had already secured or to attain new standards which they believed they were justly entitled to.

And so it is with us as a nation at the present time. We are engaged in conflict with a tyrannical power on the other side of the ocean. Before we are through with the struggle it will be necessary for us to live under poorer conditions than we lived under before the conflict took place. It will be necessary, if the struggle goes on, as it seems that it will for a considerable length of time, to lower our standards of living in order to meet the necessities of the war. I hope there may be no need for the lowering of the standards, but with that spirit that is instilled into the mind of every trade unionist I feel confident that when the time comes to make the sacrifice of standards, when the time comes to live more meagerly than we have lived in the past in order to support our armies at the front, the trade unionists, yea, the great bulk of our workers will make the necessary sacrifice in order to maintain

those democratic institutions we have established, and lay the foundation for higher standards of living in the future. And whoever else may stab our Uncle Sam in this great struggle the wage workers will be found true to the end.

It is with that feeling of pride in the trade union movement that I have accepted the invitation of your great chief, who has done so much wonderful work, to be here today with you to say "Hello" to you as in the old days and to wish you God-speed in carrying on the work for the war so that we may carry it on also to a successful termination at the front. I thank you.

The audience again arose and cheered Secretary Wilson for several minutes.

President Gompers: I think you will agree with me, Mr. Secretary, that the ovation tendered you upon your arrival in the hall, upon ascending this platform and the manifestations of approval of your magnificent address demonstrate the approval of the delegates of this convention more eloquently than any words I can utter would convey.

During the Civil War, at a critical stage during that internal struggle there was a great need for men, and although a mere youngster at that time I very vividly recall the cry that went up from the great mass of the people and the message they sent to the President of the United States, Uncle Abe Lincoln, "We are coming, Father Abraham, three hundred thousand strong." With the world-development and the world-struggle and growth of our time, the American Federation of Labor of its own membership, outside of the influence it may exert upon other workers and other people of our country, asks you to take home to your chief, to our chief, the great interpreter and defender of freedom, justice and democracy, the message of the men and women of the labor movement, nearly three million strong, "We are with you Woodrow Wilson."

We are confident that he will uphold the banner of justice and of freedom, that there can be and will be no lowering of the standards of the ideas and ideals and the high purposes which he has presented to the world, and by which, with the entrance of the Republic of the United States in this world-struggle, transferred it from a war to a crusade. After all, life is only worth living if the people can have the opportunity of not only thinking freely but expressing themselves in the desires for justice, for freedom and for a better life, and to translate those thoughts and expressions into action that shall make them the actual

living rules, laws and conditions of our everyday life.

And you, sir, as the representative of the heart and soul of the workers of America in the cabinet and the counsels of the President of the United States, the leader of the world in the struggles of today and the hopes for the future, we know that you will be of assistance to him to interpret our hopes, our thoughts, our work and our weaknesses that may develop. We are human, strong in our convictions, determined in our principles and democracy, but we are liable to, and do, make some mistakes. But if there ever was or is a people who are justified in making mistakes, it is the men and women of labor—robbed all too long of the opportunity of a full and free education, for the cultivation of the best there is in man—if there be any justification at all for people to make mistakes, it is for the men and women of labor. And yet I am vain enough to believe that in our great movement of living human beings, dealing with the problems that affect our every day life, affect us in more potential ways than in any other activity of humanity, we are freer from mistakes and as fully cognizant of the justice of our cause and the righteousness of our methods as any group of people in all the world.

We must be taken just as we are, with all our crudities, with all our shortcomings, but to set opposite to that the asset of the light that we have brought into the life, into the work and into the homes of the workers. You have raised the standard, you have brought more understanding, you have brought a realization of the rights to which not only we are entitled but to which all other citizens are entitled. The struggles we have made, the sacrifices we have borne, all of them have made for a higher and better concept of right and duty combined, for there can be no right without it carries with it duty and obligation.

We are endeavoring to work out with our fellow citizens the greatest problem that has ever been presented for any people at any time to solve or help solve. We are doing it in the best way we know how and by means that will best protect the interests of our people. Not to work out that problem in the far away future, but to work out the problem presented to us today, to endeavor to solve it, to make each day a better day in the life of the workers than the day that has

gone before, to improve the mind, the heart and the conscience of our fellow workers, bringing to them better physical conditions and surroundings, a higher and a better and a clearer vision of the problems next confronting them, and that they may be in a better position continually to solve the ever-increasing problems of life.

To do that work, to have lived for thirty-eight years as a general labor movement, growing always in number and influence, in understanding, in achievement, and to meet here in this year of grace 1918 with this magnificent body of the representatives of the toilers in the shops, in the factories, in the shipyards, the mines and the mills who are giving their tremendous service to our country and its cause, to the countries of our Allies, their men and their women and their children, to provide the means by which our fighting boys can give a good account of themselves and fight in the forefront for freedom and democracy and the opportunity of the people to live their own lives is an achievement and a contribution of which we are all proud.

Convey, sir, if you will, the message to our great chief of good will, of hope, of courage, that we dare not fail, that we must and will win the war.

Delegate Green, Mine Workers: I move you that this convention tender a rising vote of thanks to Secretary Wilson for his visit to us and to express our appreciation for the splendid address which he has delivered.

The motion was adopted by unanimous rising vote.

Delegate Clarke, Flint Glass Workers, moved that the address of Secretary Wilson and the introductory and closing addresses of President Gompers be printed in full in the convention proceedings. The motion was seconded and carried.

Vice-President Duncan: As it is near the hour of adjournment, I offer as a further mark of respect to the Secretary of Labor that the convention now adjourn until two o'clock.

The motion was seconded and carried, and at 12 o'clock the convention was adjourned to 2 o'clock p. m.

NINTH DAY--Wednesday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2 o'clock p. m., Wednesday, June 19th, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—Kline, Franklin, Proebstle, Obergfell, Corcoran, Boyer, Desepte, Fisher (F.), Feeney, Williams (Jno.), Brock, O'Connor, VanLear, Lane, Schmidt (F.), McCreash, White (J. P.), Farrington, Valentine, Hedrick, Anderson (C.), McHugh, Yould, Brown (W. J.), McCoy, Connors, Agethen, Curtis, Hatch, Mountford, Poone, Harlin, VanHouten, Wilk, Spencer (G.), Hoof, Stewart (R.), Crickmore, Bailey, Conley, Williams (H.), Hardy, Moncur, Hutton, Morgan, Taylor (C. O.), O'Dell, Brown (B. F.), Smith (J. F.), Burton, Brindell, Greene (M. F.), Gayton, Fricke, Wilkinson, Jennings (E. O.), Reardon, Fanning, Burns (T.), Kuhn, Sanders, Hester, McGovern, Casey, Mezazapo, Bruen, Harte, Browne, Lampa, Morris, Wendell, Schultz, Quesse, Kester, Staunton, Walker (M.), Waplington, deKrafft, Williams (T. J.), Ellicott, Paramore, Riordan, Byrne, Prullt (E. B.), Voight.

Delegate Healy, Firemen, moved that the election of officers be made a special order of business for 2 o'clock p. m., Thursday. Seconded and carried.

Delegate Sheehan, Street Railway Men, obtained unanimous consent to the introduction of the following resolution:

Resolution No. 140—By Delegates P. F. Sheehan, Wm. Quinlan, M. J. Cahill, Street and Electric Railway Employees:

WHEREAS, The Street and Electric Railway Employees of St. Paul and Minneapolis on Oct. 1st did organize themselves into a trade union and took out a charter from the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America, one of the affiliated International unions of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The Twin City Street Railway Company did lock out these employees and refused to allow them to remain in the employ of the Company as organized workers; and

WHEREAS, Their case was taken before the Special United States Government Commission appointed by President Woodrow Wilson for the purpose of adjusting labor disputes of this kind, which Commission after hearing the case of these employees recommended their reinstatement with the right to belong to their trade union; and

WHEREAS, There has since been a hearing by two members of the State Board of Arbitration of the State of Minnesota, who have rendered a decision, which in no way carries out the award of the Government Commission or gives to these employees as union men any rights or consideration, but penalizes them for becoming members of a trade union by taking from them their seniority rights and reducing their pay; and

WHEREAS, This award as unfair and distasteful as it was to these employes and before action could be taken by them was rejected by the officials of the Twin City Street Railway Company; we therefore appeal to the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled to aid and assist them in their struggle for the right to establish their organization for the purpose of collective bargaining and establishing American conditions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled do endorse the position of these Street Railway Employes; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we hereby instruct the President and Secretary of the American Federation of Labor to immediately bring this to the attention of the President of the United States and the Secretary of Labor, that justice may be done to these union employes and the stamp of disapproval placed upon the un-American autocratic action of a public service company, while men are giving their lives in a just cause for democracy; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the President and Secretary of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to petition the United States War Board to take up the case of these employes in line with the policy of the said War Board.

The resolution was referred to the Committee on Organization. The committee gave the matter immediate consideration and reported concurrence. The report of the committee was adopted.

The Committee on Credentials recommended the seating of J. R. McFaden, Cleburne, Texas, Central Labor Union. The report of the committee was adopted.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON REPORT OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

Secretary Will, of the committee, reported as follows:

Resolution No. 54—By Delegates M. Snellings, J. G. Hannahan, H. M. Comerford, and E. L. Edgerton of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers:

WHEREAS, The 36th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in Baltimore, adopted a recommendation that the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredge Men should become amalgamated with the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers; and

WHEREAS, The International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredge Men have wilfully and consistently refused to accept this recommendation, although the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers have repeatedly made overtures to that end; and

WHEREAS, The International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredge Men have persistently insisted upon building up their organization with seceding members from the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers; and

WHEREAS, By so doing they have created a condition that is detrimental to the labor movement in this great war crisis; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to revoke the charter of the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredge Men at the expiration of ninety days, unless they have com-

plied with the recommendations of the Baltimore Convention before that time.

St. Paul Hotel,

St. Paul, Minn., June 7, 1918.

Mr. Frank Morrison, Secretary,
American Federation of Labor,
St. Paul, Minn.

Dear Sir and Brother:

The following is an extract from the Report of the Executive Council to the St. Paul Convention of the Building Trades Department:

"International Union of Steam Engineers vs. International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredge Men.

"Several years ago, over the protest of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers, a charter was granted by the American Federation of Labor to an organization known as the Steam Shovel and Dredge Men. At the time it was predicted that serious trouble would follow, particularly in the building industry. Unfortunately the alarm expressed has been realized at this the most important period in the history of our movement, and the stoppage of important work would be a daily occurrence if it were not for the toleration shown by the Steam Engineers, which organization has displayed loyal citizenship and true trade unionism. We believe that the charter granted by the American Federation of Labor to this dual organization should be revoked."

"Your Executive Council deems it most important that the convention now in session go on record as favoring the revocation of the charter of the Steam Shovel and Dredge Men as granted by the American Federation of Labor, and an award of the jurisdiction claims of that organization made in favor of the International Union of Steam Engineers in order to avoid the strife, trouble and confusion which has arisen over the issuance of the charter to the dual organization herewith referred to."

For your further information we desire to quote below the action of the convention on the foregoing matter as follows:

"On this long standing jurisdiction dispute, which has taken up much time of conventions in the past, the Executive Council recommends the revocation of the charter of the Steam Shovel and Dredge Men by the A. F. of L. Convention, and the awarding of the jurisdiction claims of that organization to the International Union of Steam Engineers, thereby eliminating disputes, contention and strife in the future. Your committee unanimously concurs in the recommendation."

"The recommendation of the committee was adopted unanimously."

The above is transmitted to you in accordance with the decision of the convention, and the revocation of the charter of the Steam Shovel and Dredge Men is herewith urged.

Fraternally yours,

WM. J. SPENCER,
Secretary-Treasurer
Building Trades Dept.

Your committee has given such time and consideration to the subject contained in Resolution No. 54 and the report of the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department on this subject, and referred to the committee, as the opportunity permitted.

From the investigation made, your committee is impressed with the necessity of

co-ordinating and unifying the forces of the two organizations at variance with each other, and that this can only be accomplished by amalgamation. This was also the opinion and decision of the Baltimore Convention.

Your committee is firmly convinced that the similarity of workmanship and the ease with which one class of members can supplant the other, can only result in intensifying the feeling of bitterness now prevailing amongst the members of these two organizations unless these two forces are amalgamated.

Your committee therefore recommends non-concurrence in the resolution and in lieu thereof recommends that the Executive Council be authorized and directed to call a conference of the two organizations at the earliest possible opportunity, not later than ninety days from date, for the purpose of amalgamation. In the event of failure to reach an agreement, the Executive Council be and are hereby directed and authorized to definitely fix the terms of amalgamation.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 100—By Delegate Urban Fleming, of the Spinners' International Union:

WHEREAS, The Buffalo convention of the American Federation of Labor adopted a resolution, the intent and purport of which would seem to indicate a desire on the part of the delegates to that convention that something be done to bring into closer affiliation the various textile organizations now existing, said resolution providing for conferences and the proposing of some workable plan of amalgamation on the part of the Executive Council; and

WHEREAS, Several conferences were held by some of the textile unions interested and several plans of amalgamation proposed by them, which were rejected by the representative of the United Textile Workers, who assumed the position that the other organizations must either surrender the American Federation of Labor charters voluntarily and affiliate their local organizations with the United Textile Workers or have their charters revoked by the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The resolution adopted at Buffalo distinctly provided that the Executive Council be represented at the conferences and that "the terms of amalgamation be formulated by the officers of the American Federation of Labor;" and

WHEREAS, The officers of the American Federation of Labor have failed to propose any plan of amalgamation, and all plans otherwise suggested that would have a tendency to ultimately bring all existing textile organizations into the American Federation of Labor fold, as well as bring about the organizing of the tremendous number not yet organized, were arbitrarily rejected by representatives of the United Textile Workers; and

WHEREAS, It is the apparent intent of the resolution adopted at Buffalo to bring about the thorough organizing of the textile industry, which

has unfortunately so far not become effective therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be, and hereby is, ordered to have the conditions existing in the textile industry and among the organizations now in existence thoroughly investigated to the end that a real constructive plan of amalgamation may be arrived at and proposed to the textile unions; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That until such time as such a comprehensive investigation and plan has been proposed by the Executive Council there shall be no suspensions or revocations of charters by the American Federation of Labor or its officers.

In considering Resolution No. 100, it became necessary to refer to the report of the Executive Council on the subject entitled "To Amalgamate Textile Workers," on page 129.

We find in this report of the Executive Council that amalgamation of the three organizations in the textile industry has been directed by the previous convention of the American Federation of Labor.

We find also that the Executive Council under this provision has arranged a fair method to determine equitable terms and conditions for amalgamation and designed an essential requirement by which to hasten amalgamation.

Your committee finds that the last resolve in Resolution No. 100 can only operate to render ineffective the action of the last convention and destroy the possibility of an early amalgamation of the textile trades.

Your committee therefore recommends disapproval of Resolution No. 100, and approval of the plan provided by the Executive Council as contained in its report.

We also approve of the recommendation that the organization or organizations failing to accept or comply with the terms of amalgamation by August 1, 1918, shall be suspended from membership in the American Federation of Labor.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Fleming, Spinners' International Union, opposed the recommendation of the committee and urged the adoption of the resolution. He reviewed the organization and progress of the various unions in the textile trades, the alliance between his own organization and the United Textile Workers in the past, the breaking off of that alliance and the various attempts at amalgamation that had followed. He called attention to the small percentage of the members in the United Textile Workers, the number in independent organizations and the number unorganized, and contrasted it with the almost

complete organization of the trade he represented. For these and other reasons advanced by him he opposed the recommendation of the committee.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried by a vote, by show of hands, of 95 in the affirmative to 88 in the negative.

Delegate Fleming requested a roll call. The request was not supported by the number of delegates required to order a roll call.

MEMBERS OF FRENCH COMMISSION.

Dr. George Loewy, Dr. George Dehelly, Dr. Edmond Locard and M. Justin Godart, French Minister of Sanitary Service, formerly presiding officer of the French Chamber of Deputies, members of a mission from the French Government, were escorted to the platform and introduced to the convention by President Gompers.

M. Godart addressed the convention, speaking in French. The address was interpreted for the convention by Lieutenant Loewy, as follows:

M. Godart thanks your president for the great honor given him in being allowed to address the convention of the American Federation of Labor. He thanks you for the hearty welcome you have given him and for interrupting your work to receive the short message we bring you from France, from our men, from our soldiers and workers. Wherever they are, in the trenches or in the factories, they have only one aim and one object, to win this war. These are the thoughts of the French workmen. They know what you are doing for them now and how you can help them in the future. They know the great effort of your organization, showing that you want justice and right for the workers. M. Godart has said that what will come out of this war will be a union, not only between the workmen in France, but a union between the American workers and the French workers.

The members of the mission were applauded upon their entrance, the entire delegation standing and welcoming them in the most enthusiastic manner.

In responding to the address of M. Godart, President Gompers said: I am sure that I but faintly interpret the sentiment and the feeling of the delegates to this convention and the millions of workers they represent in expressing our great appreciation of the courtesy and fraternity manifested by the Mission in coming here this afternoon, in expressing the gratitude which America's workers feel toward France and her people, the people of France, not only of today, but of the long ago, for it is the unanimous judgment of the world that without the

substantial aid of the men of that country American independence might have been doomed to failure. For good reasons the people of the United States and the government of the United States have a peculiar affection and reverence for the people and the Republic of France. Whether in peace or during war France has always been recognized as a gentleman among countries. France's gallantry, chivalry and heroism have demonstrated themselves in this world-struggle. We second the hope that out of this world conflagration shall come a new understanding, a new agreement, a new concept of the rights of man and the humanitarian principles which should dominate our every day lives.

Secretary Woll continued the report of the Committee on Report of Executive Council as follows:

Resolution No. 11—By Delegates Benjamin Schlesinger, J. Heller, I. Feinberg, Max Gorenstein, Mollie Friedman and Alfred LaPorta, of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union:

WHEREAS, The International Ladies Garment Workers' Union at its 14th Biennial Convention held in Boston, Mass., during May, 1913, adopted the following resolution:

"WHEREAS, The existence of several autonomous organizations of garment workers is a serious hindrance to the progress and success of organized labor in this industry; and

"WHEREAS, Experience has demonstrated that close and organic co-operation of all unions within the same general industry is most conducive to the success of labor's cause and most effective against the encroachment of the employing class; and

"WHEREAS, There are definite indications of a movement on the part of the manufacturers' associations in all branches of the garment industry to consolidate into one compact body; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 14th Biennial Convention of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, reiterating its consistent stand on this subject, urgently requests the American Federation of Labor to take immediate steps for the formation of a Garment Trades Department within the American Federation of Labor."

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-eighth Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the above quoted resolution of the Convention of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, and that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor take immediate steps for the formation of a Garment Trades Department.

A careful analysis of Resolution No. 11 leads your committee to conclude that the subject matter contained in this resolution is identical with the subject reported on

by the Executive Council under the title "Needle Trades Department," page 131.

While it is true that different terms are used in the resolution the change in words does not constitute a change in fact.

Having examined the Executive Council's report on this subject, we are of the opinion that while there is a desire on the part of some of the workers for a Needle Trades Department, there are so many opposed to its formation that it would prove futile to undertake its establishment under such conditions.

Your committee therefore recommends non-concurrence in the resolution and approval of the Executive Council's report on the subject.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Heller, Ladies Garment Workers, spoke at length in favor of the establishment of a department of the garment trades, similar to departments established in other industries. He stated that the request came from the 125,000 members of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, and was opposed by only a comparatively small minority of members of the industry.

Delegate Schlesinger discussed the report of the committee and moved that the resolution and report be recommitted to the committee to bring in a different report.

Delegate Larger, United Garment Workers, spoke in favor of the report of the committee and opposed the proposition to establish a department in the garment trades.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 72—By Delegates Anna Weinstock, of Neckwear Workers Union No. 15,200, Boston, Mass., and Louis D. Berger, Neckwear Makers' Union Local 11016 of New York:

WHEREAS, The membership of Locals 11016, 6939 and 15265, of New York, and Locals 15200 and 15986 of Boston, and Local 15794 of Chicago, all affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, have unanimously decided, after canvassing carefully the situation with reference to the neckwear industry, that the interests of the neckwear workers in the United States could be best served by the formation of an International Union under the supervision of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, There are at this time nine Local Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor composed of neckwear workers and which local unions are functioning in New York, Boston, Chicago, San Francisco and St. Louis; and

WHEREAS, There are several other centers in the United States where men's neckwear is manufactured and such centers are entirely unorganized; and

WHEREAS, Experience has taught that the way to organize the neckwear workers is to put the work of organization into the hands of specialized organizers; and

WHEREAS, The combined membership of the local unions in the city of New York alone are approximately 2,000 and favorable working conditions were obtained for such workers in the city of New York; and

WHEREAS, The unorganized state of centers like Philadelphia, St. Louis, Chicago, and Boston, are a constant menace to the neckwear workers in New York and in such shops in other cities where the workers work under such union conditions; and

WHEREAS, The local unions in New York City have repeatedly been called upon by the needs of the trade in general throughout the country to expend large sums of money, and in fact, have expended large sums of money, as for instance, in the city of Boston the sum of \$6,000 expended within a period of twelve weeks, and constantly are expending large sums of money for organization work and which money is in a measure wasted because of the fact that there is no systematized campaign possible to be laid out. The local unions in New York do organization work when in time of difference between them and their employers and find that the employers have recourse to other localities to have their work performed; and

WHEREAS, The eight local unions now existing are able to finance and promote the organization of all the neckwear workers in the United States and Canada as is evidenced by the fact that though there is no international union the local unions expended large sums of money for organization purposes; be it, therefore

RESOLVED, That the delegates to this, the 28th annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct the President of the American Federation of Labor to issue a call within six months to the nine local unions of neckwear workers for a convention at which convention an International Union shall be organized under the supervision and in conformity with the constitution of the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee has given the subject contained in Resolution No. 72 such attention as time and opportunity afforded. We find no objection lodged to the request made by any affiliated union. We are favorably impressed with the necessity of doing everything possible to help the workers in this industry. We are not however sufficiently informed as to whether the chartering of an international union of neckwear workers at this time will best serve this purpose.

Your committee therefore recommends reference of this resolution to the Executive Council with the suggestion that if possible and if warranted by an investigation, that an International Union of these workers be formed.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 88—By Delegates Timothy Healy, C. L. Shamp, J. W. Morton and W. J. Brennan, of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen:

WHEREAS, At the 18th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor,

held in December, 1898, a charter was granted to the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen, which was composed of water tenders, firemen, boiler washers, helpers and coal passers; and

WHEREAS, At meeting of the Executive Council held January 23, 1903, it was agreed that the jurisdiction over oilers be granted to the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen; and

WHEREAS, At the last convention of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen, held in May, 1917, at the urgent request of thirty-five per cent of our members now working under wage agreement and classified as oilers, that they be given proper recognition by including them in our official title; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the 38th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor that they grant the request of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen to add the name "oilers" to the official title with the distinct understanding that this change does not make any extension of jurisdiction but is for the protection of a component part of our present membership.

Referred to Committee on Executive Council's Report.

Under the specific conditions set forth in Resolution No. 88, viz: "that this change does not make any extension of jurisdiction," your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Comerford, Engineers, opposed the report of the committee. He discussed at length the conditions in the industry, described the work of the various departments, and contended that the engineers had a right to control the men in the engine rooms. He urged that the adoption of the report of the committee would open up the old dispute between the firemen and engineers.

Delegate Shamp, Firemen, spoke in favor of the recommendation of the committee. He stated that when the Firemen's charter was issued in 1898 they were not given jurisdiction over the oilers, that they did not claim it, and that the oilers were not organized at that time. He stated further that the firemen had sent representatives to a convention of the engineers some years later, and that there the question of organizing the oilers was taken up, but the engineers decided not to take them in. Later the Firemen were given permission by the American Federation of Labor to add the word "Oilers" to their title and jurisdiction claims.

Delegate Morton, Firemen, spoke in favor of the report of the committee. He discussed the training of men in the boiler rooms, the system of promotions and the training of the men in question to enter the merchant marine service.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Vice-President Duncan in the chair.

Resolution No. 94—By Delegate J. E. Giles, of the Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 11773, Washington, D. C.:

WHEREAS, The needs of organization among office workers are such that no material progress can be made without the assistance of an international of office workers; and

WHEREAS, A majority of the membership of the eighteen locals already affiliated with the American Federation of Labor are desirous of securing a charter as an international; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, issue a charter to such an international, with the jurisdiction now granted to the several local unions.

In considering Resolution No. 94, your committee is of the opinion that the reasons having prompted the Buffalo convention in rejecting a similar proposal, have not altered or changed sufficiently to warrant favorable action on this resolution. Your committee therefore recommends non-concurrence.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 114—By Delegates A. Avins of the Brotherhood of Painters and Louis D. Berger, of Neckwear Makers' Local No. 11016:

WHEREAS, The United Hebrew Trades have been for the last thirty years and are now an indispensable factor in organizing the immigrant elements of labor and bringing them into the fold of the American labor movement; and

WHEREAS, The United Hebrew Trades complied with the decision of the San Francisco Convention of the American Federation of Labor, and unseated the delegates of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers; and

WHEREAS, It is impossible for the United Hebrew Trades to take part in the controversy between the United Garment Workers and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers for by such action it would cause such dissension in its own ranks and such resentment among those immigrant labor elements which it organizes that the usefulness if not the very existence of the United Hebrew Trades will terminate; and

WHEREAS, The order of the executive Council in accordance with the decision of the Buffalo Convention to the International Organizations to withdraw their Local Unions from the United Hebrew Trades will bring dissension in the ranks of the labor movement in New York, weakening its position during this critical time; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-eight Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor

reconsider the action of the Buffalo Convention with regard to the United Hebrew Trades; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this Convention decide that the United Hebrew Trades be not molested as long as they remain loyal to the American labor movement and do not seat any organizations opposed to the American Federation of Labor, leaving them, however, the freedom to determine themselves the composition of their own organization.

Delegate A. Avins, one of the introducers of Resolution No. 114, appeared before your committee and requested leave to withdraw the resolution. As the other introducer of the resolution did not appear and inasmuch as the committee is not vested with authority to act on this request, your committee refers the request to the convention for consideration with the recommendation that the request be granted.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 139—By Delegates Wm. H. Johnston, John J. Hynes, Louis Weyand, Dan F. McKillop, Chas. MacGowan, Nathan P. Birch, James A. Duncan:

WHEREAS, The basic principle of Workmen's Compensation Laws is good and should be extended to cover larger fields of industry, and such law should be amended so as to provide increased compensation for the workers affected; and

WHEREAS, The ruling on such laws has been that the automatic compensation provided, in specific cases, as for instance in the case of workmen on construction of ships, has been that the said laws apply only while the ship is all on the land and do not apply after the ship has touched the water on being launched, thereby depriving numerous workmen of such protection as the laws are intended to provide; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. in conjunction with representatives of such organizations as are desirous of coming under the protection of such compensation laws, are hereby authorized and instructed to prepare a Bill and introduce same in Congress as soon as practicable, for the purpose of extending the provision of such compensation, if possible in increased amounts, to all workmen in all industries or transportation systems affected.

Your committee recommends concurrence in Resolution No. 139.

The report of the committee was adopted.

In conclusion your committee feels that it would have failed to perform its full duty if it did not express what is recognized by all the delegates and members of the trade union movement the able and efficient service rendered by all the members of the Executive Council

and to express to them our appreciation for work well done.

We are indeed fortunate in having for our leader a man of such a broad vision, sympathetic of heart, brilliant of mind, strong in character, true and loyal to the cause of labor and of our country, our President Samuel Gompers.

Words can not express in accurate and complete form the high esteem in which he and his work are held by all, or reproduce adequately the affection of our people which has grown into the very hearts of all who have come to know him and understand his work. We appreciate his great work and are thankful for his loyal and effective service to our cause and to the cause of our country.

We likewise express our thanks and appreciation for the able services rendered our movement by Mr. Frank Morrison, in his capacity as Secretary of the American Federation of Labor and to Treasurer Daniel J. Tobin for his willing and devoted service to our cause.

Concluding we leave this thought that we are facing today conditions different from anything ever experienced before. If we have faith in ourselves and in our movement we have power to realize our aims and ideals. Organization is imperative for our nation to be successful in this world contest and organization is essential if our industries are to be saved and the workers are to be guaranteed reasonable opportunities of enjoying the fruits of their labor and continue to promote the interests and well-being of all our people.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Secretary Woll: This completes the report of the committee, which is respectfully submitted and signed:

JAMES WILSON, Chairman,
 GEORGE L. BERRY,
 JOHN B. LENNON,
 MARTIN LAWLOR,
 FRANK FARRINGTON,
 JERE L. SULLIVAN,
 FRANK X. NOSCHANG,
 THOMAS RICKERT,
 WILLIAM P. CLARKE,
 W. A. CAMPBELL,
 THOMAS KEARNEY,
 MATTHEW WOLL, Secretary,

Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Delegate Woll moved the adoption of the report as a whole. Seconded and carried.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION.

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

Committee on Labor.

Although the substantial achievements of the Committee on Labor of the Advisory Commission of the Council of National Defense are well known to this convention, your committee found unusual pleasure in reviewing the record of those achievements on pages 56 to 59 of the Executive Council's report. It is impossible to single out the names of all within and without the labor movement who have rendered effective and self-sacrificing service on that committee and its numerous sub-committees, but we feel that special recognition must be given to the work of its Chairman, Samuel Gompers. Never has our government granted organized labor so great an opportunity to prove the value not only of its counsel in the formulation of policies but also of the application of its wide experience to the actual administration of policies. The record of the representatives of organized labor, in both federal and state positions of responsibility, justifies your committee in now recommending that this convention renew the request of the Buffalo convention for the continuance and extension of the policy of appointing responsible labor representatives upon commissions and committees and to positions of responsibility, so that the value of Labor's hard-won knowledge and experience may be made most effectively available to our nation, and the means for the most complete cooperation be provided.

Special endorsement should be given the cooperation of the Committee on Labor with the Food Administration, carried on through J. W. Sullivan and W. N. Doak. The importance of the National Committee on Welfare Work can scarcely be over emphasized. Millions now have a very real and very personal appreciation of the work done by the section on Compensation for Enlisted Men and their Dependents. The three reports of the Welfare Work series already issued by means of voluntary contributions have proved so valuable that the government should be urged to publish the rest of the series. The sub-committee on Housing did its work so well on that subject, so vital in both peace and war, and yet so long neglected, that appropriations of \$110,000,000 have been made, and the re-

commendations of the committee incorporated in the legislation.

The section on Industrial Training for the War Emergency has developed the method of specialized training in a single operation, giving speed in that operation without adaptability or knowledge of the process as a whole, or of other phases of it, making the worker merely an adjunct of the one machine he is trained to use. Your committee realizes that the urgent need for production, and the necessity of immediately utilizing large numbers of so-called unskilled men, makes the method necessary. But your committee recalls that this is the general type of vocational training that many of the manufacturers attempted to introduce under peace conditions, and even to have introduced into our public schools; and we believe organized labor should be on the alert to see that after the emergency is passed the system is not continued as an evil inheritance, and that even during the emergency the vocational training given in our public schools should not be narrowed down to the conception of making a boy or girl an adjunct of a machine.

The sub-committees on Accident Prevention, Home Nursing, and Recreation, should have the hearty commendation of this convention, as should the wider appeal and increased effectiveness of the national committee secured through the organization of State Welfare Committees.

A number of the most difficult problems in the whole war situation are being worked out by the National Committee of Women in Industry, with a membership of 84 women, 35 of whom are representatives of labor. They are fairly facing the problems of the maintenance of the health of our women, of equal pay for equal work and the avoidance of the lowering of the standards of living, of the enforcement of labor laws, of industrial standards, and of foreign born and of colored women, and their achievement is already notable.

Your committee heartily concurs in the concluding statement to the effect that in addition to contributing largely to the winning of the war, the activities of the committee outlined above will teach the people of our nation the folly after victory comes of going back to the pre-war policy of leaving essentially social matters of living and working conditions to the mercies of private interests.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Child Labor Law.

The following resolutions, Nos. 91, 108, 121 and 125, were considered in connection with the portion of the report of the Executive Council under the caption "Child Labor Law" and dealt with in the same report:

Resolution No. 91—By Delegates P. Harry Jennings of Massachusetts State Branch and Martin F. Joyce of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers:

WHEREAS, It has been proven that a long work day is especially detrimental to the health of women and children operatives and if allowed to continue, tends to incapacitate the operatives and is also detrimental to the health and welfare of the future manhood and womanhood of our great country, the conservation of which is now a most important problem; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council is instructed to prepare and have introduced into the next session of Congress a Bill, which will be so drawn as to avoid the technicality recently raised on the Child Labor Law, calling for a 48 hour week for all women and children who are employed on products which enter into Interstate trade.

Resolution No. 108—By Delegates John Golden, Thos. F. McMahon, and Sara A. Conboy of the United Textile Workers:

WHEREAS, Through a recent decision handed down by five justices of the Supreme Court of the United States, the Federal Child Labor Law has been declared unconstitutional, thus ruthlessly destroying the efforts of years of organized labor and its friends to secure the enactment of a law that would amply protect and safeguard the children of the nation against industrial exploitation; and

WHEREAS, We, the delegates to the 38th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor still believe that a Federal Child Labor Law is essential as being the best means to eliminate the course of child labor in every state in the Union where child labor obtains; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Delegates to this convention go on record to urgently request Congress to immediately enact a Federal Child Labor Law that will accomplish the desired end, namely the abolition of child labor in every state in the Union.

Resolution No. 125—By W. A. Campbell and T. F. Bell, Oil Field Workers' Local 15505 and 15676:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor through its entire history has in keeping with its clearly stated purpose striven to better the conditions of every man, woman and child of the laboring class, by securing for the adult better wages, shorter hours and more humane working conditions, thereby making it possible for the children of the working class to secure and enjoy such physical and mental training as is provided for by the establishment of our splendid educational institutions; and

WHEREAS, In the development of our country and the establishment of the great manufacturing concerns in the various States, who by the employment of children have defeated the purpose of our Government, made useless the institutions provided for their education, blighted

their prospects, dwarfed their bodies, stunted their intellect, and destroyed the hopes of their parents in their future; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has consistently, through its National officials, the officials of the several States Federations, in its annual convention, both State and National, by passing strong resolutions and appointing Legislative Committees to secure such legislation as would prevent the employment of children in these manufacturing institutions; and

WHEREAS, More or less satisfactory Child Labor Laws have been secured through such efforts, in various states, thereby fulfilling the purpose of the Government, the hopes of the parents, and saving the children from physical, mental and in many cases moral ruin; and

WHEREAS, all these efforts and achievements were recently brought to naught by a decision of our Supreme Court, declaring such Child Labor Laws unconstitutional; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we memorialize our Congress urging such immediate Federal Legislation as will save our children from the dire results as described above and to prevent their tender bodies from being coined into gold by the profiteering class, depriving them of all the blessings guaranteed by and provided for so necessary to the child happiness and usefulness to our country on reaching manhood and womanhood, finally be it

RESOLVED, That the fact be emphasized that this is the voice of organized labor throughout the United States as represented in this convention.

Resolution No. 121—By Delegates Matthew Woll, and Peter J. Brady of the International Photo Engravers' Union of North America:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor in order to fully safeguard the childhood of our nation of today, the adult citizen and worker of tomorrow, has to its fullest capacity endeavored for years to have Federal legislation enacted prohibiting interstate commerce in articles, or commodities of trade produced by child labor or into which child labor entered; and

WHEREAS, Congress, in response to this appeal to prevent the further exploitation of child life for commercial greed, to protect the children of our Nation in their right to life, liberty and pursuit of happiness, and to guarantee them the opportunities of development of body and mind, did enact a law prohibiting the interstate commercializing of the products of child labor; and

WHEREAS, The United States Supreme Court, in passing on the constitutionality of this law, very recently held that this Act of Congress was unconstitutional, thereby seemingly indicating that the rights of States were greater and more important than the appeal of humanity; that the opportunity to exploit child labor was more sacred than the constitutional provisions that the children—the wards of the nation—shall be safeguarded in their rights to life, liberty and pursuit of happiness; it is therefore

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor dissents from and disapproves of the interpretation and construction placed by the United States Supreme Court, on the constitutionality of the Act, prohibiting the commercializing of child life and child labor through interstate commerce. We hold that the Supreme Court of the United States erred in that the right of the children of our nation to life, and pursuit of happiness and opportunity to development of body and mind are paramount to all other rights. We declare that to permit the taking of the life and labor of our children for private gain is the

taking of the most precious and most noble of all the resources of our land, and never intended for the exploitation by man, and that the interpretation and construction of our constitutional provisions in the interests of property, in violation of the rights of humanity, are inconsistent and in direct conflict with the ideals of human justice, and the most noble traditions of a free people. It is further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor requests and urges President Woodrow Wilson and Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. William McAdoo, General Director of the railroads of this country, to immediately cause an order to be issued, having for its purpose prohibiting the transportation of all articles or commodities manufactured or produced by child labor, or into which child labor has entered, along similar lines as were contained in the law held unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court. It is further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council and the officers of the American Federation of Labor are hereby authorized and directed to cause such legislative proposals to be prepared and presented to Congress, for the early enactment into law, as will result in firmly establishing for all time the true concept of our people to the constitutional right to fully and adequately safeguard the childhood of our nation, forever prevent the exploitation of child labor, and bring into actual existence the constitutional ideals and provisions that the guarantees to life, liberty and pursuit of happiness the demands of humanity, shall receive prior and greater consideration to the rights of property.

The section of the Executive Council's report under the foregoing caption (page 113), was written before the reactionary five to four decision of the Supreme Court declaring the law unconstitutional was rendered. We desire to correct the statement that the law has been enforced in North Carolina. Evidence in the possession of the Federal Child Labor Division is strongly to the contrary.

The first shock to the public within and without the labor movement, is caused by the direct blow against the conservation of our manhood and womanhood of tomorrow, and the first effort must be toward limiting the disastrous effects of the decision as far as may be possible pending new legislation. But we hope that an additional result will be the placing of effective restrictions on the power of five men to nullify the legislative enactments of the duly constituted representatives of over one hundred million free people; and we recommend that this convention instruct the Executive Council to make an effort to secure such restriction.

Your committee concurs in resolutions Nos. 91, 108, 121, 125, all dealing with this subject, and to meet the immediate emergency recommends that this convention instruct the Executive Council to make every effort through an appeal to Secretary McAdoo, to issue an executive order

as Director of the Railroads, prohibiting the acceptance for shipment of any articles produced in violation of provisions similar to those of the Federal Child Labor Law, or through any other means which the Executive Council may find necessary and advisable. The further recommendation is made that the Executive Council be instructed to make every effort to find a permanent remedy for the intolerable situation resulting from the decision of the Supreme Court, and the suggestion of legislation requiring federal incorporation under provisions safeguarding children, of all concerns engaged in production for interstate commerce, is submitted for the consideration of the Executive Council as one possible remedy.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

School Teachers' Pension Bill.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council, page 114, under the above caption, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee is very glad to have an opportunity to call attention to the progressive pension bill for the teachers of the District of Columbia, which, with salary bills for the teachers of the district, has received the effective support of the A. F. of L. Legislative Committee. This legislation should prove a stimulus to similar legislation by states which now have no similar provisions.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Education of Adult Illiterates.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption the committee reported as follows:

Your committee believes that measures contemplated in S. B. 4185, as outlined (page 116) are sound. Organized labor has always been the avowed enemy of illiteracy whether among immigrants or our own people. And a campaign to be most effective must be national in scope and co-ordinated by a Federal Bureau or Department.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Second Class Mail Rates.

Under the above caption Executive Council's report (pages 122-123), Resolution No. 123 is considered.

The committee amended the resolution by inserting in the first resolution, after the words "Second Class Mail," the words

"That we consider the resulting development of sectionalism and the creation of zones of thought so dangerous a menace to our national unity and effectiveness as to justify war emergency action," the amended resolution to read:

Resolution No. 123—By Delegates Matthew Woll, Peter J. Brady, Representing The International Photo Engravers' Union; M. G. Scott, Max S. Hayes, Frank Morrison, Hugh Stevenson, Representing the International Typographical Union; George L. Berry, Jos. C. Orr, Chas. O. Isaacson, Wm. H. McHugh, Chas. L. Strunk, Representing the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union; A. P. Sovey, Walter N. Reddick, Representing the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; Jas. J. Freil, Chas. A. Sumner, Representing the International Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union:

WHEREAS, The new postal law effective July 1, 1918, especially hampers and embarrasses the public and labor press of America in the dissemination of news at a time when information regarding the progress of the war, the activities of the workers and the participation of American troops in the war is most vitally important to citizens in every part of the United States; and

WHEREAS, There are few families who have no member of their family or relative in war service, to whom the most important information of the day is news regarding the events of the war; and

WHEREAS, The tendency of the zone provision of the new law will be to create zones of thought destructive to a national unity and act as a stimulant to the promotion of sectionalism which will result in the limitation and circumscription of the interchange of expressions of public opinion and thought throughout the United States, and will tend to encourage the development of a sentiment inimicable to the purpose of the government in zones largely alien in thought; and

WHEREAS, The radical change involved in the zone law will establish oppressive and destructive methods in the delivery of publications and with the establishment of six postal zones will involve inconvenience and delays to both publications and postal service by the creation of eighteen instead of three weightings now in vogue; and

WHEREAS, Over six hundred publications in the United States have already suspended publication and many others are facing an almost unbearable burden; and

WHEREAS, The enforcement of these sections of the law will affect detrimentally many of the 31,000 printing shops in this country, throw out of work thousands upon thousands of men and women employed in the printing industry, and deprive millions of men and women, boys and girls of their source of education, information and recreation by enormously restricting their reading matter and penalizing those distantly situated from the source of the production of reading matter; and

WHEREAS, Canada and Great Britain, in dealing with postal matters, international and otherwise, have deliberately and carefully exempted publications from higher rates of postage during the war, to preserve the widest spread and most accessible means of stimulating patriotism and education in patriotic self-sacrifice during the war; and

WHEREAS, The United States Government has guaranteed the owners of railroads and steam-

ships that they shall suffer no financial loss because of government control; it is, therefore

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled hereby protests against the enactment and the enforcement of the sections of the war revenue law, relating to the zone system, and increase of postage on second class mail. That we consider the resulting development of sectionalism and the creation of zones of thought so dangerous a menace to our national unity and effectiveness as to justify war emergency action. That we view the system of rates provided in the war revenue law not a legitimate war tax, but as a destructive charge against the fundamental operations of a great and valuable industry, that we urge immediate repeal of these sections because they will not increase revenue but destroy business from which the government seeks revenue, and that we demand that profits and incomes of publishers be taxed instead, and, if need be, that all profits be taken over by the government; and further

RESOLVED, That we tender to the printing trades unions and to the press of the United States our aid and assistance in any way that we can in securing for them justice and fair dealing by the withholding the enforcement of these sections of the war revenue law, and by their entire elimination, so that this subject may be dealt with by Congress from the standpoint of service rather than for war revenue; and further

RESOLVED, That copies of these resolutions be sent immediately to President Woodrow Wilson, Postmaster General Bureson, to all members of Congress, and to all affiliated unions, with the request that the voice of labor in this matter be given immediate and prompt consideration and attention.

The committee concurs in the resolution as amended and recommends its adoption.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Your committee considers the threatened situation outlined in Resolution No. 123 so serious that it recommends that the Executive Council be instructed to make an effort to bring about a congressional investigation of the Post Office Department, which shall establish the cost of carrying the various classes of mail, the approximate increase in first-class mail attributable to second class, and shall charge to the proper departments, at least as book-keeping items, the cost of service under franking privileges; this investigation also to include a thorough-going study of wage and working conditions of all classes of employes under the Post Office Department.

The committee makes this recommendation because Postmaster General Bureson and a number of congressmen insist on approaching the problem from the standpoint of profit rather than of service to the public, and the facts at issue should be established beyond contravention. But your committee believes that the postal service is primarily a public service, essential to our existence and development as a nation, and should no more be asked to

be self-sustaining than the Department of Justice, Agriculture, of the Army or Navy, or any other of the Federal Departments. Any consideration of the Post Office Department, as a source of revenue, is based on a fundamental misconception of its functions.

Delegate Gainor discussed the question. The report of the committee was adopted.

Cooperative Lecturer and Advisor.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council (page 132), under the above caption the committee reported as follows:

Since the topic of cooperation has already been reported upon by the special committee on that subject, this committee merely gives its hearty endorsement to that report, and calls attention to the favorable change in the interpretation of the Income Tax Law as applied to Cooperative Societies since the Executive Council's report was written.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Believing that the Government is now taking steps to meet the situation outlined in the resolution, the proposer, with the consent of the committee, withdraws Resolution No. 115.

The action of the committee was concurred in.

The committee amended the resolution by striking out "papers" in line 9, last paragraph, and substituting "press," the amended resolution to read:

Resolution No. 53.—By Delegates Matthew Woll, R. E. Woodmansee, J. M. Conley, Walter N. Reddick, Frank Feeney, W. E. Bryan, John Golden, C. L. Baine, Hubert S. Marshall, David J. Berry, Samuel O. Tobin, P. J. Morrin, B. A. Larger, Jere L. Sullivan, B. F. Brown, Jacob Fischer, R. G. Stewart, Claude O. Taylor, James Wilson:

WHEREAS, The General Labor Press of our country has proven its worth to the cause of trade unionism, and the papers now being published in the industrial centers are giving the workers a medium in which their just claims and their position in labor controversies can be read by the public and they have in thus rendering assistance to the organized workers, greatly restricted their income, which is so essential to the life of these publications; and

WHEREAS, These labor papers have and are espousing the cause of the trade unionists, not alone in the economic field, but in the support of our government in its present crusade against autocracy, and further assisting the workers by the use of their columns, to show what the organized toilers are doing in this great cause in the matter of the supreme sacrifice on

the battle front, the financing of the war, and the work at home that is so essential to the protection of our soldiers and sailors; and

WHEREAS, In the face of all the good thus accomplished for the organized workers, and the continual sacrifices made, these labor papers should receive stronger support from the rank and file of the trade unions in their various localities; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates to this Thirty-eighth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, pledge our moral support to the labor press, and urge the officials of the international unions affiliated, to use their good offices in an endeavor to persuade the members of their organizations to grant a more hearty support to the labor press in their localities, who are doing so much to advance the cause of trade unionism and humanity.

The committee concurs in the resolution as amended, and recommends its adoption by the convention.

Secretary Stillman: In behalf of those who are publishing the labor press for the interests of the workers, we appeal to all the delegates and all the officers of organized labor to do all within their power to help build up the labor press. We appeal to you to give what support you can to help extend the influence for good of the labor press of our country.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 7.—By Delegates Joe N. Weber, Owen Miller, Joe F. Winkler, D. A. Carey, of the American Federation of Musicians:

WHEREAS, In this national crisis, labor is doing its utmost share and is loyally supporting the Government to prosecute the war, showing self-sacrifice on the firing line, as well as behind the line, and therefore has logically the right to look to the Nation to get in return its share for their children of those things which are essential to life and which make nations as well as individuals happier and more contented; and

WHEREAS, That which makes nations and individuals happier and more contented, is not merely material wealth, but includes also spiritual, like music and art, a kind of wealth that no enemy can take away or destroy; and

WHEREAS, Music is proven to be an essential part of civilized life and is a great ethical force in refining and elevating character, and considered in all civilized countries an asset necessary to happiness; and

WHEREAS, Music is a factor in diminishing crime and in bringing spiritual inspiration as well as to cause more contentedness in the homes of our laboring people; and

WHEREAS, The National Government, to whom we look for our national guidance, is essentially also charged with looking after the welfare of the laboring masses and to provide for musical education for their children; and

WHEREAS, Governments of foreign civilized countries spend annually large sums of money to encourage musical education of its citizens by providing national institutions where instruction is free to those who show talent in music; and

WHEREAS, It is estimated that before the war in Europe ten thousand young men and women flocked to European countries to study music and art, seeking favors from foreign Governments in very many instances because their own Government did not extend to them encouragement to study in their native land; and

WHEREAS, A bill was introduced in Congress to establish a National Conservatory of Music and Art, to be supported and managed by the national government, which bill is now with the Committee on Education, House of Representatives, for consideration; and

WHEREAS, In the opinion of this Federation of Labor, such a National institution is absolutely essential in order to develop and encourage musical education in this country; and therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That Congress be hereby respectfully requested to pass the bill to establish a free National Conservatory of Music to be owned and managed by the Government, in Washington, D. C., and gradually also establish branches in other cities. Although we are now at war with foreign powers and need all our resources and energy to prosecute the war successfully, we should nevertheless look ahead for the time when peace will again reign in the world. The appropriation which Congress is being called on to grant would not be used until the war is over and the bill, if passed, will only serve for the present to make everything ready when peace comes; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be sent to every member in Congress; and, it is further

RESOLVED, That this Federation of Labor shall co-operate with and extend its moral aid to those who endeavor to bring about a successful result to get a free National Conservatory of Music established in this country, to be supported and managed by the Government, to make America independent of other nations in music and art and to make the United States the center for music and art for this hemisphere.

The committee concurs in the resolution and recommends its adoption by the convention.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Education.

Your committee considers the recommendations of the Executive Council under the caption "Education" pages 81 and 84, among the most important of its entire report. Vocational and Industrial Education has long been a subject of bitter controversy between the Manufacturers' Associations and Labor, and in the days of the reconstruction it will be still more of a storm center. Labor, and it should not be necessary to add that labor includes the teachers, must not permit more dramatic phases of the war situation to blind them to the importance of the kind of training the children of the people receive. We recommend that this convention approve the three model laws offered by the Executive Council, providing well-balanced representative State Boards of Education and Advisory Local Committees, and a Part-time Compulsory School Attendance Law; and we further

recommend that all state and local central bodies be urged to make every effort to secure the enactment of similar legislation. We would call attention to the fact that these model laws are carefully drafted to avoid duplication of administrative machinery, and to secure unity in our school system; and we would warn against any attempt to modify the legislation to afford an opening for a dual system. Our public school system must remain essentially a unit if we are to be a unified people.

Supplementing the success of the Federal Vocational Educational Law already demonstrated, and the plans for part-time compulsory education, your committee believes that this convention should urge a re-organization of our common schools in the interest of the children of all the people. Labor played an important part in securing the establishment of our free public schools, but from the beginning they have been designed especially for the few who could go on to high school and college. They must continue to offer preparation for high school and college, and labor heartily approves, and helped to secure the tremendous expansion of high school and college facilities during the last fifteen years. We especially endorse the tendency toward the establishment of junior colleges, the addition to high schools of two years' of collegiate work without tuition, so that young men and women who cannot afford to leave home, can secure the advantage of additional training.

But your committee believes that the upper years of the elementary school should be reorganized to afford diversified training, so that boys and girls who cannot go on to higher schools, will receive training specifically designed for their needs, and not be compelled as at present to prepare for a role they will never play. These diversified courses should be so flexible that a pupil would be able to transfer from one to another whenever changes in his desires or economic situation made it possible to continue in school for a longer period than he had anticipated. We must not compel a child to pay the penalty throughout life for a mistaken decision made during childhood. Your committee believes that organized labor should demand and help to secure an expansion and diversification of both elementary and secondary education so that a democratic equality of

opportunity for preparation for the callings of their choice may be offered the children of our people.

As additional points in Labor's educational program, we recommend the following for your adoption:

1. The development of vocational guidance and industrial education in both urban and rural communities, in proper relation to each other and to the needs of our democracy.

2. The provision of increased facilities in public normal schools for men and women in the trades who desire to prepare themselves for teaching industrial and vocational subjects; and the expansion of both state and federal educational facilities, so that we will be decreasingly dependent on private endowments in the educational field. In this connection we call your attention to the movement in one state to introduce into the state university in co-operation with the State Federation of Labor a course designed to prepare young men and women of labor for intelligent and effective leadership in the labor movement.

3. The insistence that in all courses of study, and particularly in industrial and vocational courses, the privileges and obligations of intelligent citizenship must be taught vigorously and effectively; and that at least in all vocational and industrial courses, an unemasculated industrial history must be taught, which shall include an accurate account of the organization of the workers and of the results thereof, and shall also include a summary of all legislation, both state and federal, affecting the industries taught.

4. The provision of adequate facilities for the teaching of English to non-English speaking people, and the utilization for this purpose of the foreign language press.

5. The requirement that all our children shall be taught in the English language, in both public and private schools, a foreign language to be taught only as a subject in the curriculum.

6. The provision of ample play-ground facilities as a part of the public school system.

7. Continuous medical and dental inspection throughout the schools.

8. The organization and equipment of special classes for children who are sub-normal, either mentally or physically; and also special classes for children who are found capable of making more rapid progress than is possible in a standard school.

9. Better enforcement of Compulsory Educational Laws, and the universal establishment of a minimum school-leaving age of 16 years.

10. The establishment of complete systems of modern physical education.

11. The establishment of a federal department of education, headed by a Cabinet officer.

12. The wider use of the school plant, securing increased returns to the community through additional civic, social, and educational services to both adults and children.

13. The extension of a free text-book system to the District of Columbia and

such states and communities as have not adopted it.

14. The establishment of self-governing school and district councils of teachers for the purpose of utilizing the experience and initiative of the teaching body in the conduct of the schools, the recommendations of such councils to be made a matter of official public record.

15. The securing for teachers of tenure of position during efficiency. There should be no dismissals without full and fair hearings.

16. A thorough-going revision upward of teachers' salary schedules, to meet the increased cost of living, and the growing appreciation of the value to the community and the nation of the teachers' services.

17. The liberal, ungrudging reorganization and increase of school revenues on a war-emergency scale, as the only basis upon which to secure the expansion of our schools along these lines. England and France, with their resources strained by the past four years, and facing unprecedented immediate demands, are making huge increases in the appropriations for their schools. Surely the people who gave the world the conception of free democratic education must not longer loiter behind.

Resolutions Nos. 112 and 128 are considered in connection with this program.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Friedman, Ladies Garment Workers: I rise to speak for the report of the committee. I want to inform you of the work our International is doing in the City of New York in the educational field. The report speaks of the public school to educate the children and others. In the past three years the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union has spent \$20,000 to educate the members of the organization. I am a product of that education. Working at the machine or sticking pins in dresses does not do much for education of the members, but after my work was done I was offered an opportunity by my organization to study in a school and learn in classes where I was taught the philosophy of trade unionism, taught the history of the Knights of Labor, the American Federation of Labor, the history of the trade union movement of England, France and Germany and other countries.

We have a class where literature is taught to our girls and boys. Our International found out that teaching girls how to picket a shop was not sufficient, and they taught us how to read books and what kind of books ought to be read by the workers. Only recently we decided to ask the Board of Education in the City of New York to give us the priv-

ilege of using the schools as unity centers. They did so. They understood that we could not hire clubrooms and buildings to use as schools, and they also gave us the privilege of using the schools for shop meetings. Now when our girls and boys come from a shop that is one hundred per cent unsanitary they will not have to meet in a room back of a saloon or in a hall that is not sanitary, but will have a clean, well ventilated place in which to transact their business.

The girls decided to ask the Public Library of New York to open up a branch just for union girls where they could get the best books on trade unionism and various subjects. If any of the delegates come to New York I would like to have them see this work. It is an inspiration to the workers of New York. The girls and boys come together and get the works of the great authors they cannot get an opportunity to read at home. We also decided to have a home of our own, a home where girls do not have to pay the proffiter for the vacation they get in the summer. We have a summer home in the mountains where three hundred girls can come every week and take their two weeks' vacation, and they are charged only the actual expense. Usually it does not exceed six or seven dollars a week.

The most important part of the life of the trade union movement of America or any other country is education. You cannot feel the inspiration I have for this report. In 1913 I came to New York City. I knew nothing about the trade union movement of America or any other trade unionism in the world. When I was asked to join the union I felt I had to join it, but now I feel that I would give my life for an organization that will educate its members.

When you settle your jurisdiction questions don't come together like labor leaders but like workers. When everyone is intelligent and educated I feel the American Federation of Labor will be the greatest organization in the world, the best object in life the trade unionists ought to have.

Delegate Duncan, Seattle, moved that the address of Delegate Mollie Friedman be printed in full in the proceedings of the convention. The motion was seconded and carried.

The report was discussed by Delegate

Swartz, Letter Carriers, who approved of the attitude taken by the committee.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Delegate Cannon moved that the Executive Council appoint a committee to investigate the educational system of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, referred to by Delegate Friedman, and other similar schools, with a view of reporting to the next convention some plan that can be applied generally to the United States and Canada.

Delegate Felder stated that a school in Los Angeles, Calif., is being conducted by the Union Labor Association and that the Board of Education is furnishing the school building and the services of fourteen salaried teachers.

The motion offered by Delegate Cannon was carried.

The committee amended Resolution No. 112 by inserting the word "genuinely" in line 1 of first paragraph, the amended resolution to read:

Resolution No. 112—By Delegate Chas. B. Stillman of the American Federation of Teachers:

WHEREAS, We now have no genuinely national educational system, but merely a collection of state systems, varying widely in standards and effectiveness; and

WHEREAS, The existing Bureau of Education, under the Department of the Interior has been so starved financially that it has been unable to perform adequately even the very restricted functions permitted it; and

WHEREAS, War conditions are arousing the public to a consciousness of the need for a national educational policy to secure co-ordination among the states, and to promote national welfare, efficiency and unity; and

WHEREAS, Education is essential to our national life, and is so intimately connected with all matters of public policy that with labor and agriculture it should be directly represented in the deliberations of the President's cabinet; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the President and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed by this convention to take measures to secure the creation of a Federal Department of Education headed by a cabinet officer.

The committee recommends the adoption of the resolution as amended.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 123—By Delegate Chas B. Stillman, American Federation of Teachers:

WHEREAS, Increases in teachers' salaries, when secured at all, have kept pace neither with the decline in the purchasing power of the dollar, nor with increases secured in private employment; and

WHEREAS, As a result teachers have been forced out of the school by the thousand, by sheer economic pressure (one authority, Dr. T. D. Coffman, of the University of Minnesota, estimates a present shortage of 100,000 teachers), their places frequently remain vacant, and being filled when at all, by untrained and inexperienced recruits; and

WHEREAS, We are facing a situation where the calling of fathers to war service and of mothers to industry weakens parental influence, has already increased juvenile delinquency, and makes it imperative that the schools act increasingly in the place of the parent; and

WHEREAS, In this world crisis the ultimate national need is for educated manhood and womanhood, a need which will not be found any less urgent in the reconstruction to come; and

WHEREAS, Because of the prevailing pitifully inadequate salaries paid teachers, not only are present teachers being forced out of the profession, but young men and women are refusing to prepare to enter, as shown by the alarming records of normal schools and colleges, making the future prospect for our schools, even darker than the present; and

WHEREAS, Existing school revenue provisions in the various states were originally designed to meet the needs of the traditional "common schools" alone, and those revenue provisions, already inadequate, have necessarily failed to meet the demands of the modern expansion of our school system; and

WHEREAS, In the fields of vocational and agricultural education, the value of the stimulus to the states of the Federal appropriation available to a state on its meeting standards and requirements imposed by Federal authorities, and on the appropriation by that state, of equal amounts, has been proved by experience; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the President and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed by this convention to urge all state and local central bodies to take early measures to secure in their respective states and localities a thorough going re-organization and increase of school revenues on a war emergency scale; and a liberal revision upward of teachers' salary schedules to meet the increased cost of living and the growing appreciation of the value to the community and to the nation of the teacher's service; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the President and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed by this convention to initiate and support Federal legislation appropriating one hundred million dollars to be apportioned by a Federal Department of Education if one is created, or that failing, by a Federal Board upon which organized labor and education shall be represented, such fund to apply only to the payment of salaries of public school teachers in a state (including teachers of physical education and of English to adults under public school supervision) after such state shall have satisfied the Federal Department or special board that adequate standards are to be maintained and shall have appropriated an equal amount.

The committee concurs in the resolution and recommends its adoption by the convention.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Recommendations of Committee.

Your committee recommends as an immediately necessary contribution to the progress of our schools, that this convention urge all state and central bodies to work actively to secure adequate representation of organized labor on all boards of education.

The committee further believes that the most effective guarantee of democracy and of progress in our schools is the affiliation of the teachers of the country with the great democratic force of organized labor, and recommends that the American Federation of Labor and all central bodies give every support to the American Federation of Teachers in the work of organizing the teachers.

Finally, in consideration of the good results obtained from a similar action of the Buffalo Convention, the committee asks that the Executive Council be instructed to send copies of this report to all central bodies with the request that Educational Committees be created.

The recommendations of the committee were adopted.

Secretary Stillman: This completes the work of the committee, which is respectfully submitted and signed:

PETER BRADY, Chairman,
CHARLES C. SHAY,
MARGARET DALEY,
CHAS. A. SUMNER,
WM. H. McHUGH,
JOHN J. SULLIVAN,
ROSE YATES,
E. J. NEWMYER,
JAS. A. TAYLOR,
J. B. CLINEDINST,
CHAS. B. STILLMAN, Secretary.

The report of the committee was adopted as a whole.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION.

Delegate Conboy, Secretary of the Committee, reported that the committee concurred in Resolution No. 140, introduced during this afternoon session by unanimous consent.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Delegate Tucker asked for unanimous consent to the introduction of a resolution

advocating the erection of an auditorium in Washington, D. C., in which large meetings can be held.

Objection was offered to the introduction of the resolution.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS.

Delegate Frey, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Resolution No. 122 was re-committed to the committee for further consideration. Your committee recommends that the resolution be amended by adding after the word "transportations" in the first whereas the words, "strikes and lockouts forced by the companies because of low wages and refusal of the companies to recognize the rights of the men to organize." That the words "and Canada" be inserted after the words, "United States" in the resolved, and that the words "until the home market is fully supplied" be added to the resolved, the amended resolution to read:

Resolution No. 122—By Delegates Matthew Woll, Peter J. Brady of the International Photo Engravers' Union; M. G. Scott, Max S. Hayes, Frank Morrison, Hugh Stevenson of the International Typographical Union; George L. Berry, Jos. C. Orr, Chas. O. Isaacson, Wm. H. McHugh, Chas. L. Strunk of the International Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union; A. P. Sovey, Walter N. Reddick of the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; Jas. J. Freel, Chas. A. Sumner of the International Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union:

WHEREAS, Less than two-thirds of the required newsprint paper is manufactured in the United States, and the production of news print paper being seriously curtailed due to the government's necessities and requirements of power, fuel, oil, tankers, transportation, etc.; and

WHEREAS, Credible information indicates that a substantial percentage of present exports of print paper from this country and Canada is going to newspapers and publications unsympathetic to the cause of our country and the interests of our allies; it is, therefore

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled that the War Trade Board of the United States and the War Trade Board of Canada be requested to immediately prohibit all exports of newsprint paper from the United States and Canada for the duration of the war to other than Allied nations until the home market is supplied fully.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution as amended.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 19—By Delegate Thomas F. Burns, of the Central Labor Council of Tacoma, Washington:

WHEREAS, The courts of the United States are the most serious menace to the constitutional rights of the American people; and

WHEREAS, The power now exercised by the courts to declare laws passed by a legislative body unconstitutional, was expressly denied the judiciary by the convention that framed our Federal Constitution; and

WHEREAS, The constitutional right of the American people are not secure while an irresponsible oligarchy is permitted to exercise the powers above enumerated. Democracy does not, and cannot exist while such unlimited powers are wielded by judges responsible to nobody. The American people have permitted the judiciary to assume and usurp all governmental functions, and judicial legislation is now so common as to scarcely excite comment. The Supreme Court has extended its powers to the extent of changing the entire meaning of a law by judicial construction as was done in a famous anti-trust case where the Court said that a "reasonable" combination in restraint of trade would be allowed by the Court, whereas, the law outlaws ALL combinations in the restraint of trade; and

WHEREAS, There are problems in modern industrial life that must be solved by the ordinary machinery of popular government. If the courts continue to hamper the people in the exercise of that sovereign power, then the courts must be controlled by the people; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, that we demand that Congress shall immediately prepare and submit to the American people, through the proper channels, an amendment to the United States Constitution, provided for the election of all Federal Judges, with short terms of office, and placing the power to recall Federal Judges in the people, the only place that power should reside.

Your committee submits as a substitute the following:

WHEREAS, The sole right to make or unmake laws is vested in legislative bodies or the direct vote of the people by the Constitution of the United States; and

WHEREAS, The preservation of this right is essential if we are to remain a self-governing people; and

WHEREAS, Courts of the United States without constitutional authority or legislative sanction have assumed the power to invade the prerogatives of the legislative branch of the government by unmaking and rendering invalid laws enacted by the people or their legislative representatives, the exercise of this power setting aside on many occasions the desires and aspirations of the people as expressed through legislation, even when such measures had the approval of a majority of the people, their legislative representatives, and the President of the United States; an action which would be impossible in any other democratically governed nation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, that the Executive Council be and is hereby instructed to have

a study made of the successive steps which have been taken by our Federal and Supreme Courts, through which, without constitutional authority, and in opposition to the action of the Constitutional Convention, they laid hold on power which they now exercise; that the results of such study be prepared in pamphlet form and distributed to the affiliated organizations and given such other form of publicity as may be deemed advisable; and that legal counsel be consulted with so that an adequate measure may be prepared and introduced in Congress, which will prevent any invasion of the rights and prerogatives of the legislative branch of our Government, by the judiciary.

The substitute submitted by the committee was adopted.

Resolutions 82 and 131 were considered together.

Resolution No. 82—By Delegates John P. Frey, Dan Regan of the International Molders' Union of North America; Paul Scharrnberg, Andrew Furuseth, Patrick Flynn, J. Vance Thompson, of the International Seamen's Union of America; M. H. Crane, Oil Field Workers' No. 15612; O. D. Finkston, Oil Field Workers No. 15691; G. O. Moore, Oil Field Workers No. 15503; J. J. Butler, Oil and Gas Workers No. 15644; Charles M. Feider, of the Journeymen Barbers' International Union; T. A. Reardon, of the San Francisco Labor Council:

WHEREAS, The 37th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, at Buffalo, declared that unless new trials were granted to Thomas J. Mooney and Warren K. Billings, convicted upon charges in connection with the Preparedness Day bomb outrage in San Francisco, "there will remain the firm conviction that a grave miscarriage of justice has been allowed with the knowledge of the authorities;" and

WHEREAS, Since that time the President's Mediation Commission, headed by the Secretary of Labor, has at the order of the President investigated and reported upon the so-called Mooney case, and has urged that new trials be made possible which will remove the existing suspicion that these trade unionists were convicted through perjured testimony; and

WHEREAS, The President of the United States has twice called upon the Governor of California to assist him in removing from the minds of the people of this and other countries the cause for this suspicion of the courts of California, by granting a pardon to Thomas J. Mooney; and

WHEREAS, Thomas J. Mooney remains under sentence of death, and the Governor of California gives no sign of willingness to pardon him in order that a new and fair trial may be had; and

WHEREAS, Public sentiment with regard to the Mooney conviction has so developed that the execution of the sentence of death upon him would inevitably create the belief that justice can no longer be secured through the orderly process of some of our courts, but that they have become the instruments through which personal or group animosities are gratified; now therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 38th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor express its keen regret that the Governor of California has not as yet heeded the wishes of the Chief Magistrate of the Nation in the case of Thomas J. Mooney; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we respectfully ask the President of the United States to exercise the

power vested in him as Commander in Chief of the armed forces of the United States under the emergency of war, to safeguard the morale of the American people in this crisis by preventing the execution of our fellow trade unionist, Thomas J. Mooney, unless and until a new and fair trial shall have determined him guilty of the crime charged against him.

Resolution No. 131—By Delegates Dan P. McKillop, Boiler Makers and Shipbuilders and Helpers; Wm. B. Foster, Chicago Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The Mooney case, so-called and his being sentenced to death, is generally accepted among men as an example of miscarriage of justice, and is attracting international attention because such a thing is possible in the country famous as the Land of Equality, freedom and justice for all; and

WHEREAS, The record in the case seems to show that it was decided on evidence since found to be perjured, which was so reported by a commission appointed by the President of the United States, headed by the Honorable William B. Wilson, Secretary of the Department of Labor, which commission recommended, after a thorough investigation that a proper regard for the principle of justice and respect for the law demands a new trial be held, which was so requested of the Courts and Governor of California by the President of the United States, without avail, seemingly only because the technicality of the law prevents the Court from rectifying its mistake in accepting doubtful or perjured evidence as long as the formalities of the law were followed; and

WHEREAS, The execution of any human being on perjured or insufficient evidence, is murder, and the law of God, as well as the law of man says: "Thou shalt not kill;" therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, that we stand behind the President in his demands for justice in the Mooney case or any similar case, and that we will do anything necessary to prevent Mooney's execution in the present status of the case, and to assure to him the right of a fair, speedy and impartial trial, as guaranteed to all persons within the jurisdiction of the United States by the constitution and laws of our country.

Your committee offers the following as a substitute for the two resolutions:

WHEREAS, The 37th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor in considering the case of Thomas J. Mooney and others, charged with guilt in connection with the Preparedness Day parade bomb outrage in San Francisco, declared by resolution that "There will remain the firm conviction that a grave miscarriage of justice has been allowed with the knowledge of the authorities" unless a new trial be granted; and

WHEREAS, Since that time the President's mediation commission, presided over by the Secretary of Labor, has investigated and reported upon this case, recommending that a new trial be given, as a necessary step to remove the wide spread belief that convictions had been secured through perjured testimony; and

WHEREAS, The President of the United States on two occasions has requested the Governor of California to assist him in removing the grave suspicion in the public mind which has arisen as

a result of the revelations which have been given wide circulation since Thos. J. Mooney was sentenced to be hung, by granting a pardon to him; and

WHEREAS, The Governor of California has as yet given no indication of his intentions upon the question of a pardon; be it

RESOLVED, That we give expression of our strong and earnest desire that the Governor of California should act favorably upon the request which has been made by the President of the United States;

RESOLVED, That we request the President of the United States to exercise such power vested in him to prevent the execution of Thomas J. Mooney, so that the wide spread suspicion that a gross and flagrant miscarriage of justice has occurred with the knowledge of authorities, may be allayed; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be forwarded to the President of the United States and to the Governor of California.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Delegate Egan, Pittsburgh, Pa., obtained unanimous consent to the introduction of the following resolution:

Resolution No. 137—By Delegate Michael Egan, Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The United States of America is engaged in the most serious conflict in the history of the world, for democracy, and that all people are called upon to contribute and sacrifice to bring the same to a successful conclusion; and

WHEREAS, The wage-earners, as a whole, are called upon and expected to loan their resources to the full extent to buy Liberty Bonds, War Saving Stamps and give donations to the Red Cross; and

WHEREAS, The profiteering real estate owners through their renting agents in certain industrial communities in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, have and are making conditions for tenants intolerable by raising rents from one to ten dollars per month, on account of the scarcity of rentable and habitable living quarters; and

WHEREAS, Such nefarious and unpatriotic acts are in direct conflict with the best interests of the Nation, and it robs such afflicted tenants of the opportunity and the right to purchase and donate to their full extent in behalf of world democracy; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, herein assembled, empower the Committee on Resolutions to draft resolutions protesting to the law governing powers of this government, insisting on the abolishment of this evil practice; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the delegate to the coming convention of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to introduce a resolution therein, that will, even-

tually, prevent such future abuse and evil placed upon Labor.

Your committee calls attention to the fact that the first resolve applies to the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor, and that the second is an instruction to its delegate.

Your committee therefore recommends that the resolution be referred back to the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor to prepare such plan as in its judgment will prove effective in dealing with the evil referred to, and that the Executive Council be and is hereby instructed to co-operate with all state federations of labor in formulating measures which will successfully overcome the evil complained of.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Labor and the War.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption the committee reported as follows:

Your committee notes with satisfaction the formation of the National War Labor Board, and in connection with the substance matter contained in this section of the Executive Council's report recommends that the convention reaffirm the "principles and policies" which should be the guide to all boards or commissions dealing with questions relative to terms of employment and conditions of labor, which were adopted by the Buffalo Convention, 1917.

Vice President Duncan: There is a statement from the War Board, with the caption mentioned, that there should be no strikes or lockouts during the war. In some way it has got into the minds of a number of delegates that this is a declaration of the American Federation of Labor. It is simply a caption in the middle of a letter from the War Board. Lest there be some misunderstanding of our position the committee thought best to repeat what was done by the convention in Buffalo, and I will read the last paragraph of same, so you will see if you adopt the report of the committee that the American Federation of Labor is not working under the caption that there shall be no strikes or lockouts during the war, but that they shall be reduced to a minimum and that they shall be only a last resort.

Vice President Duncan read the following from the proceedings of the Buffalo Convention, part of the report of the Committee on Resolutions in that convention:

"In the composition of boards or commissions which are to consider questions of terms of employment and conditions of labor, it is essential that there should be equality of representation between the employers and the wage earners.

"In the event that a wage board or commission is to consist of an unequal number, then a civilian should serve as the odd man. One-half of the remaining number of this body should be the direct representatives of the wage earners, to be nominated by organized labor.

"The right to organize is essential to the solution of problems arising between employer and employe. Employers apply this right, but in many instances this right has been denied to wage earners by employers. All agreements formulated by wage boards or commissions should contain a clause announcing that the right to organize is inalienable and that prevention of the exercise of this right by the employer or his representative constitutes a violation of these principles.

"The nation's interest makes it essential that co-operation should exist in the industries. No efficient co-operation can exist except through organization. Co-operation presumes good will, and there can be no good will without recognition of mutual rights. Therefore, the recognition of the employes as a group having common interests is one of the fundamental prerequisites to co-operation.

"There can be no true efficiency in production without good will. Good will and co-operation cannot exist where the employer exercises autocratic authority in determining the terms of employment and the conditions of labor. The highest efficiency in production can only be secured through the application of the principles of democracy. These are as essential in industry as they are in civil government.

"Whenever the employes in a department or an establishment have a common complaint or grievance, it is fundamental that the employer should meet those who may be selected by the workers to represent them.

"It is advisable that production should not cease because of an apparent injustice or oversight contained in an award, for it is necessary to the nation's protection as well as to the welfare of the trade union movement that there should be no cessation of work except as a last resort."

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Railroad Wage Commission.

Under that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption the committee reported as follows:

Your committee notes with interest that Secretary McAdoo, following the report of the Railroad Wage Commission, issued a statement recognizing the basic eight-hour day with time and a half for overtime.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Labor Representation.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption the committee reported as follows:

Your committee recommends that the substance of this section be accepted as information and that we impress upon the Executive Council and officers of the

affiliated organization the urgent necessity of having a larger representation of responsible trade unionists upon the boards and commissions called into existence because of the war.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Wage Questions Propounded.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption the committee reported as follows:

We have received a letter from the Shipbuilding Labor Adjustment Board in which an expression of opinion of the American Federation of Labor is requested upon a number of questions submitted. In view of this fact we submit the communication in its entirety and recommend that it be referred to a special committee to be appointed by President Gompers to take under consideration the subject-matters and to recommend to this convention the course of action which may be deemed most advisable, practical and satisfactory. The communication is as follows:

Shipbuilding Labor Adjustment Board

Washington, D. C., May 16, 1918.

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

My Dear Mr. Gompers: The increasing abnormal labor turn-over is a grave menace to our maximum national production for war purposes. The Shipbuilding Labor Adjustment Board will be greatly aided in its task if it could receive an expression of opinion from the American Federation of Labor on the following points:

1. Can minimum wage rates prevent the continued serious labor turn-over, or must there be standard rates for the period of the war?
2. Should government departments or boards in establishing wage scales and conditions of employment deal directly with local organizations, or only through the international presidents of various craft organizations?
3. Should the country be divided into districts in which uniform wages and conditions should prevail, or should there be one uniform wage rate for the entire country? If in districts, how are the limitations of such districts to be determined?
4. Should uniform wages and conditions prevail in a given craft within a district regardless of the industry in which the individual is employed, or should uniform wages and conditions for all crafts prevail within the same district?
5. Are there any basic crafts that should receive the same rate, and if so, what are they?

6. How can important government work obtain priority in labor supply over less important or private work?

7. Assuming the establishment of wage scales on government work, for how long a period should such scales remain in force—if for the period of the war, should provision be made for periodic rehearings in case an increased cost of living be shown, or should the wages be increased automatically whenever government statistics show an average of ten per cent (10%) increase in a given district?

Until the above questions are determined, little satisfaction or stability will be obtained, and we therefore count on the continued cooperation of the American Federation of Labor in seeking a solution of these problems.

Very truly yours,
SHIPBUILDING LABOR AD-
JUSTMENT BOARD,
V. Everit Macy, Chairman.

Your committee recommends that Mr. Macy's communication should be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to confer with the presidents of the organizations affected for the purpose of determining upon the provisions of the reply to be made to the communication and that such conference be held as soon as possible.

Vice-President Duncan: This is a very important question and the committee hopes that the presidents or executive officers of the various internationals con-

cerned will remain in this city after the adjournment of the convention for the purpose of doing that which has been suggested in the report of this committee. If they leave St. Paul without such a meeting it will necessitate calling a meeting of them in Washington at an early date. If they remain the Executive Council and the committee can go into session to deal with this subject.

President Gompers stated that if the convention adjourned sine die on Thursday a meeting of the Executive Council would be held at 10 a. m. on Friday.

Brief statements in regard to the report of the committee were made by Delegates Taylor, McKillop and Perham.

Report of the committee was adopted.

During the afternoon, when Secretary of Labor Wilson was leaving the convention, President Gompers presented to him on behalf of the delegates a handsome chain and locket.

Mr. Wilson thanked the delegates for the gift, and in leaving the convention was given an ovation, all the delegates arising and applauding for several minutes.

At 5:30 the convention was adjourned to 9:30 a. m., Thursday, June 20th.

TENTH DAY--Thursday Morning Session

The Auditorium,

St. Paul, Minn., June 20, 1918.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 A. M., Thursday, June 20th, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—Kline, Proebstle, Obergfell, Corcoran, Boyer, Guerin (T. M.), Reeves, Baker, Conway, Desepete, Meyer, Feeney, Brady (P. J.), Newmyer, Shamp, Brennan, Silberstein, Kaufman, Larger, Doyle, (F.), Duncan (J.), Williams (Jno.), Duty, O'Connor, Van Lear, Fljozdal, Finnson, Lane, Schmidt (F.), McCreash, Hynes, Redding, Ryan (J. J.), Moyer, Hayes (F. J.), White (J. P.), Farrington, Lewis (J. L.), Valentine, Weber (J. N.), Miller (O.), Kearney, Anderson (C.), Berry (G. L.), McHugh, Yould, Mahon (W.), Quinlan, Connors, Agethen, Curtis, Hatch, Mountford, Toone, Stack, Wilk, Spencer (G.), Hoof, Kehoe, Stewart (R.), Crickmore, Dill, Bailey, Conley, Williams (H.), Hardy, Moncur, Hutton, Morgan, Taylor (C. O.), O'Dell, Brown (B. F.), Smith (J. T.), Brown (J. H.), Nelson, Erindell, Greene, Vennewitz, Gayton, Curran, Fricke, Wilkinson, Ryner-son, Reardon, Fanning, Fallon, Raven, Kuhn, Sanders, Hester, McGovern, Casey, Mezzacapo, Bruen, Harte, Browne, Lampa, Morris, Levi, Wendell, Schultz, Quesse, Kester, Staunton, Walker (M.), Waplington, de Kraft, Williams (T. J.), Berger, Weinstock, Birch, Ellicott, Pinkston, Faramore, Riordan, Byrne, Pruitt (E. B.), Voigt, Rincker.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS.

Delegate Frey, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Federal Employment Bureau.

Upon that section of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption the committee reported as follows:

Your committee recommends that the Executive Council use its best efforts to secure the appropriation of \$2,000,000 asked for by the Secretary of Labor for the purpose of establishing an adequate Federal Employment Bureau, and in addition do what is in their power to make the Bureau effective.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Constructive Demands.

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption the committee reported as follows:

Your committee recommends that the

principles announced in this portion of the Executive Council's report receive the endorsement of this convention, with the further recommendation that this section of the report be published in the A. F. of L. Weekly News Letter and the official publications of affiliated organizations.

Delegate Gainer: I rise to a question of information. That pronouncement declares that labor is not a commodity or article of commerce and therefore the scale of wages should not be determined by the law of supply and demand. Is that the stand of the committee?

Secretary Frey: The report of the Council and the report of the committee do not touch upon the law of supply and demand. It refers to the application of a principle of democracy in industry; it deals with the principle of the workers solving their own problems through their industrial organizations.

President Gompers, in discussing the question briefly, said in part: The labor movement is a protest against the concept that the wages paid to working people should be based upon the so-called law of supply and demand. The human equation is the dominating factor to determine wages. Wages being paid for labor or service rendered is the means by which the worker supplies the needs of himself and those dependent upon him. Even among those who have accepted the theory of the payment of wages, and that the law of supply and demand should form the basis, try in some way or other to obviate the cruelties and the evils of the application of the law of supply and demand to the workers. They open soup kitchens and have charitable organizations, and these are nothing more than the declaration of the inefficiency and the inhuman character of the law of supply and demand to the working people.

If the law of supply and demand would operate now the people of the United States in all likelihood could obtain all their work products and leave little or no margin for profits. In periods of idleness

and stagnation, when wages have been reduced by reason of large numbers of workers being unemployed, the workers have in many instances been forced to accept reductions in wages by reason of their lack of understanding and their unwillingness to assume whatever risks may come from protest. In 1897, during a period of industrial stagnation which came upon our people, organized labor protested against the attempt to apply the law of supply and demand to labor in that crisis. The labor movement declared that it would resist every reduction in wages by every honorable means at its command. It was a notice to employers, to economists, if you please, to publicists and others that the men of labor would resist any attempt to apply the law of supply and demand to the working people of America. There is no natural law which should deprive the workers of a full opportunity, of a rounded, good life and a standard of wages.

Delegate Sweeney, Journeymen Tailors, said in part: The very fact of organization among the workers is evidence that they were being treated as a commodity. It is all right for Congress to say that the labor of a human being is not a commodity, and it is all right for us who believe that and advocate it to dwell on it on five or six different occasions during this convention, but facts are facts, just the same. We are trying to legislate for the wage workers of this continent simply because they have to sell their labor, and the employer of labor will look upon it as a commodity, no matter how many acts of congress declare otherwise. It is well for us to understand that we are selling our labor power and it is our duty to ourselves and to the generations yet unborn to get a system adopted that will give the worker the full value of his toil.

Delegate Schlesinger, in discussing the question said in part: The committee speaks of various labor boards. I would like to know if the committee has in mind the quartermaster's department that has to do with supplying soldiers' uniforms. I have had occasion to visit that department several times, and I found there men hostile to the interests of labor, sitting there and making rules to govern labor. In the department that has charge of the uniforms there are employers who are hostile to labor and they are sending out uniforms to the nonunion shops where intolerable conditions exist. Some of them are connected with the

United States Rubber Company, which has never employed union labor, where the hours are more than 56 a week, and where they have thrown out white labor and brought in colored labor to get the work done cheaper.

Secretary Frey: The committee had in mind no particular board or commission, but the general experience that our unions have encountered since dealing with these special boards and commissions.

The report of the committee was adopted.

To Avoid Interruptions of War Production.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption the committee reported as follows:

Your committee recommends the endorsement of all that the Executive Board has said under this caption.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Government Railroad Control Law.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption the committee reported as follows:

Your committee notes with keen interest the information contained under this caption, and endorses the government's action in taking control of the railroads. Your committee recommends that a careful study be made of the developments which may follow from the present legislation.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Victims of Industrial Accidents.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption the committee reported as follows:

Your committee approves of the steps already taken by the Executive Council to procure just and adequate legislation, and of their determination to continue their efforts so that victims of industrial accidents may be given an opportunity for rehabilitation, re-education and re-introduction into industry.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Transportation for Shipyard and Plant Employees.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption the committee reported as follows:

Your committee notes with interest and approval the legislative act referred to.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Workmen's Compensation.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption the committee reported as follows:

Your committee recommends that the Executive Council be instructed to continue its assistance to the organizations interested in an effort to secure the required legislation.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Compensation for Maritime Workers.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption the committee reported as follows:

Your committee recommends that the principles contained in the bill referred to under this caption be approved of and that the Executive Council be instructed to watch the legislation in question and give such assistance as may be required to adequately protect the seamen's interests.

The report of the committee was adopted.

War Finance Corporation.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption the committee reported as follows:

Your committee recommends that the Executive Council be instructed to study the operation of this Governmental Finance corporation and report upon the subject at the next convention.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Civil Rights Law.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption the committee reported as follows:

Your committee notes with interest and approval the provisions of this just law for the protection of enlisted men, and recommends that the principle involved receive the endorsement of this convention.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Chinese Coolie Labor.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption the committee reported as follows:

Your committee recommends that this convention approve of the efforts made by the Executive Council to prevent the entrance of Chinese coolie labor into this country, and recommends that the Executive Council be instructed to vigorously continue its efforts to prevent the enactment of any law which would prevent the entry of this type of labor.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Enlisted Men in Civil Occupations.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above cap-

tion the committee reported as follows:

Your committee approves of the substance and provisions of the law referred to.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Compensation to Orphans.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption the committee reported as follows:

Your committee approves of the action taken by the Executive Council and recommends that it continue to give its assistance.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Holan Minimum Wage Bill.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption the committee reported as follows:

Your committee recommends that the Executive Council be instructed to continue its efforts to secure the enactment of the measure referred to.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Suffrage for the District of Columbia.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption the committee reported as follows:

Your committee recommends that the Executive Council be instructed to continue its efforts to secure the right of suffrage for the residents of the District of Columbia.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Wheat Price Legislation.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption the committee reported as follows:

Your committee recommends that the Executive Council be instructed to watch this legislation and in the interest of the consumer to favor as low a price as possible for wheat, not inconsistent with the interests of the farmers.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Protective Mine Legislation.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption the committee reported as follows:

Your committee is in complete accord with the principle that convict labor should be employed only by the state, and for state use only, and that departure from this principle would be dangerous to public welfare, as well as the convicts, whose confinement is primarily for reformatory purposes. We are of the opinion, however, that such labor should be performed under conditions tending to assist in the convicts' reformation, and are strongly of the conviction that employment under-

ground at a hazardous occupation is not conducive to reformation, and is also contrary to the spirit which should direct the policies of our penal institutions. For these reasons we further recommend to the Executive Council that the pending provision now in conference, H. R. 195, be amended to end with the word "labor," so that the amendment would read, "And provided further, that said coal deposit under said land shall not be mined by convict labor."

The report of the committee was adopted.

Vice-President Green in the chair.

Postal Employees Wage Increase.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption the committee reported as follows:

Your committee recommends that the Executive Council be instructed to continue its efforts to secure adequate wage increases for postal employees.

The report of the committee was adopted.

First Things First.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption the committee reported as follows:

Taking consideration of the substance of the matter presented under this caption, your committee recommends that the officers of the affiliated organizations keep in mind the necessity of giving first attention and consideration to the fundamentals involved in the successful prosecution of the war, and render such assistance as possible to the Executive Council in its efforts to adequately protect the interests of labor, even if this should involve the temporary setting aside of minor matters which would ordinarily receive their attention.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 141—By Resolution Committee:

WHEREAS, The war has created conditions never before anticipated or experienced and these will fundamentally affect the future of our country; and

WHEREAS, The internal and external problems arising from the war, which our movement must deal with, are of such vital importance that we must devote all of our energies to their solution; and

WHEREAS, To more adequately prepare our movement and its representatives for the tremendous task ahead, thorough special investigations and preparations must be made, coupled with conferences of such a character as to entail more than the usual costs; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That as our emergency war measure, the Executive Council be and is hereby authorized to levy an assessment of one cent per capita upon the membership of the affiliated organizations, ten dollars (\$10.00) upon State Federations of Labor, and five dollars (\$5.00) upon Central Labor Bodies, should such

an assessment, in their judgment, become advisable. This action to be considered solely as an emergency war measure and in no manner or form to be understood as in any way modifying the present law relative to the levying of assessments, nor shall this assessment be devoted to any other purpose than the one specified in this resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the resolution submitted by the committee.

Delegate Duncan, Seattle: I think it might be wise, if the assessment is levied, to make it possible to use whatever surplus there might be to help defray the cost of the intensive organization campaign which this convention has gone on record as favoring. I move that as an amendment.

Vice-President Duncan: The amendment carries with it that there shall be a surplus.

Delegate Duncan: The Council can use its discretion.

Secretary Frey: The resolution provides specifically that such assessments shall be used for no other purpose. It is a special emergency war measure and should be considered as such solely.

The resolution submitted by the committee was adopted.

Secretary Frey: That is all the committee has to report at this time.

Delegate Clarke obtained unanimous consent to the printing, in connection with the discussion in re Flint Glass Workers—Machinists, a letter read into the records by Delegate Neenan.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS.

Delegate Woll, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Your Committee on International Labor Relations has approached all subjects referred to it from the viewpoint of "Win the War for Democracy and Justice." We hold, there can be no true democracy, justice and freedom in the economic, social or political field of endeavor under an autocratic form of government, asserting its authority and holding its power by militarism.

International Labor Relations.

Under the caption, International Labor Relations, in the Executive Council's Report, you will find interesting, comprehensive information concerning several important matters, which if they had not been properly handled would have had, in our judgment, a far-reaching, disastrous result upon the present and future welfare

of our country's cause, our cause, and the sacred cause of our Allies in this crisis. Chief among these propositions are:

1. Proposals to hold international labor conference in which representatives from enemy countries should participate, and
2. Discussion of "peace terms."
3. Reconstruction.
4. The invitation made by Arthur Henderson, representing the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress and the National Executive of the British Labor Party, to attend an Inter-Allied Labor Conference to commence in London on February 20, 1918.

The report sets forth that this invitation was received at the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor late on February 9, 1918, and at a time which made it impossible for the American Federation of Labor to be represented at the Inter-Allied Conference. In the reply of President Gompers, authorized and forwarded by direction of the Executive Council, A. F. of L., we particularly note this statement:

"We cannot meet with representatives of those who are aligned against us in this world war for freedom, but we hope they will sweep away the barriers which they have raised between us."

We declare the position of the Executive Council in refusing to sit in conference at this time with delegates from countries with which we are at war is logically, morally and absolutely correct. We dare say, it is our judgment that no representatives to a conference of this nature could emerge from either of the Central Powers without the approval and consent of the autocratic rulers of these countries; hence, under such circumstances there could be no true expression of the hopes and the aspirations, and the true attitude of the toiling masses in those autocratically ridden, misgoverned, militaristic governments.

This portion of the committee's report was adopted unanimously.

British and American Labor Commissions.

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption the committee reported as follows:

Under the caption, British and American Labor Commissions, we take note that following the British Commission, which came to our shores prior to the Buffalo Convention, and which consisted of C. W. Bowerman, J. H. Thomas, representing Great Britain, and Gideon D. Robertson and J. C. Waters, representing Canada, there has come to our shores a British Commission, which consists of the following:

W. A. Appleton, Secretary General Federation of Trade Unions;
Chas. Duncan, Workers' Union;
Joshua Butterworth, Associated Shipwrights' Society;

William Mosses, Patternmakers, and that following the visit of this last named Commission, a labor mission was sent to Great Britain and France, appointed by the President and credentialed by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, as follows:

TO OUR FELLOW WORKERS OF ENGLAND AND OF FRANCE, AND TO ALL WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:

This is to certify that

Mr. James Wilson, President Patternmakers' League of North America;

Mr. John P. Frey, Executive Officer International Molders' Union of North America;

Mr. William Short, President Washington State Federation of Labor;

Miss Melinda Scott, President Straw Hat Trimmers and Operatives' Union;

Miss Agnes Nestor, Vice-President Glove Workers' International Union;

Mr. William H. Johnston, President International Association of Machinists;

Mr. George L. Berry, President International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union;

Mr. Chester M. Wright, member International Typographical Union;

Mr. Martin F. Ryan, President Brotherhood of Railway Carmen;

are members of the respective organizations given under the name of each. The above names have been selected as representing the organized labor movement of America as expressed by the American Federation of Labor.

The above trade unionists have been directed to make investigation of the conditions prevailing in England and in France, particularly as they apply to the workers, to the people generally and to the situation in the great cause for which England and France and the United States are contending against the central powers; to convey such information as may be helpful for the common cause of labor and democracy; to carry the message of good will, solidarity and cooperation in that cause. The mission is also to confer with labor representatives of all allied countries.

The delegation is empowered to confer with the representatives of organized labor of England and of France, for the exchange of views as to the present situation and conditions and the prospective outlook for cooperative effort in the common cause, the establishment of world democracy.

The delegation will represent the declarations and position of the American Federation of Labor as declared by the conventions and the Executive Council thereof. They will convey a message of good will and fraternity and the pledge of American labor and of the American Republic to stand true until the triumphant conclusion of the war. We bespeak for the delegation a cordial greeting and sympathetic support of our fellow workers

wherever they may be, and it will be gratifying to reciprocate in any way within our power.

Fraternally yours,

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL AMERICAN
FEDERATION OF LABOR.

(Signed) SAMUEL GOMPERS,

President.

Attest: FRANK MORRISON, Secretary.

Owing to undisputed German propaganda working insiduously in all allied and neutral countries, and misstatements and misunderstandings created as a consequence which if not corrected, the entering wedge in an effort to divide labor's forces, both industrial and as to its attitude to our respective governments, would have been driven home with great damage resulting to our cause. Statements of such a character, having their origin in the camps of our enemies were made, and unless corrected, the whole aims, objects and attitude of labor here and in our allied countries would have been misunderstood; all of which would have been giving aid and comfort to the enemy.

Your committee is of the opinion that because of this and other potential reasons, that it was necessary to send this American Commission, and that to have failed to have done so, the Executive Council would have been derelict in its duty. We therefore fully concur in the action of our Executive Council:

First—As to the expression, "We cannot meet with representatives of those who are aligned against us in this world war for freedom," and

Second—Their action in sending a Commission of American Trade Unionists to Great Britain and France, for a purpose of clarifying the situation, and by personal contact more clearly stating the viewpoint of the American trade union movement. This action in itself was potentially effective in strengthening the morale of the British, the French, the Belgian and the Italian workers and in the justice of our common cause.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Peace Terms.

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption the committee reported as follows:

Under this caption, the Council sets forth in detail organized labor's attitude as first expressed at the Philadelphia, 1914, Convention, down to and including the action taken at the Buffalo, 1917, Convention.

At the Philadelphia Convention, the American Federation of Labor proposed that a Peace Congress, composed of representatives of labor of all countries, should meet and give expression to Labor's views of peace treaties, at the time peace terms between nations shall be considered at the close of the war;

At the San Francisco, 1915, Convention, a comprehensive plan for the convocation of such a World Labor Congress was proposed and approved. This plan was forwarded through proper channels to the labor movements of all countries. Mr. Carl Legien, President of the Federation of Trade Unions of Germany, wrote stating that in his judgment such a plan and movement was of doubtful practicability, and the British labor movement withheld endorsement;

At the Baltimore, 1916, Convention, a supplementary plan to the first proposition was proposed and adopted; that is, that the labor movements of the various countries should prevail upon the national governments to include representatives of labor in the National Delegation, which would participate in the World Peace Congress, and at the same time reaffirmed the action taken at the foregoing stated conventions;

At the Buffalo, 1917, Convention, previous actions were reaffirmed and reindorsed and, in addition, more clear-cut and fundamental principles were declared to be in our judgment the basic construction of proper peace terms. These are set forth in the Council's report, and it is unnecessary to repeat them here, except to say that paramount among these recommendations are:

A league of the free peoples of the world in a common covenant for genuine and practical cooperation to secure justice and therefore peace in relations between nations.

No political or economic restrictions meant to benefit some nations and to cripple and embarrass others.

Recognition of the rights of small nations and of the principle, "No people must be forced under sovereignty under which it does not wish to live;" and,

"Involuntary servitude shall not exist except as a punishment for crime, where the party shall have been duly convicted," and, last but not least,

"Establishment of trial by jury."

Reaffirming and re-asserting former declarations of principles concerning terms of peace, we hold and again reiterate a former declaration, that the terms of peace and the calling of peace conferences primarily rests with our government, and that whatever we may say in this connection is purely an expression of our thoughts and our hopes, and of an advisory character. We cannot refrain from asserting that it is our judgment and belief no just nor lasting peace can be obtained by negotiations until victory is achieved. The universe is horrified over the precipitation of a war that has set the whole world on fire, and there is no question in our minds as to who started the war, and the then hidden, but now public, purposes of the German imperialistic and militaristic government. There can be no real nor permanent peace, such as will safeguard and protect freedom and justice, that is not predicated upon democracy and the rights of the people to self-government. We owe it to ourselves, to our country, and to our Allies, and to the peoples of all civilized countries, to insist upon a peace that shall be grounded upon the triumph of our cause. democracy and justice.

Events in Russia have shown the utter futility of attempting to negotiate peace treaties with the Central Powers as they are now constituted.

Your committee agrees with the Council substantially that "We deem it unwise at this time to formulate concrete declarations in regard to problems that will come before the Peace Congress," and that

"We are in accord with the program of World Peace stated by the President of the United States in his address to Congress on January 8, 1918, and moreover,

"That autocracy and militarism and its most dangerous weapon, irresponsible diplomacy, must perish."

Adhering strictly to these principles, we are of the opinion that no permanent peace can be made nor should be made until democracy supplants autocracy, and that a league of nations is established for the purpose of maintaining a just peace for and the protection of small nations.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Recommendations of Labor Mission.

One of the recommendations contained in the report of our delegates who visited Great Britain and France is the following:

"We therefore recommend that during the period of the war the American Federation of Labor maintain one or more direct representatives in Europe."

Your committee has carefully considered this recommendation and fully realizes the significance and importance of the movement in this direction. We have, moreover, also considered what effect such a representation may have upon the various groups of the workers of Europe, and believing that the Executive Council being in full possession of up-to-date information should be the judges as to the advisability of compliance with this recommendation. We therefore refer the recommendation to the Executive Council with authority for such action as it may deem advisable under the circumstances.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

An additional recommendation by the Labor Mission to Great Britain and France referred to your committee is as follows:

"In addition to the great respect and admiration manifested on every hand for President Gompers, both from the representatives of the masses of labor with whom we came in contact, as well as the representatives of the governments of Great Britain and France, we have been importuned to urge upon him a visit to those countries at the earliest possible time. We therefore recommend to the Executive Council, and we trust and hope through the E. C. to the convention, that President Gompers be authorized and requested to undertake such a mission at an early date and before the close of this year."

Your committee is of the opinion that a compliance on the part of President

Gompers with this suggestion and request upon the part of the government, the people and the labor movements of Great Britain and France would be of inestimable value to not only the peoples of these two countries but to our own as well. We therefore recommend that President Gompers be instructed and is hereby authorized to proceed to Europe at the earliest time consistent with the duties and obligations here, and his own judgment and convenience.

With this understanding your committee concurs in the recommendation and recommends its adoption.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 130—By Delegate D. D'Alessandro, President, International Hodcarriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America:

WHEREAS, Intercommunication by means of missions for the purpose of promoting a helpful understanding among themselves has been resorted to with growing frequency by the allied countries opposed to the Teutonic powers; and

WHEREAS, The notably beneficial results obtained by the American Labor Mission which has just returned from Great Britain and France have proved an additional illustration of the necessity of a constant exchange of views among the organized wage-workers of the allied countries, since new necessities arise with the events marking the progress of the world war; and

WHEREAS, The laboring masses of these countries are at present confronted with an urgent need of mutual enlightenment and assistance, as they perhaps more than any other social element would be sufferers through a Hun victory; and

WHEREAS, Italy has remained unvisited by representatives of the American labor movement, and Italy's almost superhuman efforts in the war have been obscured by the disaster brought about by German peace propaganda at once insidiously plausible and incredibly treacherous; and

WHEREAS, Not a particle of doubt can reasonably be entertained by loyal Americans in the satisfactory outcome of a visit to Italy by an American Labor mission; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, be, and hereby is, authorized to go to Italy at his earliest convenience, there to maintain the principles of our Federation, in peace as well as in this war, this convention feeling assured that his name would convey to Italy hope and encouragement and that his message would also be testimony to the confidence entertained by Americans in every walk of life in the continued loyalty of Italians to the cause of the Allies, in their persistence in the war at every sacrifice, and in their unity with the British, the French and the Americans in the ideals of a democracy and liberty which it is our hope shall finally prevail throughout the entire world.

Your committee concurs in this resolution and recommends its adoption with the suggestion that President Gompers' visit to Italy be arranged so as to conform to the time he visits Great Britain and France.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Secretary Frey: Resolution 78 and 80 are considered together, as they deal with the same subject.

Resolution No. 78—By Delegate Timothy Healy, of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen:

WHEREAS, Our beloved country is engaged in war for democracy and for the right of nations, both great and small, to govern themselves; and

WHEREAS, One of the great streams of American blood comes from Ireland whose people have given so profusely of their lives to found, defend and perpetuate our institutions of self-government; and

WHEREAS, Even today the great armies of America both upon the field of war and in the walks of industry, are composed so largely of men of Irish blood; and

WHEREAS, Ireland is a nation (whose identity is clearly defined and readily distinguished among the nations of the earth as one which above all others has battled for sovereignty); and

WHEREAS, The representatives of labor in Great Britain have recently set forth a program for the future peace of the world, defining as a cardinal feature thereof the right of every nation to determine its own destiny and government, which we, as Americans rejoice to endorse; therefore, be it.

RESOLVED, First: That we, the representatives of American labor in convention assembled respect the claim of Ireland as one entitled to the recognition of our country, both as consistent with our object in the war, and especially because of the ties which bind America to Ireland;

Second: That as a separate nation Ireland be recognized as having all the rights and as being charged with all the duties of one of the family of nations, and that in such aspect she be approached by our government to cast her lot with the Allies in the defense of liberty; to raise an army to be placed under the supreme command of the Commander of the Allied forces and to do whatsoever else she may do for the great cause at stake; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of these resolutions be presented to our great President Woodrow Wilson, and to the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States, with the request that they take all necessary steps to enforce their purport as part of the permanent policy of this our country.

Resolution No. 80—By Delegate Michael Egan, of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Our country has engaged in a great war in support of the great

principles of liberty, justice, equality, and the rights of the people of all countries and nations, to determine and choose for themselves a system and method of government which will insure to them the greatest degree of liberty, prosperity, and happiness; and

WHEREAS, The labor movement of this country has loyally supported our government in the present war, for the purpose of making this world safe for democracy; and

WHEREAS, The inhabitants of Ireland, a great liberty loving people with a distinct nationality and a country who have been contending and fighting for generations against the oppressive and objectionable form of government forced upon them by England, with whom we are now an ally engaged in this world war; be it

RESOLVED, That this convention endorse the war principles as expressed by President Wilson giving the people of all countries the right to determine and choose for themselves their methods of government; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we request the Congress of the United States and our President to urge upon the British Government, in harmony with the principles of freedom and democracy to give to the Irish people immediately their independence and the right to select their own form of government, so that the great fighting men and women of Ireland may continue to battle against the enemies of freedom and democracy as free men and women under their own government and their own flag.

Your committee offers the following substitute for these two resolutions:

WHEREAS, Our country with our Allies is engaged in a war, the declared purpose of which is the principle of democracy, liberty, justice and equality, and the rights of the people of all countries and nations to determine and choose for themselves a system and method of government, which will insure to them the greatest degree of liberty and justice; and

WHEREAS, The Labor Movement of our country has loyally supported our government in the present war for the purpose of making the world safe for democracy, self-government and justice; and

WHEREAS, The inhabitants of Ireland a great liberty-loving people with distinct nationality and country, have been contending for generations against an oppressive and objectionable form of government forced upon them, without their consent; be it

RESOLVED, That this convention endorse the war principles as expressed by President Wilson, as follows: A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike." And also "A league of the free peoples of the world in a common covenant for genuine and practical cooperation to secure justice and therefore peace in relations between nations," and "The recognition of the rights of smaller nations," also our own declarations as follows: 4. Recognition of the rights of small nations and of the principle, "No people must be forced under sovereignty under which it does not wish

to live;" and moreover, that we reindorse and reaffirm our oft-repeated declaration in favor of home rule and the freest kind of government for Ireland and for all liberty-loving nations, and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor do and hereby pledges itself to the people of Ireland and to all small nations to the support of the principles herein set forth and instructs the Executive Council to urge upon the President and the Congress of the United States the duty of making these declarations cardinal principles as the basis upon which we shall enter into final peace treaties which are to be signed after a triumphant victory for our cause and the cause of our Allies has been achieved.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate McKillop: Do I understand that this matter here with reference to Ireland here will be left over until after the war? Do I understand that the Executive Council will take no part in urging upon the President of the United States and upon Congress to immediately put into effect what the Allies are all fighting for—the freedom and independence of small nations?

Secretary Woll: The resolution is very clear. We declare for the principles enunciated in that resolution, and we urge upon the President and upon Congress the duty of making these declarations cardinal principles as the basis upon which we shall enter into final peace treaties which are to be signed after.

Delegate McKillop: Will Ireland have to wait until after the war?

Secretary Woll: It is not incumbent upon the committee to ask the President or Congress a question in regard to peace terms.

Delegate McKillop: I think the American Federation of Labor can do no less than the British Labor Party, that has come out flat-footed for the independence of Ireland. The premiers of Great Britain, France and Italy declared for a free Poland. Ireland is as much entitled to that as any other country. If it is proper for the governments of Great Britain, France and Italy to declare for this, I think it would not be out of place for us to ask the same for Ireland.

Delegate Cannon, Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers: I move to amend the committee's report by striking out the reference to home rule and inserting "independence for Ireland." (Seconded.)

Delegate Cannon, in discussing the question, said in part: Several resolutions have declared for a league of na-

tions. In my estimation we will have no permanent peace until we have a league of nations, and it should be a league of free, independent, sovereign, nations, not a league of subject nations. Since the beginning of the war, and especially since the entrance of the United States into the war, there has been a great broadening of thought throughout the world. Instead of aiming to end the war now by taking a slice of territory here and adding it to a nation somewhere else, instead of talking as they did a year ago, of dividing the German colonies among the Allies, we have the world talking about every nation establishing its own government in spite of any outside influence.

The President of the United States has gone on record absolutely in favor of independence for Poland, not for a part of Poland but for all of Poland. The British Labor Party has gone on record in favor of independence for Poland with an outlet to the sea. Now Washington is discussing and the Allied conference has gone on record in favor of independence for the Jugo-Slavs, they are talking of independence for Bohemia, Belgium is to get its independence, Serbia is to get its independence—everybody but Ireland is to get its independence, but Ireland is to get home rule. There is no more justice in asking Ireland to accept home rule from England than there would be to ask the United States to go back and accept home rule from England. The Irish have not willingly accepted the government imposed upon them.

We are now posing as champions of the whole world, and yet we ask of that nation that has done more to people the United States and to make for its progress than any other nation, to accept home rule. We are great for spreading the light, we are great for patriotism and liberty until it comes to Ireland. I am absolutely in favor of liberty for Ireland and a rule by Irish people, absolutely free from British or any other domination.

Delegate Healy, Firemen, in discussing the question at length, said in part:

I introduced my resolution in the hope that some immediate action would be taken for the purpose of strengthening the arm of the men who are now in Ireland, whereby they can go before their people and get them to take their places in the trenches beside the Allies. The

Irish have fought for ages on the side of England, on the side of France, on the side of America, on the side of Spain, on the side of America and other nations, but at this time, above all times, when they should be fighting beside the Allies they are laying low. When the war was declared and Germany invaded Belgium the Irish people were to a man and to a woman with the Allies, and they would be today were it not for the bungling treachery and trickery of the government in Ireland. I want every man in this convention to ask himself why the change has come. If the British government had the courage to put into effect the home rule bill which was enacted, there would be two hundred thousand young Irishmen in the trenches fighting for the Allies, and the three hundred thousand British soldiers that are there keeping these two hundred thousand and the others in subjection would be in the trenches, too.

We talk about liberty for small peoples. I believe every man in this convention wants to see liberty for small peoples, and for all people, but some of our Allies are making a very poor show in giving any guarantee for that liberty. Four years ago in the British House of Commons John Redmond told the British people to withdraw their forces and the Irish people themselves, Irish volunteers, would take care of Ireland and defend her against any and all invaders or enemies of Great Britain or Ireland. That offer was not accepted. No, things were worked up until a revolution broke out.

The history of Ireland is one of broken promises, and Ireland is no more safe now than in the past from broken promises. You men who understand the labor movement, who understand something of it in Great Britain, ask yourselves why it is that the trade union movement in Great Britain is opposed to conscription in Ireland? Surely there must be some reason for it or the British Trades Union Congress and the British working people would not oppose it. If Ireland got justice there would be no need of conscription. The history of the country will show that. I want to say for the working people of Great Britain that they are just as loyal to the cause of self-government for Ireland as the Irishmen themselves. They are not responsible for any of the mismanagement of the government.

Yes, I too am in favor of an Irish republic if it could be secured; if Ireland were placed as Cuba is where she would be under the protecting wing of the United States, but she is too close to the countries of Europe and she would be a catspaw, but surely she ought to have the same self-government as Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. In South Africa they have a full measure of self-government and apparently they are satisfied. I am glad the matter has come up for discussion; I believe it will have a good effect, for there are

men in this country who are secretly trying to bring about a revolution in Ireland.

I do not know of a worse scheme that could be hatched up than a revolution in Ireland. Men without arms, with nothing to fight with cannot go against modern machine guns. I am and have been for years behind the constitutional movement in Ireland. They have been getting something through it, and I want to see something coming to Ireland all the time. I don't want to put these things off to a far distant future.

The action I hope we will take today will encourage the Irishmen under the leadership of those who are trying to keep together the men of the constitutional movement and save the country from the disaster that will overtake it if the Sinn Fein sentiment is allowed to triumph.

President Gompers: Has not the National Party and its hundred members declared for home rule?

Delegate Healy: Yes, it has.

President Gompers: Has that party declared for the independence of Ireland?

Delegate Healy: For an Irish Republic.

President Gompers: Yes.

Delegate Healy: No, it has not.

President Gompers, in a discussion of some length, said in part: In the long years of service which I have tried to give to the labor movement I have not confined my sympathies and my activities to the labor movement per se. Wherever there have been a number of men, or wherever there has been a single individual who has struggled for justice and against injustice there is no case in America or in any other part of the world, that I have withheld my sympathy and my support, whether it was among the people of struggling Ireland, the oppressed people of Russia, the revolutionary movement of Mexico, or wherever there were people striving for the achievement of justice and right—I have been with them. The men in the Irish movement know that. On two occasions when I was sent to Europe by the labor movement I went to Ireland and I met the representatives of the Irish people. On both occasions I went to that memorable cemetery in which the bones of Ireland's brave, heroic men are interred and paid my respect and homage in silence to the magnificent service they gave to Ireland, to her people and to the world.

The people of Ireland for more than half a century have pursued a practical course that has finally impressed itself upon the conscience of the British people. It won't do in this year of grace 1918 to hold against the British people

the damnable folly and trickery of the Britons of a hundred or more years ago. The Irish people have declared in their own way, in their own country and in their own districts what they want. They want home rule, and they want it by reason of many things. They need the protection of the world because of their defenseless coast, the same as we are giving protection to France now. They have declared for home rule from the time of Parnell to Redmond and from Redmond to Dillon. Not any of them in any authoritative manner has declared for Irish independence now.

We don't know what may come out of all this agitation, but I want to ask you what hope would Ireland have for home rule or independence if it were possible for the Kaiser to win. I would, if we could, that home rule should be given to Ireland now. There is a difference of opinion as to the time.

Delegate McCarthy, Carpenters, in discussing the question, said in part: I had hoped to be able to leave this convention without taking up any of your time, but I feel if I were to permit a question of this kind to be decided—due to the manner in which the debate has taken shape—I would not be what I am, and what I believe the great majority, yes, every delegate in this convention is, strictly a citizen of this great United States of ours. I heard the secretary of the committee read the report, and when he had read it I was very much pleased with it. I know something of Ireland, having been born there, having come to this country just young enough to become a citizen of the United States by taking out one set of papers, and I feel today, as I have felt since 1886, and will continue to feel no matter how long I live here, that we ought to be guided in these matters by the wishes of the people of Ireland.

For seven hundred and fifty years, not fifty years, we have been called upon to associate ourselves and band ourselves for our own protection. I know the statesmanship of Great Britain and Ireland is not what it was seven hundred and fifty years ago, is not what it was six hundred years ago, is not what it was one hundred years ago, and it would be wrong for any of us to associate the intentions of those men who are endeavoring to guide the destinies of that country—associated as it is with this great country of ours today—from the standpoint of the men who lived in those days.

Now we insist on independence for all the people of the world, and we include Ireland in that, we include small nations as well as large nations, and we insist that all nations shall be governed with the consent of the people. I am satisfied that Woodrow Wilson will, if he is alive, insist on that degree of fair play in dealing with Ireland that he will in dealing with Belgium, Poland, Serbia and other small nations, and insist that justice shall be meted out to them.

I hope you will adopt the report of the committee, which means something for Ireland, and bring her into the struggle with us in the United States, whose men are fighting at the front, and with which every other nation that desires freedom, liberty and justice should be associated. The amendment offered by Delegate Cannon was defeated.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 12—By Delegates Benjamin Schlesinger, Jacob Heller, Max Gorenstein, Mollie Friedman, I. Feinberg and Alfred La Porta, of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union:

WHEREAS, The Inter-Allied Labor Conference, composed of representatives of organized labor of England, France, Belgium and Italy, adopted, at Nottingham, England, a constructive program of social and economic regeneration, based upon the vital demands and aspirations of the working class after the present world war will have come to an end; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorses the program of this conference and pledges its participation in the future meetings of the Inter-Allied Labor Conference.

For America's workers and our whole people, the American Federation of Labor has formulated certain fundamental principles for reconstruction both during and after the war. We should not commit our movement to a program in its entirety though formulated by our friends but who may not be in a position to comprehend the institutions, conditions and temperamental characteristics of the people of the United States.

We should not be asked to adopt in its entirety any all-embracing program in the making of which we were unable to, and did not take part, and which was prepared to meet some problems which may not exist in America.

This convention having by the approval of the report of the Committee on Resolutions, referred the whole matter of Reconstruction to the Executive Coun-

cil, and moreover your committee being mindful of the alertness of the Executive Council and the intelligent, painstaking manner in which it has responded in the past and is responding at present to every call having labor's interests at stake, and because of possible unforeseen developments, warrants us in recommending the reference of this resolution to the Executive Council for its consideration, and reference by it to a special committee, if one is appointed, for its consideration in connection with other subjects bearing upon Reconstruction.

The foregoing subject matter, in so far as it particularly applies to reconstruction, is held to be of paramount importance; therefore, it is suggested that the Executive Council give it their earliest possible attention.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 113—By Delegate J. W. Hays of the International Typographical Union:

WHEREAS, This great republic is founded upon the principle that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed; and

WHEREAS, We have entered into the world war not for our own aggrandizement or for any material benefit, but in order to secure a just and lasting peace by establishing throughout the world the rule of democracy and by safeguarding the rights of all nations, great and small; and

WHEREAS, President Wilson announced as the fundamental principle upon which this country will insist in the coming reconstruction of Europe that no nation shall be forced to live under that sovereignty which it does not like; and

WHEREAS, The Bohemians, together with their nearest kindred, the Slovaks, have, ever since the beginning of the war manifested their aversion to Austria and their deep detestation of the Hapsburg rule, and through their representatives in the Vienna parliament demanded the establishment of a free and democratic Bohemia; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, that Bohemia ought to be free and independent; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we appeal to the President of the United States and to our representatives in Congress that the entire weight of the United States in the future peace congress shall be exerted in favor of Bohemian independence; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to the President of the United States, to the Vice-President as presiding officer of the Senate, to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and to the chairmen of the committees on foreign affairs of the two houses of Congress.

While your committee concurs in the spirit and purpose of Resolution No. 113, we have covered the subject matter and principles and desires in a similar resolution relative to Ireland and other numerically small nations. With this understanding we recommend the adoption of the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Secretary Woll—This completes the report of the committee, which is respectfully submitted and signed,

G. W. PERKINS, Chairman,
SAMUEL GOMPERS,
JAMES DUNCAN,
JAMES O'CONNELL,
M. S. HAYES,
MARTIN LAWLOR,
JAMES WILSON,
JOHN P. FREY,
B. A. LARGER,
D. J. TOBIN,
GEORGE L. BERRY,
JOHN H. WALKER,
C. L. BAINE,
W. D. MAHON,
JOHN GOLDEN.

MATTHEW WOLL, Secretary,
Convention on International Labor Relations.

The report of the committee was adopted as a whole.

Vice-President Green introduced to the convention Mr. R. P. Eldridge, of St. Paul.

Mr. Eldridge: The members of St. Paul Lodge No. 59, Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, have asked me to present to your president a little testimonial of their regard and esteem for him. This naturally follows after our Flag Day service in the park here on the 14th day of June, when Samuel Gompers so willingly assisted us by making the principal address. One of our members, an adept in the art, has arranged a replica of the American Flag, set with the choicest stones of the jewel family, the ruby, the diamond and the sapphire. Samuel Gompers, take this as a tribute of the Elks of the North, and if ever you change or grow weary of well doing, look upon the surface of these jewels and you will see there reflected the heartbeats of the 11,000 men, good and true, who wish you well.

President Gompers made a brief address in which he thanked the donors of the handsome jewel presented to him.

President Gompers presented to Fraternal Delegate Moore, of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, a handsome watch as a testimonial from the delegates. To Mrs. Moore was presented a handsome lavallier. Delegate Moore and Mrs. Moore addressed the convention briefly, expressing the pleasure they had experienced in being privileged to attend the convention and meet and greet the men and women of the American Federation of Labor.

President Gompers announced that a watch similar to that presented to Delegate Moore has been provided for one of the delegates who had been appointed to represent the British Trades Union Congress, Mr. Hall, and for his co-delegate, Miss Bonfield, had been provided a wrist watch. Although the delegates had not been able to come to the convention, President Gompers stated that the gifts would be sent to them.

At 12:30 the convention was adjourned to 2 p. m.

TENTH DAY--Thursday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2 o'clock p. m., Thursday, June 20th, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—Kline, Proebstle, Obergfell, Corcoran, Boyer, Reeves, Desepite, Meyer, Feeney, Woll, Brady (F. J.), Silberstein, Kaufman, Friedman, Duncan (J.), Williams (Jno), McSorley, O'Connor, Finnson, Lane, Schmidt (F.), McCreash, Moyer, White (J. P.), Lewis, Valentine, Weber, (J. N.), Miller (O), Hedrick, McKeon, Kearney, Anderson (C), Berry (G. L.), McHugh, Yould, Mahon (W. D.), Quinlan, Connors, Neer, Agethen, Curtis, Hatch, Mountford, Toone, Fenton, Stack, Wilk, Spencer (G.), Hoof, Stewart, Crickmore, Dill, Bailey, Conley, Williams (H.), Hardy, Moncur, Hutton, Morgan, Taylor (C. O.), O'Dell, Brown (B. F.), Smith (J. T.), Brown (J. H.), Brindell, Greene, Vennowitz, Gayton, Fricke, Wilkinson, Rynerson, Reardon, Fanning, Raven, Kuhn, Sanders, Hester, McGovern, Casey, Mezzacapo, Bruen, Harte, Browne, Lampe, Morris, Wendell, Schultz, Quesse, Kester, Staunton, Walker (M), Waplington, deKrafft, Williams (T. J.), Berger, Ellicott, Paramore, Riordan, Pruitt (E. B.), Voight.

President Gompers: The hour having arrived for the special order, during the selection of the next president of the American Federation of Labor, I shall ask Delegate Frank J. Hayes, President of the United Mine Workers, to preside.

Vice-President Duffy: Before Delegate Hayes takes the chair I would like to ask the president for some information relative to the law governing the tenure of office of the officers of the American Federation of Labor.

President Gompers: By the unanimous consent of the delegates this convention decided that the terms of office of the present incumbents will end on August 1st. It could not have been done without unanimous consent. Those who will

succeed them will take office on August 1st.

Delegate Hayes, Mine Workers, in the chair.

Delegate Foster: I am directed to announce that during this convention a series of conferences have been held by representatives of organizations in the steel and iron industry. They felt the time had come for the American labor movement to establish the principles of American democracy in all the centers where this industry is carried on.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS.

The chairman called for nominations for president. Delegate Perkins, Cigarmakers, placed in nomination for president for the ensuing year Samuel Gompers, of the Cigarmakers' Union. No other names were submitted.

Delegate Lennon (J. B.), moved that the secretary be instructed to cast the unanimous ballot of the convention for Samuel Gompers. The secretary complied with the instructions and President Gompers was declared duly elected for the ensuing term.

President Gompers in the chair.

Vice-President O'Connell: There is an unwritten law in the American Federation of Labor, and a custom which has made it an unwritten law, that upon the retirement of a vice-president those who follow him numerically should step up. I am now singing my swan song in this convention, and later on in this convention, or in some other place, I shall deliver my valedictory as a vice-president of the American Federation of Labor. As I am not a candidate for re-election I take advantage of this time to make the statement so that the others who are elected

may advance numerically, as has been customary heretofore.

President Gompers: If there be no objection that will be the course pursued and a minute upon the records of this convention made.

James Duncan, of the Granite Cutters' International Association, was placed in nomination for the office of First Vice-President by Delegate Frey, Molders' Union.

Upon motion of Delegate Clarke, the secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for James Duncan for First Vice-President. The secretary complied with the instructions of the convention, casting the unanimous vote of the convention, and James Duncan was declared elected to serve as First Vice-President for the ensuing term.

Joseph F. Valentine, of the Molders' Union of North America, was placed in nomination for Second Vice-President by Delegate Carey, Musicians. No further names were presented and the chairman declared nominations closed.

Upon motion of Delegate Sullivan the secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Joseph F. Valentine for Second Vice-President. The secretary complied with the instructions of the convention and Joseph F. Valentine was declared unanimously elected Second Vice-President for the ensuing term.

For the office of Third Vice-President the name of John R. Alpine, of the United Association of Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steamfitters and Steamfitters' helpers of North America, was offered by Delegate Woll, of the Photo-Engravers. There were no further nominations offered and nominations were closed.

The secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for John R. Alpine for Third Vice-President. Secretary Morrison complied with the instructions of the convention and John R. Alpine was declared unanimously elected Third Vice-President for the ensuing term.

H. B. Perham, of the Order of Railroad Telegraphers, was placed in nomination for the office of Fourth Vice-President by Delegate Gorman of the same organization. The nomination was seconded by Delegate Linn.

Delegate Thomas A. Rickert, United Garment Workers' of America, was placed in nomination by Delegate Manning, of the same organization. The nomination

was seconded by Delegate Hays (J. W.), Typographical Union.

No further names being offered, nominations were closed and the secretary proceeded to call the roll. The vote resulted as follows:

Perham-Rickert.

For Perham—Kline, Kramer, Powlesland, Sovey, Reddick, Lovely, Baine, Grant, Noonan, Schmidt, (Fred C.), Brewery and Soft Drink Workers delegation (90 votes), Bridge and Structural Iron Workers' delegation (100 votes), Ryan, (Martin F.), Schnorr, Anderson (Venner), Shoemaker, Thompson (Theodore), Perkins, Gompers, Barnes (J. M.), Campbell (W. A.), Sexton, Forrester, Yates, Smith (Fred W.), Reeves, Brown (Wm. S.), Newmyer, Steward (Luther C.), Nagl, Stationary Firemen's delegation (85 votes), Linn (A. R.), Silberstein, Kaufman, Schlesinger, Heller, Gorenstein, Laporta, Friedman, Feinberg, Voll, Clifton, Eames, Clarke (Wm. P.), Kennedy, O'Brien (John B.), Neenan, Montross, Nestor, Duncan, (James), Russell (A. W.), Will, Kane, Marshall, Flore, Sullivan, (J. L.), Williams (John), Sullivan (John J.), Galmor, Mugavin, Duffy (C. D.), Swartz (L. E.), Bock, Buxbaum, O'Connor, Woodland, Freitas, O'Brien (S. P.), O'Connell, Fljogdal, Finnson, Hogan, Pruett (John H), Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen's delegation (75 votes), Moyer, Davidson (Wm.), Deloughery, Cannon, United Mine Workers' delegation (617 votes), Valentine, Frey (J. P.), Regan, Burns (Arthur), Mara, Painters' delegation (338 votes), Schneider (Geo. J.), Wilson (Jas.), Gernon, Bergstrom, Dold, Alpine, Kearney (Thos. S.), Anderson (Chas.), Rau, Flaherty, Menge, Blake, Hassett, Burke (J. P.), Sullivan (H. W.), LaBelle, Saitor, Collins (Wm. M.), Erown (W. J.), McCoy, Sands, Furuseth, Scharenberg, Flynn (Patrick), Carlson, Helt, Drayer, Funder Burk, Heberling, Clohessy, Connors (J. B.), Sweeney, Lennon, Biggs, Stillman, Perham, Bode, Ross (Leonard J.), Gorman, Golden, Conboy, McMahon (Thos. F.), Hayes (Max S.), Morrison, Marquardt, Iglesias, Christensen, Van Houten, McFadden, Hoage, Knutson, Burton, Lish, Richie, Woodmansee, Scanlan, Campbell (J. B.), Mosher, Tucker, Beck, Davanzo, Gay, Hankins, Worland, Scott (Allice), Welch, Burns (W. W.), Campbell (W. A.), Hunter, Crane, Butler, Miller (O. G.), Bell, (T. F.), Pinkston, Frazer, Yarrow, Coulter, Lancaster, Giles, representing 9,340 votes.

For Rickert—Mullaney, Myrup, Belsel, Schneider (R. C.), Noschang, Fischer (Jacob), Shanessy, Feider, Foley (C. F.), Noonan (Thos), Franklin (J. A.), Weyand, Scott (C. F.), MacGowan, McKillop, Brewery and Soft Drink Workers' delegation (380 votes), Bowen, Preece, Dobson, Geddes, Corcoran (J. J.), Price, Butterworth, Bridge and Structural Iron Workers' delegation (60 votes), Hutcheson (W. L.), Duffy (Frank), Woodbury, Guerin, Van Duyn, White (Bob), Ross (J. A.), McCarthy, Baker (E. E.), Conway, Despte, Hughes (A. C.), Doyle (J. J.), Noonan (J. F.), Joyce (M. T.), McAndrews

(J. J.), Fisher (Frank), Brissman, Fee-ney, Snellings, Hannah, Comerford, Edgerton, Woll, Brady (P. J.), Spellacy, Dunn, Stationary Firemen's delegation (86 votes), Rickert, Larger, Manning, Daley (Margaret C.), Doyle (Frank), Lawlor, McCue, Humphrey, D'Alessandro, Etichison, Moreschi, Carley, Dwyer (W. F.), Farrell, Koveleski, McDevitt, Gould, McSorley, Duty, Bryan, (W. E.), Johnston, Savage, Taylor, Van Lear, Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen's delegation (218 votes), Hynes, Redding, Moriarty, Ryan (J. J.), United Mine Workers' delegation (3,617 votes), Weber (J. N.), Miller (Owen), Winkler, Carey (D. A.), Painters' delegation (507 votes), Carey (J. T.), McGivern, Donlin, Hede, George, Britton, Leary, Diehl, Lyons, Berry, McHugh, Isaacson, Yould, Strunk, Mahon, Quinian, Sheehan, Cahill, Gav-lak, Thompson (J. Vance), Fleming, Shay (C. C.), Dolliver, Barry, Suarez, Welsh (W. M.), Sumner, Frey (J. F.), Griggs, Tobin (D. J.), Hughes (T. L.), Neer, Gillespie, Wilson (James), Konen-kamp, Daly (Jas. J.), McAndrew, Steven-son (Hugh), Hays (J. W.), Brady (E. G.), Hatch, McGrath, Sebree, Jennings, Hall (E. G.), Wines, Donoghue, Holland, McDonald (S. S.), Boyle (James), Fen-ton, Williams (Jerry), Spencer (H. L.), Clinedinst, Weber (F. J.), Harlin, Wiess, Stevens (John F.), Kehoe, Malloy, Fos-ter, Derolph, Alden, Gregson, Thompson (G. H.), Weinheimer, Nelson, Ryan (P. J.), Brindell, Ross (Samuel), Chinn, O'Shea, Barbour, Young, Linck, Curran, Wilkinson, Brand, Jennings (E. O.), Dun-can (Jas. A.), Fallon, Mackellar, Burns (Thos. F.), Bush, Lemke, Levi, Teitle-baum, Bohm, Weinstock, Birch (Nathan P.), Sharon, representing 17,020 votes.

Not voting—Boyer, Meyer (Andries), Brock, Hannah, (E. I.), Agethen, Curtiss (T. J.), Mountford, Toome, Stack, Egan, Wilk, Ferguson, Spencer (G. M.), Hoof, Ely, Milhollan, Patterson, Doyle (John J.), Stewart (R. G.), Crickmore, Dill, Bailey (Wm.), Conley, Williams (Harold), Hardy, Moncur, Hutton, Morgan, Taylor, (C. O.), O'Dell, Brown (B. F.), McGurty, Kress, Smith (J. T.), Breslin, Brown (J. H.), Sellins, Greene (Michael F.), Draper, Ott, Vennewitz, Gayton, Fricke, Mc-Gurk, Curry, Rynerson, Newman, Reardon (T. A.), Fanning, Raven, Kuhn, Sanders, Hahne, Hester, McGovern (Geo. B.), Casey, Mezzacapo, Millner, Bruen, Harte, Browne, (M. J.), Lampa, Morris (Mary), Wendell, Schultz (Wm.), Quesse, Kester, Staunton, Walker (May), Wap-lington, deKraft, Williams (Thos. J.), Berger, Elliott, Moore (C. O.), Faramore, Rirdian (M. K.), Byrne (Frank A.), Pruitt (E. E.), Voigt, Rincker, Hall (F.), Bonfield, Moore (Thos.), representing 260 votes.

President Gompers: I declare Delegate Rickert elected a vice-president and member of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor. The place in chronological order will be designated after the rest of the elections have been concluded. Nominations are in order for fourth vice-president.

Frank Duffy, of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, was placed in nomination for the office of Fourth Vice-President by Delegate Hut-cheson of the same organization. No further names being presented, the chair-man declared nominations closed.

Upon motion by Delegate Koveleski, the Secretary was instructed to cast the unani-mous vote of the convention for Frank Duffy for Fourth Vice-President. The Secretary complied with the instructions of the convention and Frank Duffy was declared unanimously elected to serve as Fourth Vice-President for the ensuing term.

William Green, of the United Mine Workers of America, was placed in nomi-nation for Fifth Vice-President by Dele-gate Hayes, of the same organization. No further names being presented, the chairman declared nominations closed.

The Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for William Green for Fifth Vice-President. Secretary Morrison complied with the in-structions of the convention and William Green was declared unanimously elected to serve as Fifth Vice-President for the ensuing term.

William D. Mahon, of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Rail-way Employes of America, was placed in nomination for the office of Sixth Vice-President by Delegate Walker, Mine Workers. No further names being pre-sented, the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for William D. Mahon for Sixth Vice-President. The Secretary complied with the instructions of the convention and William D. Mahon was declared duly elected to serve as Sixth Vice-President for the ensuing year.

President Gompers: In accordance with the action of the convention I now de-clare Thomas A. Rickert elected Seventh Vice-President of the American Federa-tion of Labor.

Delegate Shea, Theatrical Stage Em-ployes, in the chair.

Delegate Jacob Fischer, Journeymen Barbers' International Union, was placed in nomination by Delegate Hughes, Team-sters, for the office of Eighth Vice-Pres-ident.

Delegate James Wilson, Pattern Makers League of North America, was placed in nomination by Delegate Voll, Glass Bottle Blowers. Seconded by Delegate Brock, Stereotypers.

Delegate William A. Johnston, International Association of Machinists, was placed in nomination by Delegate Berry, Printing Pressmen. Seconded by Delegate Walker, Mine Workers.

No further names being offered, nominations were closed and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll. The vote resulted as follows:

Fischer-Wilson-Johnston.

For Fischer—Noschang, Fischer (Jacob), Shanessy, Felder, Foley, Noonan (Thos.), Reddick, Brewery Workers' Delegation (180 votes), Bowen, Freece, Dobson, Geddes, Corcoran, Price, Bridge and Structural Iron Workers' Delegation (40 votes), Hutcheson, Duffy (Frank), Woodbury, Guerin, Van Duyn, White (Bob), Ross (J. A.), McCarthy, Baker, Conway, Desepete, Meyer, Steam Engineers' Delegation (173 votes), Rickert, Larger, Manning, Daley (Margaret C.), Doyle (Frank), Lawlor, McCue, Humphrey, D'Alessandro, Etchison, Moreschi, Carley, Dwyer, O'Connor, Woodland, Freitas, O'Brien (S. P.), Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen's Delegation (146 votes), United Mine Workers' Delegation (2,583 votes), Musicians' Delegation (165 votes), Guerin, Carey (J. T.), Thompson (J. Vance), Carlson, Fleming, Sumner, Frey (J. Fremont), Drayer, Tobin (D. J.), Hughes (T. L.), Neer, Gillespie, Wilson (James), Conboy, Stevenson, Hays (J. W.), Brady (B. G.), Sebree, Jennings, Wines, Donoghue, Holland, Boyle (Jas.), Fenton, Egan, Harlin, Stevens, Kehoe, Alden, Nelson, Selins, Brindell, Ross (Samuel), Chinn, Wilkinson, Brand, Woodmansee, Bush, Crane, Butler, Miller (O. G.), Lancaster, Sharon, representing 10,171 votes.

For Wilson—Mullaney, Myrup, Beisel, Schneider (R. C.), Kline, Kramer, Powlesland, Franklin (J. A.), Weyand, Scott (C. F.), MacGowan, McKillop, Sovey, Lovely, Baine, Grant, Noonan (Mary), Schmidt (F. C.), Brewery Workers' Delegation (90 votes), Butterworth, Bridge and Structural Iron Workers' Delegation (80 votes), Perkins, Gompers, Campbell (W. A.), Sexton, Forrester, Yates, Smith (Fred W.), Reeves, Hughes (Andrew C.), Doyle (J. J.), Feeney, Steam Engineers' Delegation (57 votes), Wall, Brady (Peter J.), Newmyer, Steward, Nagl, Spellacy, Dunn, Healy, Shamp, Morton, Brennan, Linn, Schlesinger, Heller, Gorenstein, LaPorta, Friedman, Feinberg, Voll, Clifton, Eames, Clarke (W. P.), Kennedy (J. F.), O'Brien (J. E.), Neenan, Montross, Duncan (James), Russell, Will, Kane, Marshall, Flore, Sullivan (Jere L.), Farrell, Koveleski, McDevitt, Williams (John), Sullivan (John J.), Gould, McSorley, Duty, Bryan, Gainor, Mugavin, Duffy (Chas. D.), Swartz, Bock, Buxbaum, Fljozdal, Finnson, Hogan, Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen's Delegation (145 votes), United Mine Workers' Delegation (1,034 votes), Valentine, Frey (J. P.), Regan, Burns (Arthur), Mara, Musicians' Delegation (485 votes), McKeon, Lynch (John J.), Wilson (James), Gernon, Bergstrom, Dold, Alpine, Kearney, Anderson (Chas.), Rau, Britton, Leary, Diehl, Flaherty, Menges, Blake, Lyons, Mahon, Quinlan, Sheehan, Cahill, Collins (W. M.), Brown (W. J.), McCoy, Sands, Furusetth, Scharrenberg, Flynn (Patrick), Helt,

Shay, Dooliver, Barry, Suarez, Welsh, Funder Burk, Heberling, Clohessy, Connors, Tailors' Delegation (40 votes), Perham, Bode, Ross (Leonard J.), Gorman, Konenkamp, Golden, McMahon, Daly (Jas. J.), McAndrew, Morrison, Hatch, McGrath, Hall, Iglesias, Spencer (H. L.), Clinedinst, VanHouten, Malloy, Derolph, Hoese, Knutson, Burton, Ryan (P. J.), Barbour, Richie, Ott, Linck, Curran, McGurk, Fallon, Mackellar, Scanlan, Campbell (J. B.), Mosher, Lemke, Beck, Davanzo, Hankins, Worland, Tettlebaum, Scott (Alice), Bohm, Weinstock, Welch, Burns (W. W.), Hunter, Pinkston, Frazer, Coulter, representing 10,894 votes.

For Johnston—Brewery Workers (180 votes), Bridge and Structural Iron Workers' Delegation (40 votes), Ryan (M. P.), Schorr, Anderson (Venner), Shoemaker, Thompson (Theo.), Barnes, Noonan (J. P.), Joyce, McAndrews, Fisher (Frank), Brissman, Brown (W. S.), Silberstein, Kaufman, Nestor, Johnston, O'Connell, Savage, Taylor (Jas. A.), Van Lear, Pruett, Hynes, Redding, Morlarty, Ryan (Jas. J.), Moyer, Davidson, Deoughery, Canon, United Mine Workers' Delegation (517 votes), Skemp, Avins, Schneider (Geo. J.), McGivern, Donlin, Hede, George, Hassett, Berry, McHugh, Isaacson, Yould, Strunk, Burke, Sullivan (H. W.), LaBelle, Suito, Gaviak, Griggs, Tailors' Delegation (80 votes), Stillman, Hayes (Max S.), McDonald (S. S.), Williams (Jerry), Weber (Frank J.), Foster, McFadden, Gregson, Thompson (G. H.), Weinheimer, O'Shea, Young, Jennings (E. O.), Curry, Duncañ (Jas. A.), Burns (T. F.), Tucker, Levi, Gay, Birch, Giles, representing 5,144 votes.

Not Voting—Boyer, Brock, Hedrick, Hannah, Agethen, Curtis, Mumford, Marquardt, Toone, Stack, Christenson, Weiss, Wilk, Ferguson, Spencer (Goldie M.), Hoof, Ely, Milhollan, Patterson, Doyle (J. J.), Stewart (R. G.), Crickmore, Dill, Ealley, Conley, Williams (Harold), Hardy, Moncur, Hutton, Morgan, Taylor (Claude O.), O'Dell, Brown (B. F.), McGurty, Kress, Smith (John T.), Breslin, Brown (Joseph H.), Lish, Greene (Michael F.), Draper, Vennewitz, Gayton, Fricke, Ryner, Newnam, Reardon, Fanning, Raven, Kuhn, Sanders, Hahne, Hester, McGovern, Casey, Mezzacapo, Millner, Bruen, Harte, Browne (M. J.), Lampa, Morris, Wendell, Schultz, Quesse, Kester, Staunton, Walker (May), Waplington, deKrafft, Williams (Thos. J.), Berger, Ellicott, Moore (C. O.), Campbell (W. A.), Bell, Paramore, Yarrow, Riordan, Byrne, Pruitt, Voight, Rincker, Hall, Bondfield, Moore (Thos.), representing 411 votes.

No candidate receiving a majority of the votes, cast, a second vote was taken on the two candidates receiving the highest number of votes, Jacob Fischer and James Wilson. The second roll call vote on these candidates resulted as follows:

Fischer-Wilson.

For Fischer—Noschang, Fischer (Jacob), Shanessy, Felder, Foley, Noonan (Thos.), Reddick, Brewery Workers' Delegation (320 votes), Bowen, Freece, Dobson, Geddes, Corcoran, Price, Hutcheson, Duffy (Frank), Woodbury, Guerin, Van Duyn, White (Bob), Ross (J. A.), McCarthy, Barnes, Baker, Conway, Desepete, Elec-

trical Workers' Delegation (218 votes), Steam Engineers' Delegation (173 votes), Silberstein, Kaufman, Rickert, Larger, Manning, Daley (Margaret C.) Doyle (Frank), Lawlor, McCue, Humphrey, D'Alessandro, Etchison, Moreschi, Carley, Dwyer, Woodland, Johnston, Savage, Van Lear, Meat Cutters' and Butcher Workmen's Delegation (146 votes), Hynes, Redding, Moriarty, Ryan (Jas. J.), Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' Delegation (83 votes), United Mine Workers' Delegation (3,100 votes), Musicians' Delegation (165 votes), Guerin, McKeon, Lynch (John J.), Carey (J. T.), Schneider (Geo. J.), McGivern, Donlin, Hede, George, Berry, McHugh, Isaacson, Yould, Strunk, Burke, Sullivan (H. W.), LaBelle, Sultor, Gaviak, Thompson (John Vance), Fleming, Sumner, Frey (J. Fremont), Griggs, Drayer, Tobin (D. J.), Hughes (T. L.), Neer, Gillespie, Wilson (James), Conboy, Hayes (Max S.), Stevenson, Hays (J. W.), Bray (B. G.), McGrath, Sebasta, Jennings (P. Harry), Hall, Wines, Donoghue, Holland, Boyle, Fenton, Williams (Jerry), Harlin, Stevens, Kehoe, Alden, Thompson (G. H.), Nelson, Sellins, Brindell, Ross (Samuel), Wilkinson, Brand, Duncan (Jas. A.), Mosher, Bush, Levi, Davanzo, Bohm, Weinstein, Birch, Crane, Butler, Miller (O. G.), Yarow, Lancaster, Giles, representing 13,210 votes.

For Wilson—Mullaney, Myrup, Belsel, Schneider (R. C.), Kline, Kramer, Powlesland, Franklin, Weyand, Scott (Chas. F.), MacGowan, McKillop, Sovey, Lovely, Baine, Grant, Noonan (Mary), Schmidt (Fred C.), Brewery Workers' Delegation (90 votes), Butterworth, McClory, Tobin (Sam), Morrin, Ryan (F. M.), Ryan (M. F.), Schnorr, Anderson (Venner), Shoemaker, Thompson (Theo.), Perkins, Gompers, Campbell (W. A.), Sexton, Forrester, Yates, Smith (Fred, W.), Reeves, Hughes (Andrew C.), Doyle (J. J.), Electrical Workers' Delegation (326 votes), Feeney, Brown (W. S.), Steam Engineers' Delegation (57 votes), Woll, Brady (Peter J.), Newmyer, Steward, Nagl, Spellacy, Dunn, Healy, Shamp, Morton, Brennan, Linn, Schlesinger, Heller, Gorenstein, LaPorta, Friedman, Feinberg, Voll, Clifton, Eames, Clarke (Wm. P.), Kennedy (J. F.), O'Brien (J. B.), Neenan, Montross, Nestor, Duncan (James), Russell, Will, Kane, Marshall, Flore, Sullivan (Jere L.), Farrell, Koveleski, McDevitt, Williams (John), Sullivan (John J.), Gould, McSorley, Duty, Bryan, Gainor, Mugavin, Duffy (Chas. D.), Swartz, Bock, Euxbaum, Freitas, O'Brien (Simon P.), O'Connell, Taylor (Jas. A.), Hogan, Pruett, Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen's Delegation (145 votes), Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' Delegation (84 votes), United Mine Workers' Delegation (1,034 votes), Valentine, Frey (J. P.), Regan, Burns (Arthur), Mara, Musicians' Delegation (485 votes), Skemp, Avins, Wilson (James), Gernon, Bergstrom, Dold, Alpine, Kearney, Anderson (Chas.), Rau, Britton, Leary, Diehl, Flaherty, Menge, Blake, Lyons, Hassett, Mahon, Quinlan, Sheehan, Cahill, Collins, Brown (W. J.), McCoy, Sands, Furuseth, Scharrenberg, Flynn (Patrick), Carlson, Shay, Dooliver, Barry, Suarez, Welsh, Funder Burk, Heberling, Clohessy, Connors, Sweeney, Lennon, Eggs, Stillman, Perham, Bode, Ross (Leonard J.), Gorman, Konenkamp, Gold-

en, McMahon, Daly (J. J.), McAndrew, Morrison, Hatch, Marquardt, McDonald (S. S.), Iglesias, Spencer (H. L.), Cline-dinst, Weber (Frank J.), Christenson, Van Houten, Patterson, Malloy, Foster, McFadden, Derolph, Hoage, Gregson, Knutson, Burton, O'Shea, Barbour, Lish, Richie, Ott, Young, Linck, Curran, Jennings (E. O.), Curry, Fallon, Mackellar, Scanlan, Campbell (J. B.), Lemke, Tucker, Beck, Gay, Hankins, Worland, Teitlebaum, Scott (Alice), Burns (W. W.), Hunter, Pinkston, Frazer, Coulter, representing 12,872 votes.

Not Voting—Boyer, Meyer, Brock, O'Connor, Fljozdal, Finsson, Hedrick, Hannah, Heit, Agethen, Curtis, Mountford, Toone, Stack, Egan, Wiess, Wilk, Ferguson, Spencer (Goldie M.), Hoof, Ely, Milhollan, Doyle (John J.), Stewart (R. G.), Crickmore, Dill, Bailey, Conley, Williams (Harold), Hardy, Moncur, Hutton, Morgan, Taylor (Claude O.), O'Dell, Brown (B. F.), McGurty, Kress, Smith (John T.), Breslin, Brown (J. H.), Wein-helmer, Ryan (P. J.), Chinn, Greene (M. F.), Draper, Vennewitz, Gayton, Fricke, McGurk, Rynerson, Newman, Reardon, Fanning, Raven, Woodmansee, Burns (T. F.), Kuhn, Sanders, Hahne, Hester, McGovern, Casey, Mezza capo, Millner, Bruen, Harte, Browne (M. J.), Lampa, Morris, Wendell, Schultz, Quesse, Kester, Staun-ton, Walker (May), Waplington, deKrafft, Williams (T. J.), Berger, Ellicott, Welch, Moore (C. O.), Campbell, Bell, Paramore, Riordan, Byrne, Pruitt, Voight, Rincker, Sharon, Hall, Bonfeid, Moore (Thos.), representing 538 votes.

Delegate Fischer, having received a majority of the votes cast was declared elected Eighth Vice-President for the ensuing term.

Daniel J. Tobin, International Brotherhood of Teamsters, was placed in nomination for Treasurer by Delegate Lewis, United Mine Workers.

No further names being presented, nominations were declared closed, and the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Daniel J. Tobin for Treasurer for the ensuing term. The Secretary complied with the instructions and Treasurer Tobin was declared duly elected for the ensuing term.

Frank Morrison, of the International Typographical Union, was placed in nomination for Secretary by Delegate Berry of the Printing Pressmen.

No further names being offered, nominations were closed and upon motion President Gompers cast the vote of the convention for Frank Morrison for Secretary of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

President Gompers: In the Buffalo convention last November fraternal delegates to the British Trades Union Congress were elected. Though this convention in-

tervenes, the election of these two fraternal delegates will stand.

SELECTION OF CONVENTION CITY.

Atlantic City, N. J., was nominated by Delegate Feeney, Elevator Constructors; Detroit, Mich., by Delegate Tobin, Iron Workers; Seattle, Wash., by Delegate Duncan, Seattle Central Body.

The Secretary called the roll, and on the first ballot Atlantic City was chosen by an overwhelming vote.

Moved by Delegate Tobin, Detroit, and seconded by Delegate Duncan, Seattle, that the vote for Atlantic City be made unanimous. Carried unanimously.

President Gompers: Atlantic City has been chosen as the city in which to hold the 39th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor.

REPORT OF SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTION NO. 17.

Delegate Taylor, Machinists, submitted the following report of the committee:

Your special committee appointed by the instructions of the convention to act upon that part of Resolution No. 17, referred to us by the Committee on Local and Federated Bodies—begs leave to report as follows:

Resolution No. 17, reported on by Committee on Local and Federated Bodies, the report of that committee and the action of the convention thereon follows:

Resolution No. 17—By Delegates John H. Pruett of the American Association of Masters, Mates and Pilots; Geo. F. Freitas, I. L. A.; William S. Brown, N. M. E. B. A.

WHEREAS, Certain conditions exist in the ports of New York, N. Y., Seattle, Wash., and San Francisco, Cal., which are very detrimental to the welfare of the American Association of Masters, Mates and Pilots, and also to the best interests of organized labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That a special committee of three be appointed, one from the Central Federated Union of New York City, one from the Central Labor Council of Seattle and one from the City Labor Council of San Francisco to investigate these matters and report as to what, in their opinion, is the best course to pursue in order to prevent, if possible, a continuance of this state of affairs; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the committee arrange to meet with the delegates of the Masters, Mates and Pilots' Association at this convention for the purpose of ascertaining the facts regarding the conditions complained of; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the convention reinforce the two resolutions known as No. 9 and No. 10, presented to the convention

of the A. F. of L. held at Buffalo, N. Y., last year by the delegate representing the American Association of Masters, Mates and Pilots, which resolutions were unanimously adopted.

Your committee concurs in the first and second resolves and recommends that the committee of three mentioned therein be appointed as soon as convenient, with instructions to investigate as far as possible and report to this convention.

As to the third resolve, upon investigation the record discloses that resolutions Nos. 9 and 10, presented to the Buffalo Convention, were referred to President Gompers for action, and your committee recommends that such activities be continued until the disputes between the various organizations involved be satisfactorily settled.

The report of the committee was adopted.

We find that the American Association of Masters, Mates and Pilots, the organization affiliated with this body, has a membership of 7,200, and the other three organizations, which are dual organizations, have a combined membership of about 2,000, divided between the three ports mentioned in the resolution.

In San Francisco the Masters, Mates and Pilots of the Pacific are recognized by other organizations at this time, while in Seattle the regularly affiliated organization has been seated in the Metal Trades Council. An effort has been made to get the recognition for them, insofar as that body's power reached. They were unsuccessful. However, as they not only had the organization mentioned above to fight, but also another organization called the Ship Masters of Seattle.

The situation in New York is also complicated by the existence of another organization, the Neptune Association of Master Mates of Ocean and Coastwise Vessels.

We find that the existence of these different organizations is not only detrimental to the best interests of the regularly affiliated organization of Masters, Mates and Pilots, but that it is having an influence in the disruption of other crafts affiliated with this body and working in this industry.

We therefore recommend that this convention instruct the president of the American Federation of Labor to call a conference within 90 days after the adjournment of this convention, of representatives of all organizations affiliated with this body who may be interested. Said conference to be composed of one

representative from the Metal Trades or Central Bodies from the ports of New York, San Francisco and Seattle, and that the officers of the different dual organizations mentioned above be requested to attend this conference, with the object in view of bringing all organizations together under one head, as one solidified organization, for the best interests of all concerned.

We further recommend, that in the event the representatives of the non-affiliated organizations do not attend this conference, the representatives present will be empowered to take definite and positive action, subject to the approval of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

JAMES P. HOLLAND,
PAUL SCHARRENBERG,
J. A. TAYLOR.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Duncan, Seattle, expressed the hope that the cities on the western coast would get behind the movement. He described briefly some of the conditions existing on the coast.

The motion to adopt the recommendation of the committee was carried unanimously.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS.

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

Resolution No. 142—By the Committee on Resolutions:

WHEREAS, The lady delegates in attendance at this convention and the lady visitors are unable in person to express their sincere appreciation for the many favors shown to them while in St. Paul; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the ladies attending this convention adopt this method of conveying to the ladies on the local entertainment committee and the wives and daughters of St. Paul trade unionists their sincere appreciation for the spirit of welcome which was extended to them and for the many social hours which were enjoyed. They are carrying with them to their homes the most happy recollection of the hospitality and cordiality which they were permitted to enjoy throughout their stay.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 143—By Committee on Resolutions.

RESOLVED, That we tender to the local Committee on Entertainment our heartfelt appreciation for the most generous provisions which they made for our comfort and entertainment and for the kindly and continuous interest which

they have manifested since our arrival in St. Paul;

RESOLVED, That we tender to the Trade Unionists of St. Paul and Minneapolis and their wives and daughters, our appreciation for the hospitality which they have extended, the interest which they have shown in our proceedings and the constant effort which they have shown for the social entertainment of all delegates to the convention;

RESOLVED, That we express our appreciation for the evident desire which has been shown by the representatives of the press to give to the public an accurate account of our proceedings;

RESOLVED, That we tender our appreciation to Rev. Father J. A. Corrigan, Hon. Julius Schmahl, Secretary of State of Minnesota; Mayor L. C. Hodgson of St. Paul; Judge Thomas D. O'Brien, of the St. Paul Association of Business men; President E. G. Hall of the Minnesota State Federation of Labor, and Hon. James M. Clancy, President of the St. Paul Trades and Labor Assembly; George W. Lawson, Secretary of the Minnesota State Federation of Labor, whose presence at the opening of our convention conveyed the spirit of welcome which was extended by the citizens and officials of St. Paul and Minnesota, and the deep interest which was manifested in our movement;

RESOLVED, That we return to our homes with the firm determination to carry out the policies and program of the American Federation of Labor to the best of our ability, to do all that lies in our power to assist our Government in winning this war, which is being conducted by our people in defense of the free institutions of our country and for the protection of weaker nations.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Delegate Frey: This completes the report of the Committee on Resolutions which is signed by the committee:

JAMES DUNCAN, Chairman,
GEORGE W. PERKINS,
GEORGE F. HEDRICK,
B. A. LARGER,
HUGH STEVENSON,
CHARLES L. BAINE,
JOHN A. VOLL,
MARTIN F. RYAN,
A. A. MYRUP,
JOSEPH W. MORTON,
JAMES J. HANNAHAN,
O. E. WOODBURY,
JOHN MOORE,
JOHN P. FREY, Secretary.

The report of the committee as a whole was adopted.

President Gompers: Every subject reported to this convention by the Executive Council and its special committees, every resolution submitted by any of the delegates has had the consideration of the committee to which it was assigned, re-

ported upon and disposed of by this convention.

May I, before the formal motion to adjourn sine die is made, say something that may be pertinent and of some interest. The reports of this convention show a most marvelous growth in the increased membership of our affiliated unions, national and international, state bodies, central bodies and directly affiliated local unions. Vice-President Duncan, while occupying the chair for a while a day or two ago, said that if we had made so great an impress upon our time with the less than three million members of our organization, what would that influence and power be when the American labor movement will represent fifteen million workers. Now we cannot claim that we have such a membership, but the organized labor movement represents the toilers of the country, organized and unorganized, for there is nothing which we advocate or secure for the benefit of the organized labor movement but what it has a direct effect and influence upon all the workers.

Our organized movement brings light and life among all the workers. Ours is the bulwark against the aggression manifested or exercised by the hostile employers toward the unorganized workers. Everything we do must have its reflex in the conditions of the unorganized toilers. They are coming to us, they must come to us in constantly increasing numbers and in accelerated time. No law that we can ask at the hands of Congress or at the hands of our state legislatures or municipalities but must affect every worker, whether he be organized or unorganized. There is no factor or group of men and women in all our country whose influence for good is so potent as the much misunderstood and often misrepresented organized labor movement.

We have heard and we know, or we have the vision and the understanding, that we are in a great crisis. The crisis of the world is before us. Its determination must come within a very short time. It will come, and come soon. We see the manifestations of good will and of sacrifice made on the part of the men and women of Belgium and of France and of Great Britain, of the men of England and Scotland and Ireland, the men of the Boer lands, the men of Australia, the men of Canada who have given so much of their treasure, of their lives, of their manhood

in order that this world may be made a safe place and worthy within which to live. Our brothers over the border line who have gone to such lengths voluntarily were not bound by any obligation to give their all in this tremendous struggle—it was given voluntarily both on the firing line and at home. The men of labor of the United States have done, and will do, and will continue to do their full share of the work and the fighting which may be necessary to bring victory to the cause of freedom and of justice.

There are evidences coming to us from various sources that that mighty fighting machine which has taken a half century of preparation and organization is about to crumble and disintegrate. We of America are only just in the fight. Uncle Sam's men, many of them, are "over there." They are full of youth and energy and spirit to enter into this contest, and though we may have entered it later than we might have or should have entered, we are there, and the closing scenes of this world-tragedy will find the men of America on the fighting line ready and willing to make the supreme sacrifice, and we pray that that may not be necessary to any considerable extent. But whatever the price may be it is worth paying, it is worth giving, it is worth everything that you and I and all of us and our children and the countless millions yet unborn will hold the priceless treasure untainted that gloriously flung to the winds and heralded to all time to come that peace and good will must prevail in the affairs of the world.

We may be called upon to make many more sacrifices. When we all shall have left this beautiful and hospitable city of St. Paul to meet our loved ones and our fellow workers and our fellow citizens in our respective communities, don't let any of us fail to convey the message to them to renew their strength and their heartening work, to do, to bear, to sacrifice, to buy bonds and war savings stamps and to give whole-heartedly all that can be given in order that the benign influence of democratic institutions and the labor movement may go on strengthened in the work for world regeneration.

I want to express my personal obligations for the kindness and consideration shown me during the nearly two weeks of our gathering. I have tried to help the delegates to this convention that they might so thoroughly and so completely express themselves that this convention

shall stand out as one of the great epochs in the long life, the great success and the marvelous achievements of the American labor movement. I thank you.

Vice-President Duncan: Before we adjourn I desire to offer a motion. I desire to move that this convention authorize and direct the Executive Council to have properly drafted, engrossed and framed a set of resolutions to present to Vice-President O'Connell, for his excellent services upon the Executive Council for nearly a quarter of a century and the great service he has rendered the labor movement. He has, under such circumstances as surrounded him, announced to this convention that he was not a candidate for reelection, which therefore makes to some extent a parting of the ways between him and the members of the Council with whom he has been a short time as well as a long time associated.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

Vice-President Duncan: I also rise to move that, though under other circumstances our friend and colleague Henry Perham will not be a member of the Executive Council, the Council be authorized to have prepared and engrossed resolutions for the services he has rendered for the time he has served on the Council.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

Vice-President O'Connell: I desire to take advantage of this opportunity just for a few moments. As Vice-President Duncan has said, I have been vice-president of the American Federation of Labor for nearly a quarter of a century. This is my twenty-third year, I was first elected vice-president in the New York convention of 1895. I rise particularly at this time because of what may be an apparent misunderstanding on the part of some, some of the news that appeared in the press while we have been in this city, some of the news that has been sent out from St. Paul.

I have every reason to believe, were I candidate for election, that at least two-thirds if not nine-tenths of the entire vote of the convention would have been cast in my favor. A peculiar situation arose in the organization which I am representing some few years ago which placed me in a most embarrassing position and made it necessary for me to retire from the vice-presidency of this organization. In order that the press may get this absolutely correct I desire to say

that it was not a question of a contest on the part of the delegates to this convention, but one of an internicine difference in the organization I have the honor to represent. There is no feeling between myself and the delegates to this convention representing the International Association of Machinists. They felt that they were under certain instructions and that they had to carry them out. Those instructions were adopted by a referendum vote of our membership a few years ago, instructing the delegates to vote and work for the election of our International President for any office he might seek in any organization to which we were affiliated. Therefore, if President Johnston desired to be a candidate for office it was essential that I could not be, unless I wanted to invite for myself a rather embarrassing position in my own organization.

Personally I think, without appearing egotistical, that I have done as much, if not more than any one individual to build up the International Association of Machinists. I was elected president of that organization in 1893 and served in that office for more than twenty years. When I was elected president the organization had a membership of about three thousand or more. It was in debt twenty-five, thirty or forty thousand dollars; it was involved in strikes; it was in financial difficulties. They paid their president at that time the handsome salary of one thousand dollars a year, and he paid his own expenses, including his traveling expenses. The first year I was president it cost me fifteen hundred dollars out of my own pocket to be president. Later we were involved in some things that placed us in a most embarrassing financial position, and I found it necessary to "hock," to use the common term, the little property I had to keep the organization from going to the wall. From that struggle it was built up and became a power and an influence in the labor movement.

Our organization was not a member of the American Federation of Labor when I became its president. It was almost a southern organization when I became its president, born and reared in Atlanta, Georgia, and rather prejudiced toward the American Federation of Labor. I made it my business to travel through the jurisdiction and visit the locals to encourage them to become part of the great labor movement of the country. After a few years I succeeded and brought them into the American Federation of

Labor in 1895. Since that time the organization has been energetic and it has prospered. I have had the honor to represent it in the conventions of the American Federation of Labor since that time, both as a delegate and as an officer of the Federation.

Now I am going out with a great feeling of respect to all of you. I have handled your grievances, I brought you together, I settled scraps between you, I fought with you and against you, and I think I can say again, with credit to myself, that I have played the game fairly straight. I am going out and I wish you and the Federation all the good things that can come to you. I wish you Godspeed and prosperity. I hope the movement will grow and grow until we become the power the president spoke of, a power that will make us respected by our opponents, and a power for the uplift of the human kind. If we have that in our minds and our hearts this movement will come out of this great world struggle of which we are a part with the opportunity of making greater progress than ever before in our history if we are united and stand together.

I say again I haven't the slightest feeling in regard to this election; on the contrary, I feel quite free-handed and light-hearted.

The delegates all arose and tendered Vice-President O'Connell an ovation. He was applauded both at the opening and the closing of his address.

Vice-President Perham: I desire to express my appreciation of the kind thoughtfulness of Vice-President Duncan in suggesting this written testimonial. I have no feeling in the matter, but sincerely hope that my successor will be able to do better work than I did. My associations with the members of the Council have been very pleasant indeed, and I am proud of the ten years I put in with them. When I leave here tonight I will do so with the intention of working for the American Federation of Labor as hard as I ever did in my life.

The delegates all arose and applauded Vice-President Perham at the close of his speech.

Vice-President Duncan: In the hurry of

Alfred J. Thode

Assistant Secretary of Convention.

leaving the last convention notice was not taken, attention was not given to what I have just suggested in connection with losing the services of the two vice-presidents when we lost our old-time treasurer. It had been the purpose of the Executive Council, following the last convention, to have drafted and presented to John Brown Lennon suitable resolutions. As that was not done, owing to the great hurry which has attended each of our council meetings recently, I take this opportunity of also offering a motion that such resolutions as I have already referred to in connection with our Vice-Presidents O'Connell and Perham, be presented to John Brown Lennon, ex-treasurer of this organization.

The motion was adopted unanimously.

Delegate Lennon: I do not desire to take up the time of the convention at this late hour. I want to say to you, however, that I am still in the labor movement, actively engaged in working for the benefit of the working people of our country, and that is where I am going to stay just as long as I live. Excepting only President Gompers, I have attended more conventions of the American Federation of Labor than any delegate in the convention. I gave the best service I was capable of, and I am constrained to believe that in the main it was good service.

I thank you all for your universal kindness toward me.

The audience applauded Delegate Lennon at the close of his address.

Delegate Woll: The convention took action in the unanimous adoption of a resolution supporting the printing trades in their effort to have held in abeyance the operation of the zone system law. Unless urgent action is taken there will be no postponement of that law, and I move that the president be instructed to send a telegram to President Wilson asking him to use his influence to prevent the operation of the Zone Law July 1st.

The motion was seconded and carried.

Delegate Felder moved the adjournment of the convention sine die.

The motion was seconded and carried, and at 6 o'clock p. m., Thursday, June 20, 1918, the 38th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor was adjourned sine die.

Frank Morrison

Secretary American Federation of Labor.

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