

Report of the Second Annual Session

OF THE

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

HELD IN

CLEVELAND, OHIO
November 21, 22, 23 and 24
1882

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Mass Meeting.

A mass meeting of workmen was held in City Armory Hall, Cleveland, on Wednesday evening, November 22d. The meeting was called by the Trades Assembly of Cleveland, delegates to the Trades' Union Congress having consented to speak on the occasion. The following extract is from the Cleveland *Penny Press*.

"Richard Powers, the President of the meeting, made a few remarks, advising workmen to take independent papers and journals published in the interest of labor. He said he was in favor of prohibiting convict labor, coolie labor and the immigration of cheap Chinamen. He referred to the election of M. A. Foran to Congress from this district, and said that he knew when he shook that gentleman by the hand that there would be one man on the floor of Congress who would not betray the workmen. He then introduced the first speaker, Frank Foster, of Cambridge, Mass., who appealed to all laborers to unite in one grand federation, declaring that that was the only way of becoming strong enough to repel the encroachments of aggressive capital. We must not suppliantly ask, he said, but demand what we want, and to do this there must be union. When we do that we will gain for ourselves and comrades the independence which our forefathers gained from England. He declared that such men as the Goulds, Vanderbilts and Rockefellers were the cause of the downfall of the Roman Republic, and would be of this if it were not for the workmen. He strongly advocated the abolition of child labor, and urged that the children of the poor mechanic should be educated, instead of being placed in the workshop and made prematurely old by excessive labor. His speech was roundly cheered.

Congressman Murch said the United States Senate was a gallery of antiquities and a

barnacle on the legislative ship. He said the President of the United States had more absolute power than any crowned monarch of the old world. Murch told the story of his going with a committee to wait on the President and ask the enforcement of the Eight-hour Law. Arthur received them coldly, and when he heard what the committee wanted he replied: "I do not think the Eight-hour Law is constitutional, and no power on earth can make me enforce an unconstitutional law." To this Murch replied: "Mr. President, I did not know before that you were here to interpret the laws, but supposed you were to execute them. The Constitution of the United States says that the Supreme Court shall interpret the laws." Upon this the President came gracefully down from his position. Murch said that Congress had, by a large majority, admitted to the people of the country that it was entirely unable to cope with so great a question as the tariff. The result was a commission, which traveled about the country in palace cars, drank fine liquors and lived high. This commission, now ready to report, was about to recommend that the duty be taken off cosmetics, hair-oil, etc., but was to leave the duty on sugar, cotton and salt the same as before, or increase it. He thought that it was enough to sicken any sensible person of tariff commissions. The idea of taking the duty from articles of no value to the people, and increasing the tax on food, was preposterous. He said that he had heard more common sense expressed regarding the tariff at the meetings of the Trades Federation in this city than he ever did on the floor of Congress.

Robert Howard and Sam. Gompers followed, both in speeches favoring the forming of labor unions, and urging workmen to join them as the only source of salvation.

FEDERATION
OF
Organized Trades and Labor Unions
OF THE
UNITED STATES AND CANADA
1882

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS.

PREAMBLE.

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

WHEREAS, The history of the wage-workers of all countries is but the history of constant struggle and misery engendered by ignorance and disunion; and

WHEREAS, The history of the non-producers of all ages proves that a minority, thoroughly organized, may work wonders for good or evil.

It therefore behoves the representatives of the workers of North America, in Congress assembled, to adopt such measures and disseminate such principles among the people of our country as will unite them for all time to come, to secure the recognition of the rights to which they are justly entitled. Conforming to the old adage, "In union there is strength," the formation of a Federation embracing every trade and labor organization in North America, a union founded upon a basis as broad as the land we live in, is our greatest hope; for the past history of trades' unions proves that small organizations, well conducted, have accomplished great good, yet their efforts have not been of that lasting character which a thorough unification of all the different branches of industrial workers is bound to secure.

Conforming to the spirit of the times and

the necessities of the industrial classes, we make the following

PLATFORM.

1. The National Eight Hour Law is one intended to benefit labor and to relieve it partly of its heavy burdens, and the evasion of its true spirit and intent is contrary to the best interests of the nation. We therefore demand the enforcement of said law in the spirit of its designers.

2. We demand the passage of laws in State Legislatures and in Congress for the incorporation of Trades and Labor Unions, in order that the property of the laboring classes may have the same protection as the property of other classes.

3. We demand the passage of such Legislative enactments as will enforce, by compulsion, the education of children; for if the State has the right to exact certain compliance with its demands, then it is also the duty of the State to educate its people to the proper understanding of such demands.

4. We demand the passage of laws in the several States forbidding the employment of children under the age of fourteen years in any capacity, under penalty of fine and imprisonment.

5. We demand the enactment of uniform apprentice laws throughout the country; that the apprentice to a mechanical trade may be made to serve a sufficient term of apprenticeship, and be provided by his employer, in his progress to maturity, with proper and sufficient facilities to finish him as a competent workman.

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

7. What is known as the "order" or "truck" system of payment, instead of lawful currency as a value for labor performed, is one not only of gross imposition, but of downright swindle to the honest laborer and mechanic, and we demand its entire abolition. Active measures should be taken to eradicate the evil by the passage of laws imposing fine and imprisonment upon all individuals, firms or corporations who continue to practice the same.

8. We demand the passage of such laws as will secure to the mechanic and workingman the first lien upon property the product of his labor, sufficient in all cases to justify his legal and just claims.

9. We demand the repeal and erasure from the statute books of all acts known as conspiracy laws, as applied to organizations of labor in the regulation of wages.

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

11. We demand the passage of a law by the United States Congress to prevent the importation of all foreign laborers under contract.

12. We declare that the system of letting out Government work by contract tends to intensify the competition between workmen, and we demand the speedy abolishment of the same.

13. We demand the passage of our various Legislative bodies of an Employers' Liability Act, which will give employes the same right to damages for personal injuries that all other persons have.

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

SUPPLEMENTARY RESOLUTIONS.

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

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

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

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

ORGANIZATION.

ARTICLE I.—NAME.

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

ARTICLE II.—OBJECTS.

The object of this Federation shall be:

Section 1. The encouragement and formation of Trades and Labor Unions.

Sec. 2. The encouragement and formation of Trades and Labor Assemblies of Councils.

Sec. 3. The encouragement and formation of State and Provincial Federations of Trades and Labor Unions.

Sec. 4. The encouragement and formation of National and International Trades Unions.

Sec. 5. To secure legislation favorable to the interests of the industrial classes.

ARTICLE III.—SESSIONS.

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

ARTICLE IV.—REPRESENTATION.

The basis of representation in the Congress of this Federation shall be: From National or International Unions, for 1,000 members or less, one delegate; for 4,000, two delegates; for 8,000, three delegates; for 16,000, four delegates; for 32,000, five delegates, and so on. From State or Provincial Federations of Trades Unions, two delegates. From local Trades Assemblies of Councils, District Assemblies of the Knights of Labor, or local Trades Unions, one delegate. But no local Trade Union shall be entitled to representation which has not been organized six months prior to the session of this body.

ARTICLE V.—OFFICERS.

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

ARTICLE VI.—DUTIES.

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

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

ARTICLE VII.—REVENUE.

Section 1. The revenue of this Federation shall be derived from a capitation tax of one cent per member annually from each National or International Trade or Labor Union, and each Trades Assembly or Council or District Assembly of the Knights of Labor affiliated with this Federation, which shall be paid quarterly in advance.

Sec. 2. Local trade unions may be entitled to representation upon payment of \$10 per annum and per capita tax on membership over 500.

Sec. 3. State or Provincial Federations of Trades Unions shall pay \$10 per annum for each delegate sent by them to the sessions of this Federation.

ARTICLE VIII.—ACCOUNTS.

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

ARTICLE IX.—REMUNERATION.

The remuneration for loss of time by the Legislative Committee shall be at the rate of \$3 per diem, traveling and incidental expenses to be also defrayed.

STANDING ORDERS.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

9. All papers shall be sent to the Secretary of the Legislative Committee at least two weeks before the meeting of the ensuing Congress, the same to be read and arranged by the committee to facilitate the business of the Congress.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

RULES.

1. At the appointed time the Chairman shall call the Congress to order.

2. During the hours of meeting no delegate will be allowed to leave the room, unless on special business.

3. Every delegate, when he rises to speak, shall respectfully address the Chair. While speaking, he shall confine himself to the question.

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

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

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

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

8. A question shall not be subject to debate until it has been seconded and stated from the Chair, and it shall be reduced to writing at the request of any member.

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

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

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

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

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

DELEGATES TO SECOND ANNUAL SESSION.

Amalgamated Society of Engineers' Machinists, and Millwrights, New York Central District—David McIntyre, 388 Eleventh avenue, New York.

Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America—Donald McIntosh, 18 Dare street, Cleveland, Ohio.

Cigar Makers' International Union—Samuel Gompers, 1313 Second avenue, New York; W. J. Cannon, 40 Parkman street, Cleveland, Ohio.

German-American Typographia—Hugo Miller, Jersey City, New Jersey.

Granite Cutters' National Union—Thompson H. Murch, Rockland, Maine.

International Typographical Union—Frank K. Foster, 10 Wendell street, Cambridge, Mass.

Lake Seamen's Union—Richard Powers, 99 West Randolph street, Chicago, Ill.; Fred. J. Klokke, 3 Union Wharf, Buffalo, New York.

National Mule Spinners' Association—Robert Howard, Box 203, Fall River, Mass.

Boston Central Trades and Labor Union—John Clasby, 1 Union street, Cambridgeport, Mass.

Chicago Trade and Labor Assembly—Mark L. Crawford, 437 Wabash avenue, Chicago, Ill. Cincinnati Trades Assembly—W. H. Foster, 14 Eastbourne Terrace, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Cleveland Trades Assembly—George A. Colliss, 27 Johnson street, Cleveland, Ohio.

Dayton Trades Assembly—Edward W. Fitzgerald, Box 788, Dayton, Ohio.

Detroit Council of Trade and Labor Unions—Judson Grenell, 44 Canfield street, Detroit, Mich.

District of Columbia Federation of Labor—Gabriel Edmonston, 719 Twelfth street, N. W. Washington, D. C.

Indianapolis Trades' Assembly—Sam. L. Lefingwell, 36½ West Washington street, Indianapolis, Ind.

New York Amalgamated Trade and Labor Union—Kenneth Mackenzie, 10 Stanton street, New York.

Representative Assembly of Trade and Labor Unions of the Pacific Coast—Samuel Gompers, proxy.

LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE.

Chairman—Samuel Gompers, 1313 Second avenue, New York.

First Vice-Chairman—Richard Powers, 99 West Randolph street, Chicago.

Second Vice-Chairman—Gabriel Edmonston, 719 Twelfth street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

Treasurer—Robert Howard, Box 203, Fall River, Mass.

Secretary—W. H. Foster, 14 Eastbourne Terrace, Cincinnati, Ohio.

REPORT. FIRST DAY—Morning Session.

Cleveland, O., November 21, 1882.

The second annual session of the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada convened in Sloss Hall, 354 Ontario street, Cleveland, Ohio, at noon on the above date, Richard Powers, Chairman of the Legislative Committee, presiding, and W. H. Foster acting as Secretary

The chair announced that the first business would be the receipt of credentials and per capita tax by W. H. Foster, Secretary of the committee, and that the Legislative Committee would scrutinize the credentials and report at 2 P. M., to which hour he declared the meeting adjourned.

FIRST DAY—Afternoon Session.

At 2 P. M. the Federation reassembled, Richard Powers presiding.

On the meeting being called to order Mr. George A. Colliss, President of the Cleveland Trades Assembly, delivered an address of welcome to the delegates.

The Legislative Committee, acting in its capacity as a Committee on Credentials, made the following report:

Cleveland, O., November 21, 1882.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Second Annual Session of the Federation of Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada:

Gentlemen:—Your committee, to whom was referred the credentials of delegates to the

present session, have scrutinized the same, and report the following gentlemen entitled to seats:

Colliss, George A., Cleveland, Trades Assembly.

Clasby, John, Boston Central Trades and Labor Union.

Crawford, Mark L., Chicago Trades Assembly.

Edmonston, Gabriel, Federation of Trades Unions of District of Columbia.

Fitzgerald, Edward W., Dayton (O.) Trades Assembly.

Foster, Frank K., International Typographical Union.

Foster, W. H., Cincinnati Trades Assembly. Gompers, Samuel, Cigarmakers' International Union.

Grenell, Judson, Detroit Trades Council. Howard, Robert, Mule Spinners' National Association.

Klokke, Fred. J., Lake Seamen's Union.
Leffingwell, Sam. L., Indianapolis Trades Assembly.

Mackenzie, Kenneth, New York Amalgamated Trades and Labor Union.

McIntyre, David, Amalgamated Society of Engineers, Machinists and Millwrights.

Miller, Hugo, German-American Typographia.
Murch, Thompson, H., Granite Cutters' National Union.

Powers, Richard, Lake Seamen's Union.

In comparing the credentials with the basis of per capita tax your committee find that the International Typographical Union, represented by Mr. Frank K. Foster, has not contributed its full amount.

Mr. Thompson H. Murch, representing the Granite Cutters' National Union, informs us that he has sent for the per capita tax and expects it tomorrow.

Respectfully submitted,
R. POWERS,
SAMUEL GOMPERS,
W. H. FOSTER.

Mr. Crawford stated that he, as Secretary-Treasurer of the International Typographical Union, which Mr. F. K. Foster represented, had not had any instructions from that body in reference to per capita tax; that the matter had been overlooked at the convention held in June last at St. Louis; and that by the advice of President Clark, he had forwarded tax on 1,000 members only, subject to the action of the Federation, although 13,000 members were under the jurisdiction of the International Typographical Union.

On motion of Mr. Gompers, seconded by Mr. Grenell, Mr. F. K. Foster was declared entitled to his seat as a delegate, the question of per capita tax from his constituency to be deferred for future adjudication at the present annual session.

Mr. Murch's explanation was, on motion, accepted as satisfactory.

On motion of Mr. Grenell the report of the committee was received, and all delegates named therein admitted to seats as such.

Mr. Powers delivered a brief opening address, and declared nominations open for President, of the Congress.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS.

Mr. E. W. Fitzgerald nominated for President Mr. Sam. L. Leffingwell.

The nominations, on motion of Mr. Gompers, were declared closed, and it was moved by Mr. Grenell, and declared carried, that the Secretary cast the ballot of the Federation for Mr. Leffingwell, which was done, when the Chair announced Mr. Sam. L. Leffingwell as the choice of the Federation for President.

Mr. Leffingwell, on taking the chair, thanked the delegates for the honor conferred, and declared nominations open for Vice-President.

Mr. Mackenzie placed before the Federation the name of Mr. Samuel Gompers.

On motion of Mr. Grenell the Secretary cast the ballot of the Convention for Mr. Gompers, and the chair declared him duly elected.

For First Secretary, Mr. Howard placed in nomination Mr. Frank K. Foster, for whom the Secretary was directed by motion to cast the ballot, which was done, and Mr. Frank K. Foster was declared duly chosen as Secretary.

Mr. Powers moved that W. H. Foster be chosen as the Second Secretary, which motion was adopted, as was also another directing the Secretary first chosen to cast the ballot of the Federation, which being done the Chair announced the nominee as duly elected.

Mr. F. K. Foster, chosen as First Secretary, declined to serve, on the ground that his craft would be unduly represented among the officers of the Convention. The resignation was, on motion, accepted.

Mr. Thompson H. Murch was nominated as Secretary.

That gentleman demurred, saying he would prefer serving as a floor member, but a motion prevailed to elect him by acclamation, and it was so declared by the Chair.

For Auditors Mr. M. L. Crawford was nominated by Mr. Gompers, and Mr. Fred. J. Klokke by Mr. Powers, and, a motion to that effect being agreed to, the nominees were declared elected by acclamation.

On motion of Mr. Mackenzie the election of Doorkeeper and Messenger was dispensed with.

Messrs. Richard Powers, John Clasby and Hugo Miller were nominated to serve as a Committee on Standing Orders, and on motion the nominations were confirmed.

The Chair called for the reading of the report of the Legislative Committee, the Secretary complying as follows:

Cleveland, O., November 21, 1882.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Second Annual Session of the Federation of Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada:

Gentlemen:—In accordance with Section 2, Article VI, of the Plan of Organization adopted at the Pittsburg session one year ago, your Legislative Committee met next day after the adjournment of that body, and organized by electing the following officers: Richard Powers, Chairman; Samuel Gompers, First Vice-Chairman; Chas. F. Burgman, Second Vice-Chairman; A. C. Rankin, Treasurer; W. H. Foster, Secretary *ex-officio*.

The Federation having directed a report of the proceedings of the first session to be printed, we employed W. C. Pollner and H. H. Bengough, who had acted as Secretaries of that body, to prepare the minutes as complete as possible for publication.

We held committee sessions during two days—November 10th and 20th—our time being taken up with the selection of a design for and procuring a seal, preparation of an address to unions, discussion of plan of action, instruc-

tions to the Secretary, etc., all of which are fully recorded in the committee's minute book.

MEAGER SUPPORT.

In our address to unions we appealed for subscriptions to enable us to carry out the work entrusted to us, as directed by the Federation; and, judging from the harmonious and enthusiastic character of the first session, we accepted our task with sanguine hope not only that the organizations there represented would officially ratify and affiliate with the Federation which their delegates had inaugurated, but that the trivial cost involved, and the practicality of our propaganda would attract many other trades union societies, and induce them to enroll themselves with us. In this hope we have been disappointed; wordy indorsements have reached us from all quarters, but the ratification most necessary—funds wherewith to meet the expenses incident to our trust—was extremely limited. In consequence we have been so pecuniarily embarrassed that we are unable at this session to present a report in accordance with our anticipations of a year ago. We have, however, as far as our means would allow, attempted to perform some of the duties for which we were chosen, and we are confident that the Federation, now in its infancy, is destined, under wise direction, to attain before many years such proportions that recognition of its just claims will be accorded as a matter of course, and it will become a great power for good to the toiling masses.

EFFORTS FOR RECOGNITION ON CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES.

When the time approached for appointment of Congressional Committees, we sanctioned the suggestion by our Secretary to Speaker Keifer of names for the House Committee on Education and Labor, as to that committee would be referred any measure affecting directly the welfare of the working people. A long letter setting forth our claims to recognition was forwarded, suggesting, Messrs. Thompson H. Murch of Maine, James P. Briggs, of New Hampshire, George R. Davis, of Illinois, Henry S. Neal, of Ohio, Thomas L. Young, of Ohio, John F. Dendorf, of Virginia, George D. Tillman, of South Carolina, Benton Macmillan, of Tennessee, William S. Rosecrans, of California, Melvin C. George, of Oregon, Charles N. Brumm, of Pennsylvania, Horace F. Page, of California, and Nicholas Ford, of Missouri, as acceptable persons from which to select a Committee of eleven on Education and Labor. Mr. Keifer did not even accord the courtesy of acknowledgment of receipt of the communication.

THE CHINESE.

Numerous monster demonstrations expressive of the views of trade unionists in opposition to the unrestricted importation of Chinese coolie slaves were held all over the country prior to the passage by Congress of Senator Miller's bill as amended, and in all the agitation connected therewith the members of your committee have actively participated or indirectly aided. The act as passed is by no means as satisfactory a remedy for the Mongolian curse as the working people had a right to expect, but without vigorous agitation we are satisfied the whole question would have been ignored. It is to be regretted that even this act, a small measure of relief from a flagrant injustice, is being so misconstrued by Assistant Secretary French and some of the judges in California as to render it almost inoperative.

THE EIGHT-HOUR LAW.

We were invited to join with a committee to whom President Arthur had promised an interview for the purpose of discussing the National Eight-hour Law, and the advisability and legality of its enforcement, this conference to take place on January 9th; but we were resolved that no expense of that nature should be incurred until we had sufficient money on hand over and above our indebtedness to warrant it, and, as we represented trades unions only, we declined to further our objects by means of subscriptions or donations offered to us from any other source. Although desirous of making efforts to further any pending action and initiate any measures for the good of our cause that could properly be acted upon in our National Capital, we concluded to take no step until our constituents demonstrated their earnestness for labor reform by the liberality of their contributions.

PROTECTION OF LIFE AT SEA.

The Lake Seamen's Union had prepared and approved by a constitutional lawyer a bill to preserve the lives and health of seamen, etc., which that body earnestly desired to be put on the way for passage by Congress, and urged the Federation to take official part to that end. The Seamen's Union being willing to advance the necessary funds, we deputed Mr. Powers to go to Washington for that purpose. While there, in addition to his special mission, he was instrumental in defeating a measure designed to deter seamen from connecting themselves with a union for mutual protection and benefit, and declaring combination on their part to be conspiracy and mutiny, punishable by heavy fine and a long term of imprisonment. This precious bill was introduced by Mr. Townsend, of Cleveland, O.

THE TENEMENT-HOUSE CIGAR PLAGUE.

In March we sanctioned Mr. Compers going to Albany in the name of the Federation to take part in urging before the General Assembly of New York a bill to prohibit the manufacture of cigars in tenement houses. We look for ultimate success for that measure, as well as for the seamen's bill before Congress.

SENATE COMMITTEE ON LABOR.

You will remember that the United States Senate, on June 21st, directed its Committee on Education and Labor to perform special duties during the recess of Congress. Among these were the consideration of labor strikes, inquiry into their causes, and to report what measures, if any, could properly be provided to modify or remove those causes. The committee was empowered to visit places, send for persons and papers, examine persons under oath, and take such steps as should appear to them necessary for a full investigation. We are not aware of any trades unionist having been summoned to give evidence or of any place visited, and have no idea of the nature of their report or the measures they may suggest to Congress. The Federation will, we have no doubt, give due attention to the matter, and take such steps as may appear best in the premises.

LABOR LAWS.

Some progress has been made during the past year toward the enactment of beneficial labor laws by a few of the State Legislatures, and these have been urged by your committee wherever we could wield any influence. In Ohio a bill to abolish the prison labor contract system has passed the lower house by a good majority,

and is expected to pass the Senate early in the coming session. Similar measures have been introduced in other States, and obnoxious intimidation bills have failed of enactment through trades union efforts.

WORK OF ORGANIZATION.

Your committee have aided in the formation of Trades Assemblies all over the country, the Secretary having sent sample copies of constitutions and letters of instruction how to organize and conduct such associations to all the more important cities where such assemblies had no existence. The result has fully warranted our efforts, and we have to thank numerous energetic unionists for valuable assistance. As an instance, one year ago the State of Ohio contained only two Trades Assemblies, but since that time the unions of Toledo, Columbus, Dayton, and Springfield have seen the advantage of united local action, and followed the example of Cincinnati and Cleveland.

From published reports and our own observation the number of local unions formed during the past year must have been very great. We have no means at present, however, of obtaining exact statistics.

Another great help toward the concentration of the strength of the combined labor movement and one which should receive your attention, is the formation of State and Provincial Federations of Trades Unions. Massachusetts has followed the example of New Jersey in this direction, and we hope to see it spread over all the States and Provinces. While it is true that we should keep a watchful eye over the legislation at Washington and Ottawa, in order to maintain free institutions and thwart the designs of greedy monopolies, we must remember that the measures more directly affecting us are the business of State and Provincial governments. Taking our Platform of Principles section by section, we find laws in favor of some of our demands already existing under one or two of these governments and absent in all the rest. What we have that is good in one part of the country we should have everywhere. Our measures should be uniform, universal, and simultaneous, and we should meet annually to compare notes as to progress made. As a matter of course an organization which has made itself felt in State and Provincial legislative halls will receive due recognition when it turns its attention to measures which are proper to bring up in Washington or Ottawa. We recommend that each delegate be requested to furnish the Secretary with a statement of the nature of the laws affecting the demands of each separate paragraph of our Platform in the State or Province in which he resides. This will facilitate the mutual understanding of the situation everywhere which we wish to arrive at, and help toward the attainment of our mutual aims. We should have an interchange of copies of laws which we want enacted, and every delegate should consider it his duty to endeavor to effect in his State or Province a Federation of Trades Unions, provided such does not already exist.

ASSISTANCE IN STRIKES.

We have during the year, by means of the telegraph, aided materially in securing employment for men on strike, thus relieving Union funds, and also in preventing the unwary from being entrapped by unscrupulous employers into accepting work under degrading conditions and in hostility to the interests of their brethren.

PRINTING OF PROCEEDINGS.

The Federation sustains pecuniary loss from the publication of the proceedings of the Pittsburg session, and this is to be attributed to the apathy of some of the delegates who attended there. Of the 5,000 copies printed not half have been reported sold, leaving the balance on our hands as so much waste paper.

DECISION.

In January a decision as to the interpretation of Article VII of the Plan of Organization was requested from your committee, which we gave unanimously as follows: That the tax is three cents per annum from every member under the jurisdiction of a National or International Union, and the same per capita tax on the membership of every Union represented through a Trades Assembly or Council except such as are represented and paid for through National or International Unions.

NOTICE OF AMENDMENT.

Mr. Frank K. Foster has given notice that he will move at this session to strike out from the Platform of Principles the paragraph numbered 11, which reads as follows:

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

REPRESENTATION AND REVENUE.

In his report to the International Typographical Union, Mr. Lyman A. Brant, who represented that body at the Pittsburg session of our Federation, expressed his hope that in future our basis of representation and revenue would be assimilated to that of the Trades Union Congress of Great Britain, which is a small fixed sum from each delegate attending the sessions, and voluntary subscriptions from all union organizations willing to contribute to the expenses of the Parliamentary Committee. During the past year the receipts of that body from all sources up to and including the session in Manchester two months ago amounted to \$4,000. Whether the adoption of the same plan would result in a larger representation in future sessions of this Federation and increased revenue over that of the plan now in force should receive serious consideration at your hands.

CORRESPONDENCE WITH TRADES UNION CONGRESS OF GREAT BRITAIN.

The Secretary, shortly after the Pittsburg session, forwarded to the Miners' National Union of England a letter of condolence on the death of Alexander Macdonald, M. P., and also an address of greeting to the trades unionists of Great Britain through the Parliamentary Committee, which was sent to Hon. Henry Broadhurst, M. P., Secretary of that body. A congratulatory reply was returned by Mr. Broadhurst, in which he expressed a willingness to lend us any assistance he could render in the interchange of documents of mutual interest, etc. The address of our Secretary was published in the *London Labor Standard*. We would advise the encouragement of more frequent correspondence with the Parliamentary Committee in future.

LABORERS AS LAW-MAKERS.

In the recent elections friends of labor have been elevated in several sections of the country to positions which give them a voice in the enactment of the laws which govern us, and, what is more gratifying, several office-holders

notoriously hostile to our cause have been defeated by the united efforts of trade unionists from giving further play to their designs. This should be taken advantage of by our successors.

It is to be regretted that during the year a degree of apparent hostility to practical trades unionism has been exhibited by individual members of organizations ostensibly in the interest of labor, in consequence of which, and the indifference of others, we have not received that support in forwarding our movement which we had hoped for.

TIME OF MEETING.

Your committee are of opinion that the month of November is not the most suitable time of the year in which to hold sessions of the Federation, and would suggest that you select a more desirable month in which to hold future sessions.

Trusting that our deliberations may be harmonious and tend to give an impetus to trades unionism that will quickly place it in a position to command the recognition to which it is entitled, we have the honor to subscribe ourselves,

Yours, respectfully and fraternally,
R. POWERS,
SAMUEL GOMPERS,
W. H. FOSTER, Secretary.

The report was referred to the Committee on Standing Orders.

The Secretary read his own report of the work performed by him during the past year, which included the issue and mailing of 10,000 circulars to all trades union organizations in the United States and Canada, publishing and mailing copies of the Pittsburg session, conducting voluminous correspondence, etc. The report concluded with an itemized financial statement up to November 7, 1882, and was, on motion, referred to the Auditing Committee.

A motion prevailed declaring the reading of papers which delegates might have prepared as the next order of business.

PROTECTION VS. WAGES.

Mr. Frank K. Foster was accorded the floor, and read a paper entitled "Protection vs. Wages" in support of his motion to strike out Section 11 from the Platform, of which motion he had given previous notice. He regretted that the Pittsburg session had seen fit to commit itself to a plank intended as an endorsement of high tariff, when at least a large minority of trade unionists in the United States and Canada held contrary views. Continuing, he said: "The question is one properly to be relegated to individual judgment. In order that the Federation may act intelligently on the question I have prepared some facts and figures exemplifying the present 'protection' of American industries. 'Protection' does not protect labor; the rate of wages depends upon other causes than the tariff; and labor, as the prime creator of wealth, is obliged to pay, in its consuming capacity, enormous and unjust taxes that capital may profit therefrom. The im-

mense subsidies paid to the iron, wool, cotton, and other favored industries of the United States have only served to concentrate wealth in the hands of the few, to the disadvantage of the many. Heavy customs duties do temporarily give an artificial stimulus to special producers at the expense of consumers, but only legitimate demands of trade can supply a permanent and healthful market for the products of industry. An artificial stimulus causes an excessive amount of capital to be employed, resulting in over-supply, lock-outs, and shut-downs. The Pacific Mills, of Lawrence, Mass., and the Harmony Mills, of Cohoes, N. Y., have enjoyed 'full protection' and huge dividends for many years, and have reduced the wages of their poorly paid hands below what is paid in free-trade England. From statistics of undoubted accuracy the 'protected' workers in pig iron and bar iron and steel received in 1880, the year of the great boom in that trade, an average of \$1.25 per day, while 805 companies drew from the consumers a pension of \$114,000,000. The cotton manufacturers receive from the same source a bounty of \$70,000,000 per annum; and \$86,000,000 is the annual prop on which our woolen manufacturers thrive, while the operatives subsist on from \$7 to \$8 per week. Silk workers have had their wages reduced 50 per cent. since the present duty of 60 per cent on foreign goods was levied. The tobacco trade is 'protected' by a duty of from 64 to over 200 per cent., yet the workers are brought into competition with labor employed under conditions that would disgrace a slave-holding community. Our National Congress is turned into a manufacturers' lobby, where the clique that brings the heaviest pressure secures the greatest monopoly. The capitalist who employs 100 men in making cloth, while benefited as a producer by the consumption of each one of them, is yet mulcted as a consumer in only 100th part of the sum paid by them. As consumers wage-workers are taxed for the support of monopolies, forced to pay toll to the brigands infesting our commercial highways. Diamonds and laces pay a smaller impost than medicines and blankets, and the coarser grades of the same goods are more heavily discriminated against than the superfine, as the official schedules will show. Flannels, for instance, valued at 40 cents per pound, are taxed 95 per cent., while less than 65½ per cent. is charged on flannels valued at 80 cents per pound and upward. The only consistent and effectual means of protecting our labor from foreign competition would be that of affixing a per capita tax on every immigrant, of the wage-working class. We want protection from the cheap

philanthropy of interested capitalists. Past political economy is a vast cemetery of defunct doctrines, with perhaps here and there a spectral form conjured up by learned necromancers to frighten the ignorant and unthinking. Labor differs from merchandise in that it can think and act outside of and beyond its mercantile relations; and the element of will, above all things else, is sufficient to disarrange the fixed line of procedure our rulers so kindly arrange for us to follow. We are primarily interested in obtaining for labor a fair share of the wealth it creates. No endorsement of free trade is asked for, and that we should abstain from espousing either side of this question is a modest request. Members of the Trades Congress, I appeal to you all to erase from the Platform of the organized workmen of the United States and Canada this monopoly-nurturing, freedom-restricting section."

Mr. Crawford read a declaration which had been adopted by the Trades Assembly of Chicago on the subject of reduced hours of labor, which was referred, together with Mr. Foster's paper, to the Committee on Standing Orders.

On motion of Mr. Crawford a special Committee on Order of Business was directed to be appointed. The Chair selected Messrs. E. W. Fitzgerald, Kenneth Mackenzie, and Robert Howard as such committee.

Mr. Crawford moved the appointment of a special Committee on Basis of Representation and Per Capita Tax, which motion prevailed. Committee appointed: Messrs. G. Edmonston, Samuel Gompers, and Ed. W. Fitzgerald.

Mr. Mackenzie urged that it would tend greatly to facilitate the work of union or-

ganization in the East were the next session to be held in New York, where such work was greatly needed, and moved the appointment of a committee of five from different States on next place of meeting.

Mr. Powers urged that Chicago could make equal claims to those of New York, when the Chair ruled the discussion out of order as not being relevant to the motion.

On the motion being put, it was announced as carried. Committee appointed: Messrs. Kenneth Mackenzie, of New York; Frank K. Foster, of Massachusetts; George A. Colliss, of Ohio; Thompson H. Murch, of Maine; Richard Powers, of Illinois.

Mr. Powers made a motion, which was carried, that the States of Indiana and Michigan be also represented on the committee. The motion also included that the Secretary put the question of adding the Chair to the committee.

Secretary W. H. Foster put the question, which was carried in the affirmative, adding Mr. Sam L. Leffingwell, of Indiana, to the committee.

The Chair then added to the committee Mr. Judson Grenell, of Michigan.

Mr. Hugo Miller suggested that the minutes be taken in German as well as English, so that a correct report could be published after adjournment for the benefit of trades unionists who were better acquainted with the German language than the English, and also to save the cost of translation.

A motion of Mr. Grenell, seconded by Mr. Gompers, that the suggestion be referred to the Committee on Standing Orders, was adopted.

The Federation, on motion, adjourned to 9 A. M., Wednesday, November 22d.

SECOND DAY—Morning Session.

The Congress assembled at 9 A. M., President Sam. L. Leffingwell in the chair.

The roll was called and the minutes of the first day's session were read and confirmed.

GERMAN SECRETARY.

Mr. Powers, reporting for the Standing Orders Committee, recommended the election of a German Secretary. The report was received and the recommendation concurred in.

Mr. Hugo Miller was nominated to serve as German Secretary and elected by acclamation.

The Auditing Committee reported as follows:

Cleveland, November 22, 1882.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Federation of Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada:

Gentlemen: Your Committee appointed to audit the accounts of the Secretary and Treasurer beg leave to report that they have carefully examined their books and found them correct up to November 7, 1882. The total receipts up to November 7, 1882, were \$445.31; expenses up to November 7, 1882, \$433.98; leaving a balance on hand of \$11.33.

Respectfully,

M. L. CRAWFORD,
FRED. J. KLOCKE.

The report was, on motion, received and adopted.

The Committee on Credentials made a supplemental report in which it was stated that Mr. W. J. Cannon, of Cleveland, had handed in a proper credential as the second delegate from the Cigarmakers' International Union. The committee also reported having omitted to include in their report of the previous day that a credential had been received from the Trades Assembly of San Francisco authorizing Mr. Samuel Gompers to represent that body as a proxy delegate.

Report received and delegates admitted.

The Committee on Order of Business made the following report:

Cleveland, O., November 22, 1882.

To the Officers and Members of the Trades Congress:

Your Committee, to which was referred the matter of an Order of Business, beg leave to report the following:

1. Calling the roll.
2. Reading of the minutes.
3. Reception of credentials.
4. Admission of delegates.
5. Reports of Special Committees.
6. Report of Committee on Standing Orders.
7. Unfinished business.
8. New business.
9. Good and welfare of the Federation.
10. Adjournment.

ED. W. FITZGERALD,
ROBERT HOWARD,
KENNETH MACKENZIE.
Committee.

The report was, on motion, received and adopted.

The Committee on Per Capita Tax and Basis of Representation asked further time in which to report, which was allowed.

Mr. Hugo Miller having been elected as German Secretary, he was, on motion of Mr. Powers, relieved from duty on the Standing Orders Committee, and the Chair appointed F. K. Foster to fill the vacancy.

At the request of Mr. Powers the Standing Orders Committee was permitted to retire for deliberation.

GREETING.

The following communication was read:

Chicago, November 20, 1882.

By a resolution adopted at its regular meeting November 10, 1882, the Chicago Trade and Labor Assembly sends its kind regards and best wishes to the Hon. Martin A. Foran, and all delegates to the Federation of Trade and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada, in Cleveland assembled.

GEORGE RODGERS, President.
THOMAS E. RANDALL, Cor. Sec.,
230 Monroe street, Chicago.

On motion of Mr. Powers the communication was received and filed.

The same course, on motion of Mr. Grenell, was adopted with the following telegram from the editor of the Paterson *Labor Standard* after it had been read by the Secretary:

Paterson, N. J., November 21, 1882.

To the President of the Congress of the Federation of Trades and Labor Unions of North America, Cleveland:

The workmen of this State are in full sympathy with your efforts.

J. P. McDONNELL.

Mr. Edmonston read the following, adopted by the Federation of Trades Unions of the District of Columbia:

RESOLVED, That our delegate to the Labor Congress at Cleveland be instructed to invite delegates from the various Congressional Districts in that body to attend the Convention to be held in this city on November 30th inst.

RESOLVED, FURTHER, That any Committee appointed by said Congress be cheerfully invited to co-operate with the committee appointed by the convention in this city in laying their grievances before the Labor Committee of Congress.

Mr. Grenell introduced a resolution urging the more generous support and general dissemination of labor journals, which was referred to the Committee on Standing Orders.

A motion by Mr. Grenell, providing for the appointment of a Committee of Five on Platform of Principles, was agreed to. Committee appointed: Messrs. Grenell, Howard, Edmonston, Gompers and Murch.

Mr. F. K. Foster introduced a resolution instructing the Legislative Committee to urge the enactment by the various State governments of uniform apprentice laws, which was referred to the Committee on Platform.

A resolution disclaiming rivalry with this Congress on the part of the Federation of Trades Unions of the District of Columbia was read by Mr. Edmonston and referred to the Committee on Standing Orders:

The following resolution, offered by Mr. Grenell, was reported back favorably by the Committee on Standing Orders:

This Convention declares that in their opinion the support of labor papers, morally and financially, is one of the chief duties of workmen, and all trades unions, councils and assemblies should see to it that this powerful means of educating the laboring masses into their rights and duties should be sustained and encouraged in every possible manner.

Mr. Edmonston favored the resolution and remarked further that advantage might be taken of the drama as a means of educating working people as to their rights and duties. He would be willing to vote for a motion offering a premium for the best five-act play of the character indicated.

Mr. Murch supported the resolution, and also approved of the suggestion of Mr. Edmonston.

The stage had great influence, and should be made use of as an educator.

Mr. F. K. Foster, while recognizing the good influence of labor literature, thought much of it was wasted effort when forced into non-union ranks. The seed thus sown in unwilling soil, seldom took root. He believed a few words earnestly spoken were more effective in promoting trades unionism than any number of columns of puerile editorials.

General discussion ensued, and the resolution was adopted.

The Committee on Standing Orders made the following report:

That the motion of Mr. F. K. Foster to strike out Section 11 of the Platform of Principles and discussion on his paper entitled "Protection vs. Wages" come up at 2 P. M.

Also, that Mark L. Crawford's declaration on the eight-hour work day be considered im-

mediately after the motion of Mr. Foster is disposed of.

Report received and concurred in.

Mr. Powers moved, and Mr. F. K. Foster seconded, that a committee be appointed to invite Hon. M. A. Foran to address the Federation.

Motion agreed to, and Messrs. Powers, F. K. Foster, and Colliss appointed as such committee.

Mr. F. K. Foster offered a resolution instructing the Legislative Committee to exert their efforts in the endeavor to have passed by the various State governments an Employers' Liability Act. Referred to Committee on Standing Orders.

The same course was taken with a resolution by Mr. Clasby, recommending the dissemination of education in trades unionism through labor papers.

Noon recess.

SECOND DAY—Afternoon Session.

On the Federation reassembling at 1:30 P. M. the Committee on Standing Orders requested that the motion of F. K. Foster, which was made the special order for 2 P. M., should come up immediately, and a motion to that effect prevailed.

THE PROTECTION PLANK.

Mr. F. K. Foster moved, in accordance with notice, that Section 11 of the Platform of Principles be stricken out.

Mr. Gompers objected to a statement in the paper of Mr. Foster to the effect that strikes are always a loss to the workers, and hoped he would consent to its being stricken out.

Mr. Fitzgerald urged that hasty action should be avoided, and asked the delegates, before passing on the motion to strike out the tariff plank, to consider thoughtfully the statements made in the November number of the *North American Review* by Mr. Welsh, Ex-Minister to England. That gentleman charged that the literature of the Cobden Club and British gold were being abundantly used to disseminate free trade views in America, and accused unpatriotic American journals of conspiring with British aristocracy to promote and carry out British policy on American soil; that this work was in the hands of active, well-paid agents, whose impudence extended to interference in our elections, and we should be on the alert in resenting this impertinent intrusion on the part of a foreign nation.

Messrs. Powers, Crawford, McIntyre, Mackenzie (here Vice-President Gompers was called to the chair), Leffingwell, Edmonston, Howard and F. K. Foster continued the discussion.

Mr. Foster admitted the truth of the argument of Mr. Gompers that strikes were not necessarily losses, even under apparent defeat, but claimed that his paper had to some extent been misunderstood by that gentleman.

The vote on the motion resulted as follows:

Yeas—Messrs. Cannon, Clasby, Colliss, Crawford, Edmonston, Fitzgerald, F. K. Foster, Gompers, Grenell, Howard, Klokke, Leffingwell, Mackenzie, McIntyre, Miller, Murch and Powers—17.

Nay—W. H. Foster—1.

(President Leffingwell resumed the chair.)

The amendment striking out Section 11 was declared adopted.

EIGHT-HOUR WORK DAY.

The eight-hour declaration of the Chicago Trades Assembly being next in order that document was read by the Secretary as follows:

We, the Trades and Labor Assembly of Chicago and vicinity, representing the organized working people, declare that the eight-hour work day will furnish more work at increased wages. We declare that it will permit the possession and enjoyment of more wealth by those who create it. It will lighten the burden (of carrying the useless classes). It will diminish the power of the rich over the poor, not

by making the rich poorer, but by making the poor richer. It will create the conditions necessary for the education and intellectual advancement of the masses. It will diminish crime and intemperance. It will increase the power of wage-laborers to control the conditions that affect them. It will enlarge the wants, stimulate the ambition, and decrease the idleness of wage-laborers. It will stimulate production and increase the consumption of wealth among the masses. It will compel the employment of more and better labor-saving machinery. It will not disturb, jar, confuse, or throw out of order the present wage-system of labor. It is (the only) measure that will permanently increase wages without at the same time increasing the cost of the production of wealth. It will decrease the poverty and increase the wealth of all wage-laborers. And it will after a few years gradually merge the wage-system of labor into a system of industrial co-operation in which wages will represent the earnings and not (as now) the necessities of the wage-laborer.

Messrs. Crawford and Powers moved the endorsement of the declaration as the sense of the Congress.

Mr. Gompers opposed it on the ground that he did not think the majority of his constituents were ready for the practical endorsement and enforcement of the measure.

Mr. F. K. Foster moved to amend by striking out the words "the only," and inserting the indefinite article "a." Amendment adopted.

Messrs. Gompers and McIntyre moved to amend by striking out the sentence "It will lighten the burden of carrying the useless classes," and inserting "It will lighten the burden on society by providing work for the unemployed."

The amendment was accepted, and the declaration as amended was endorsed.

EMPLOYERS' LIABILITY ACT.

The committee recommended the adoption of the following resolution, introduced by Frank K. Foster:

RESOLVED, That the Legislative Committee be instructed to concentrate effort the coming year in obtaining the passage of an Employers' Liability Act by our various legislative bodies.

The following form of petition was handed in by Mr. Foster in connection with the foregoing:

To

WHEREAS, No employe can recover damages from his employer for personal injuries caused by the negligence of a fellow-employe, the under-signed, workmen and employers of labor, respectfully ask that a law may be enacted which will give employes the same right to damages for personal injuries that all other persons have, and which will make common employment no longer a legal defense for action for personal injuries.

The resolution was adopted.

LABOR PAPERS.

The following resolution, introduced by Mr. Clasby, was reported favorably by the Committee on Standing Orders, and adopted by the Congress:

RESOLVED, That we recommend all labor organizations to subscribe for trade and labor papers direct from their treasuries, supply each member with a copy, and distribute as many copies free as they can afford.

APPRENTICE LAWS.

The committee also recommended the adoption of the following, introduced by F. K. Foster:

RESOLVED, That the Legislative Committee be instructed to lay before the Legislative Assemblies of the country, wherever practicable, a bill providing for the enactment of uniform apprentice laws, in accordance with Section 4 of the Platform of Principles.

Messrs. Gompers and Powers moved its adoption as read.

Mr. Foster said that, although he had introduced it in accordance with his instructions, he was not in favor of legislative interference in the premises, but believed the apprentice question could be better dealt with by the trades unions interested.

Mr. Murch strongly opposed the resolution, charging it as an injustice to the young men of America, and was supported by Mr. Clasby.

The resolution was urged as a good measure by Messrs. McIntyre, Grenell, Crawford, Gompers and others.

On the question being called for, the vote resulted:

Yeas—Cannon, Colliss, Crawford, Fitzgerald, W. H. Foster, Gompers, Grenell, Klokke, Leflingwell, McIntyre, Miller, Powers—12.

Nays—Clasby, Edmonston, F. K. Foster, Howard, Mackenzie, Murch—6.

The report of the Committee on Basis of Representation and Per Capita Tax was next submitted:

To the President and Delegates of the Federation of Trade Unions of the United States and Canada:

Gentlemen: Your committee to which was referred the matter of revision of representation and per capita tax beg leave to offer the following report:

We have carefully examined the subject matter entrusted to us, and find that Article IV., as it now stands, needs the following amendment:

To add after the word "Councils" in the last line the words "or local Trade Unions."

Add an additional clause after the last word "delegate" in these words: "But no local Trade or Labor Union shall be entitled to representation which has not been organized six months prior to the session of this body."

To amend Article VII. by striking out the word "three" in the second line and inserting the word "two."

To add to Article VII. a new section to be known as Section 2, as follows: "Local Trade

Unions may be entitled to representation upon payment of \$10 per annum, (and per capita tax on membership over 500)."

We further recommend that the International Typographical Union be requested to pay the balance of their per capita tax for this session as required of other bodies here represented.

ED. W. FITZGERALD,
SAMUEL GOMPERS,
G. EDMONSTON.

The words in brackets were suggested by Mr. Grenell and accepted by the committee as part of their report.

On motion the report was received and the different sections ordered to be considered seriatim.

Mr. Gompers took the floor in opposition to

construing "local trade unions" in the first proposed amendment in the report to mean local Assemblies of the Knights of Labor.

During his remarks the hour of adjournment arrived.

Mr. Powers asked the indulgence of the Congress to introduce the following:

RESOLVED, That this convention tender a vote of thanks to the members of the Common Council of the City of Cleveland for the honor conferred on the Labor Congress by that body in adopting at its meeting on Monday a resolution to hoist the city flag on the occasion of our assembling here.

The resolution was unanimously adopted and the Congress adjourned.

THIRD DAY—Morning Session.

The Trades Congress assembled at the specified hour, President Sam. L. Leffingwell in the chair.

The roll was called, and the minutes of the previous day were read and confirmed.

Mr. Gompers was entitled to the floor, but stated that he had on the previous afternoon finished all he wished to say on the first section of the report of the Committee on Basis of Representation and Per Capita Tax.

REPRESENTATION AND REVENUE.

On the subject of the amendment to Article IV. of the Plan of Organization, as reported by the same committee, Mr. Fitzgerald said: "I am in favor of admitting the Knights of Labor to equal representation with the regular trade unions. I do not want to see two grand bodies of organized mechanics and workmen so far forget themselves as to emulate the great religious denominations of the world, which, instead of harmonizing together and performing the good for which they were intended, continually quarrel among themselves and accomplish little. Let us unite, for in unity there is strength. Once united, there is nothing we can not accomplish."

General discussion ensued, and Article IV., as amended, was adopted.

The next amendment reported by the committee, fixing the per capita tax at 2 cents per annum, was read.

Mr. F. K. Foster moved to amend the report by striking out "two cents" and inserting "one cent."

This motion was supported by Mr. Clasby and opposed by Messrs. Gompers, Cannon, Klokke and Powers.

The question, on being put, was carried, in the affirmative, by the following vote:

Yeas—Clasby, Crawford, F. K. Foster, W. H. Foster, Grenell, Howard, Leffingwell, Mackenzie, McIntyre, Murch—10.

Nays—Cannon, Colliss, Fitzgerald, Gompers, Klokke, Miller, Powers—6.

The amendment was then adopted as amended.

The section permitting local trade unions to be represented on payment of \$10 per annum and per capita tax on membership over 500 was adopted, as was also the recommendation of the committee on the subject of per capita tax from the International Typographical Union, after which the report, as amended, was adopted as a whole.

On motion all matters pertaining to basis of representation and per capita tax not already passed upon by the Congress were ordered referred back to the proper committee for further consideration.

TIME AND PLACE OF NEXT MEETING.

The report of the Committee on Next Place of Meeting was read as follows:

Cleveland, O., November 22, 1882.

The committee to which was referred the selecting a place of meeting for the next Congress beg leave to report that, after careful consideration, they recommend the city of New York as the next place of meeting of this Congress, and also recommend that the time be changed to the second Tuesday in August, 1883.

All of which is submitted for your consideration.

KENNETH MACKENZIE,
R. POWERS,
JUDSON GRENELL,
T. H. MURCH,
GEORGE A. COLLISS,
F. K. FOSTER,
SAM. L. LEFFINGWELL.

On motion of Mr. Gompers the committee's recommendation of New York as the place for holding the next session of the Federation was concurred in.

Considerable discussion took place to the most appropriate month in which to meet, and Mr. F. K. Foster moved to amend the committee's report by striking out "second" and inserting "third," making the third Tuesday in August the date for assembling the third annual Congress of the Federation.

(Vice-President Gompers was called to the chair.)

Mr. Leffingwell took the floor to advocate the holding of the Convention in September, after the Convention of the General Assembly of the Knights of Labor.

The amendment of Mr. Foster was agreed to, and the report, as amended, was adopted.

Mr. Edmonston introduced a memorial from the Women's National Industrial League, which was referred to the Committee on Standing Orders.

COTTON DESPOTS.

Mr. Howard offered the following:

RESOLVED, That, owing to the unjust and unwarranted action of the Pacific Corporation of Lawrence, Mass., in reducing the wages of its operatives from 10 to 25 per cent. in the face of dividends of over 20 per cent, which had been declared on an average by said corporation during the nineteen years preceding, we advise the representatives present to urge members of their respective unions to refrain in the future from purchasing any cotton or woolen goods bearing thereon the trade mark of the above corporation.

Mr. Howard spoke at some length upon the condition of the operatives in the cotton mills of Massachusetts, and especially the female portion. He claimed that the injustice done them in the matter of low wages and long hours was a disgrace to God and humanity. The speaker claimed that the reduction recently made in their wages was unwarranted and a gross injustice to the many who are obliged to earn their livelihood by that kind of work. He stated that from 1863 to the time of the strike in 1882 the Pacific mills had paid 381 per cent. in dividends on \$2,500,000 capital, or 29 1-9 per cent. per year for nineteen years. He also said that the capital of the concern had increased from \$2,500,000 to \$5,000,000. Notwithstanding this fact, he said, the owners of the mill had forced their girl operatives out into the street and threatened them with starvation unless they would consent to a reduction of 18 cents on 85 cents a day. He claimed that more girls were forced from the paths of rectitude because of the low wages paid than by any other means.

Mr. Frank Foster also spoke earnestly on the same subject.

Mr. Powers advocated the adoption of the resolution.

Mr. Gompers recounted what he had seen of the wrongs inflicted on the cotton operatives of Cohoes, N. Y., by the despotic Harmony Mills corporation, which owned everything in Cohoes, even to the water the people drank. The churches, houses, everything was in the hands of the Harmony people. He moved that it be included in the resolution by adding "or that of the Harmony Mills, Cohoes, N. Y."

The resolution as amended was unanimously adopted.

A HUMANE CAPITALIST.

Similar action was taken with the following introduced by Mr. Edmonston. The gentleman referred to is a boss builder of Cleveland, Ohio.

RESOLVED, That we commend the action of Jacob W. Perkins as that of a fair minded Christian capitalist, wherein he provided for the maintenance of the impoverished families of his employes who were so untimely removed by an accident while in his employ.

INCORPORATION OF TRADES UNIONS.

By Mr. Gompers:

RESOLVED, That the Legislative Committee be instructed to use their best endeavors to secure the passage of acts in the several Legislatures for the incorporation of trades unions, and to accord to them the same rights enjoyed by associations of capital.

Adopted.

THE TENEMENT HOUSE BILL.

By Mr. Gompers:

RESOLVED, That we condemn and hold up to public contumely and contempt the members of the Legislature of the State of New York who were instrumental in stealing the Bill to Prohibit the Manufacture of Cigars in Tenement Houses after the same had passed the Senate of said State and the chances for its passage in the lower House were good; and the Legislative Committee are hereby instructed to assist in the passage of a law putting an end to this nefarious system.

Adopted.

STATE FEDERATIONS.

W. H. Foster offered the following as an amendment to Article II. of the Plan of Organization, to be known as Section 3, the present sections 3 and 4, to be changed to 4 and 5 respectively:

The encouragement and formation of State and Provincial Federation of Trade and Labor Unions.

Referred to Committee on Standing Orders.

THE CHINESE.

The following, by Mr. Gompers, was referred to the same committee:

RESOLVED, That we view with alarm the decision of Assistant Secretary French, by which large numbers of Chinese are permitted

to land on our shores, frustrating the very intent of the act prohibiting their importation.

RESOLVED, That the legislative Committee be instructed to procure a decision giving a true interpretation of the said act, and if necessary to secure an amendment to cover the purpose of the law.

The same course was taken with a resolution on the subject of land tenure, introduced by Mr. Grenell.

EIGHT-HOUR LAW.

Mr. Murch asked unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of and action upon the following:

RESOLVED, By this Convention of Trade and Labor Unions, assembled in the city of Cleveland, Ohio, representing 300,000 workmen, that we believe that the provisions of the National Eight-hour Law are so plain and unequivocal that on further legislation is unnecessary to interpretation of this law.

RESOLVED, That the enforcement of the National Eight-hour Law will secure the adoption of similar provisions in nearly all the States of the Union.

RESOLVED, That we, in the name of our constituents, demand the immediate and impartial enforcement of the National Eight-hour Law by the President of the United States.

Adopted.

Mr. Mackenzie moved that a Committee of Five on Organization be appointed to devise some plan for the selection of organizers sanctioned by the Federation.

The Chair (Mr. Gompers) suggested that he make his motion to empower the Legislative Committee to appoint propagandists.

After some discussion a motion prevailed to refer the matter to a special Committee on Organization, to report at 3 o'clock. Committee appointed: Messrs. Mackenzie, Grenell, Edmonston, Howard, Klokke, Clasby and Cannon.

On motion of Messrs. Murch and Grenell the Secretary was instructed to write to President Arthur, enclosing a copy of the eight-hour resolution as soon as possible.

Noon recess.

THIRD DAY—Afternoon Session.

On the Congress reassembling, Vice-President Gompers in the chair, Hon. Martin A. Foran entered the hall.

Having been appropriately introduced by the Chair, Mr. Foran made a brief address to the delegates.

MR. FORAN'S REMARKS:

I recognize in this body a great power. It has been said that much can be done in the interest of labor by men elected to office if they perform faithfully the duty imposed upon them. I assert that no one man can do much in that respect, but if the workmen elect a majority to represent them and to work in their interest, then some good can be accomplished. When the workmen of the country become awakened to their necessities they can act, and it is not often they fail when they once realize the true condition of matters. When men are elected to fill office they too often become ambitious and make Czars, and Czars we do not want. Mr. J. H. Wade once said that the workmen are a powerful faction, but lack harmony and proper leaders. Organization is what is wanted. We need in this country a central organization of labor, which will be a body that will be obeyed by the whole mass of workmen. Probably this organization will eventually accomplish that end. The laws of this country are mostly

in favor of capitalists, so that a workingman has very little at his command. Supposing a man becomes injured while in the performance of his duty, what hope has he of receiving proper aid from his employer? This subject should be looked after. This country is now controlled by the manufacturing interests, and the working people should be thoroughly united for the maintenance of their rights. Another thing needful by the laboring classes is suitable reading, that they may educate the masses and enable them to think and act for themselves. He urged upon the workmen the necessity of united action, and told them to fight their battles at the polls. If they only would do so, he said, they would soon be able to count their representatives on the floors of Congress not by the dozen but by the hundred. They should learn to ignore political parties and leaders and learn to vote for their own interests. Then, and not until then, may the working people of the country hope to have their rightful claims sustained.

A recess was then taken and the Congressman was introduced to each individual member of the Congress.

COMMUNICATED SUGGESTIONS.

A letter of greeting was received from P. J. McGuire, General Secretary of the Brother-

hood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, in the name of his organization. It urged not political but industrial unity as the prime object that the Federation should aim at—not by prescribing a stereotyped, uniform plan of organization for all, regardless of their experience or necessities, nor by antagonizing or aiming to destroy existing organizations, but by preserving all that is integral in them and by widening their scope so that each, without submerging its individuality, may act with the others in all that concerns them. The benefit of this Federation was not only to render pecuniary and moral assistance in case of strikes or lock-outs, but its very existence would lessen the number of these conflicts by causing unscrupulous employers to hesitate before declaring war on employes reinforced by such a body. A systematic plan of propaganda should be inaugurated, and labor tracts and pamphlets could be disseminated at small cost. This would, of course, need proper support. The workmen of Great Britain, France, Spain, Italy, Switzerland, Belgium, Holland, Austria and Denmark had held largely attended congresses during the past year; and just as these developed they would tend to mutual correspondence and open up friendly relations between the workmen of all countries that would lead to "an era of peace and good-will among nations," and place a check on the transportation of labor from one country in order to cheapen it in another at the behest of capital. We wanted an enactment by the workmen themselves that on a given day eight hours should constitute a day's work, and they ought to enforce it themselves. The letter concluded: "Let us as union men work in harmony for those issues we comprehend and upon which we are fully agreed, and ignore all questions likely to divide us."

Enclosed with the communication were two credentials, one authorizing Gabriel Edmonston, of Washington, D. C., to represent the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners in the present session of the Federation, and the other for Donald McIntosh, of Cleveland, Ohio, as alternate.

Mr. Edmonston, being already a delegate from the Federation of Trades Unions of the District of Columbia, moved that the credential of Mr. McIntosh be accepted and that gentleman seated as the regular delegate of the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners.

The motion was concurred in.

A FRIENDLY JOURNAL.

The Colliss introduced a resolution of thanks to the *Elmira Telegram* for its course in the

case of the strike of shoe-makers at J. Richardson & Company's establishment in that city, which was referred to the Committee on Standing Orders.

(A recess was here declared to allow committees time to deliberate and report.)

The Committee on Standing Orders reported favorably on the following, introduced by Mr. Colliss:

RESOLVED, That we heartily endorse the *Elmira Sunday Telegram* in its course pursued in boycotting J. Richardson & Co., boot and shoe manufacturers of that city, who, upon their employes asking for a small increase in wages, entered into a contract with the Commissioners of the Elmira Reformatory, taking 200 prisoners to make their boots and shoes.

Mr. Stoll (a reporter, and a member of Cleveland Typographical Union), who represented that paper, explained that it was a strictly union publication, and devoted a portion of its income to the labor cause.

The resolution was adopted.

LADY DELEGATES.

The Committee on Standing Orders reported favorably on the memorial of the Women's National Industrial League, and recommended that that organization be admitted to representation in future sessions of the Federation.

Mr. Edmonston explained that the organization in question was a bona fide trade union, and devoted its energies to the formation of such societies of women.

A substitute for the report, offered by Mr. Gompers, was adopted as follows:

RESOLVED, That this Congress extend to all women's labor organizations representation in the future annual congresses of this Federation upon an equal footing with trade organizations of men.

The committee reported in favor of the adoption of the resolution of Mr. Gompers in reference to the decision of Assistant Secretary French as to the constitutionality of the act to suspend the immigration of Chinese laborers.

The recommendation of the committee was confirmed.

TENTURE OF LAND.

The committee reported adversely on the following resolution, offered by Mr. Grenell, they believing it impracticable:

RESOLVED, That we believe that the present system of land tenure in America is detrimental to our interests as wage workers, and that some system should be adopted that will guarantee to all an equitable share of the natural resources of the land.

Mr. Grenell read a lengthy paper in support of his resolution. He said: "For years the cry of the toilers has been for equity in the

distribution of the results of human exertion—for the full results of their toil. Land, of right, belongs to all, and its private ownership means a monopoly for the benefit of the few to the detriment of the many. It forces from the enterprise of the manufacturer and from the product of the laborer the last penny. The land-holder stretches forth his hand, and says: 'Give me! I toil not; but the land you have made valuable is mine,' and the increased profits is diverted into his coffers. With land monopolies wages will be absorbed in rent for that which no man created and of which no one can hold exclusive possession. With land free to those who will cultivate it, no one will work for another for less than he can produce from the land. The natural increment of wealth from the increase of population goes into the pockets of the owners of land. It should go into the pockets of all who, by their presence and exertions, have contributed to it.

Mr. Powers spoke adversely upon the adoption of the resolution, claiming that the subject was too gigantic for the members to grapple, but should be left to the body politic.

Mr. Foster, of Massachusetts, spoke likewise upon the matter, stating that as trades unionists they had no right to take up such questions that do not properly come within their scope.

Mr. Gompers made extensive remarks on the subject. He denied that land controlled wages, and declared that wages controlled land and everything else. High wages, he said, bring about labor-saving machinery, and every introduction of that kind meant that articles can be purchased cheaper by the working class.

For instance, to have a box of goods taken to California from Cleveland it would cost say \$5 with wages of men at \$3 per day. To have it taken an equal distance in China, in the absence of the necessary machinery, at wages at 7 cents a day, it would cost as much as \$10. If the private ownership of land is wrong, the private ownership of the products of that land is wrong. "It is not the ownership of land that should be fought, but the doings of the capitalists we are organized to oppose," declared the speaker.

Mr. McIntyre thought that too much time had been taken in an argument which trades unionists have no right to consider.

Some further discussion ensued, in which several delegates favored the resolution as individuals, who recognized the present system as iniquitous, but, as representatives responsible to constituencies with views perhaps less progressive than their own, were obliged to support the recommendation of the committee.

The report of the committee was adopted.

In accordance with the committee's recommendation W. H. Foster's amendment making the encouragement and formation of State Federations of Trades Unions part of the objects of the Federation, was adopted as read.

A further recommendation of the committee, providing for an amendment admitting District Assemblies of the Knights of Labor on the same basis and terms as Trades Assemblies, was agreed to.

A motion was passed making the election of a General Secretary and Legislative Committee a special order for 10 A. M. next day, Friday.

Adjourned.

FOURTH DAY—Morning Session.

The Labor Congress assembled at the prescribed hour, Vice-President Samuel Gompers in the chair.

The roll was called, and the minutes of the previous day were read and approved.

On motion a Special Auditing Committee was ordered appointed, to whom should be referred all bills and accounts connected with the present session. Committee: Messrs. Cannon, Crawford and Mackenzie.

The Committee on Standing Orders reported favorably on the following resolution, offered by Mr. Edmonston, and it was adopted as read:

WHEREAS, It has been frequently asserted by public functionaries that the organizations of workmen are conspiracies, and Legislatures have enacted laws for their punishment as common criminals; and,

WHEREAS, Individual progress is an important factor in solving the labor problem; therefore,

RESOLVED, That we, the representatives of the organized labor of the United States, in order to shake off and counteract the oppressive exactions of an oligarchy now threatening the existence of democratic government, hereby declare open political resistance to the men and measures now holding our lives and our thoughts in subjection.

ELECTION OF GENERAL SECRETARY.

The hour of ten o'clock having arrived, the Chair declared the business before the Federation to be the nomination and election of a General Secretary and Legislative Committee.

W. H. Foster was placed in nomination for General Secretary by Mr. Crawford.

On motion the nominee was by acclamation made the unanimous choice of the Congress, and the Chair so declared it.

ELECTION OF LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE.

A committee of one from each State represented was, on motion, ordered appointed to report nominations for the Legislative Committee, which the Chair selected as follows: Illinois, Mark L. Crawford; Massachusetts, Frank K. Foster; Ohio, Donald McIntosh; New Jersey, Hugo Miller; Michigan, Judson Grenell; District of Columbia, Gabriel Edmonston; New York, Kenneth Mackenzie.

The committee retired immediately for consultation, and a recess was declared. In a short time the committee returned, and business was resumed by the reading of the following report:

Cleveland, Ohio, November 24, 1882.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Federation of Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada:

Gentlemen: Your Committee on selection of candidates for the Legislative Committee beg leave to report that they have selected the following names as such committee: Samuel Gompers, Robert Howard, Gabriel Edmonston and Richard Powers.

Respectfully submitted,
 MARK L. CRAWFORD,
 DONALD MCINTOSH,
 KENNETH MACKENZIE,
 F. K. FOSTER,
 JUDSON GRENELL,
 HUGO MILLER,
 G. EDMONSTON.

[The Chair called Mr. F. K. Foster to the side.]

On motion the report was received.

Mr. Crawford moved that the names reported be declared by acclamation the choice of the Federation to serve as the Legislative Committee up to the time of holding the next annual session.

The motion was unanimously concurred in, and the gentlemen whose names were reported were declared duly elected.

Mr. Gompers [resuming the chair] thanked the Federation for the honor conferred, and was followed by brief expressions of thanks from Messrs. W. H. Foster and Robert Howard.

STATE FEDERATION.

The following report was read, and, after some discussion, the report and amendments therein contained were adopted:

To the Congress of the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of United States and Canada:

Gentlemen—Your committee to whom was referred the matter of revenue and per capita tax recommend the following: Add to Article 4 a new section, to be known as section 2, the same to read as follows:

Sec. 2. State or Provincial Federations of Trades or Labor Unions shall be entitled to representation in the Congress of the Federation by two delegates.

Add to Article 7 another section, to be known as section 3, as follows:

Sec. 3. State and Provincial Federations of Trades and Labor Unions shall pay ten dollars for each delegate sent by them to the Congress.

[Signed] ED. W. FITZGERALD,
 SAMUEL GOMPERS,
 GABRIEL EDMONSTON.

The following dispatch was read and ordered spread on the minutes:

Elmira, N. Y., November 24, 1882.

Geo. C. Stoll, 55 Seneca Street, Cleveland, Ohio: On behalf of the *Telegram* extend to the officers and delegates of the Federation of Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada, now assembled in Cleveland, our heartfelt thanks for their kind consideration, and believe us to be in the future, as in the past.

Yours for truth and justice,
 H. S. BROOKS,
 Managing Editor of the *Telegram*.

INVITATION TO BANQUET.

A communication from the Cleveland Trades Assembly was read, as follows:

Cleveland, Ohio, November 24, 1882.

To the Officers and Members of the Federation of Trades and Labor Unions, Greeting:

The Trades and Labor Assembly of Cleveland, Ohio, fully appreciating the honor you have done them and their fellow-citizens of Cleveland in assembling in their city, do hereby tender you a cordial invitation to a banquet given in your honor at the Stribinger House this evening. A public ball will also be given in the City Armory, to which yourselves and friends are cordially invited.

GEORGE A. COLLISS, President.
 W. J. CANNON, Secretary.

On motion of Mr. Crawford the invitation was accepted with thanks.

PLASTERERS' NATIONAL UNION.

W. H. Foster moved that delegates be requested to urge the Plasterers' Unions in their respective localities to unite with the Plasterers' National Union if not already attached to that organization, and to exert themselves to form unions under the jurisdiction of that body where no organization of plasterers exists.

The motion was adopted.

The report of the Committee on Platform was received, voted upon by sections, and after being amended to some extent, adopted as a whole as printed in the beginning of this pamphlet.

The Legislative Committee was, on motion, directed to have the proceedings printed, the number ordered to be at their discretion.

A motion to insert in full in the proceedings the paper of Mr. F. K. Foster, entitled "Protection vs. Wages," was opposed by Mr. Miller.

Mr. Foster himself thought the course suggested by the motion would be injudicious.

A substitute was adopted directing that a synopsis of the paper be published in the proceedings.

THE LAND QUESTION.

The Federation concurred in the following, offered by Mr. Grenell.

RESOLVED, That this Congress recommends the careful consideration of the land question to the labor organizations of the country, in order that intelligent action may be taken in the future handling of this great subject.

Mr. Clasby offered the following, which, after discussion, was adopted:

WHEREAS, Harmonious action in the work of upbuilding trades organizations is of vital importance to success; therefore,

RESOLVED, That the practice of over-zealous partisans, who seek to build up their own by tearing down others, should cease, and their superabundant energies should be directed toward organized labor.

A motion prevailed that the copies of proceedings of the Pittsburg session remaining in the hands of the Legislative Committee be presented to Cleveland Trades Assembly.

It was agreed, on motion of Mr. Crawford, that the matter of representation of labor interests before the United States Congress on the part of the Federation be relegated to the Legislative Committee for future action.

Adjourned till 3:30 P. M., a motion to suspend the rules for that purpose having been adopted.

FOURTH DAY—Afternoon Session.

PROPAGANDISTS.

The Committee on Organization made the following report:

We recommend that the Legislative Committee have power to appoint Organizers for the dissemination of any documents issued by the Federation or Legislative Committee, and for such other purposes as they may deem advisable.

KENNETH MACKENZIE,
HUDSON GRENNELL,
JOHN CLASBY,
W. J. CANNON,
ROBERT HOWARD,
FRED J. KLOKKE.

Report adopted.

The special committee to audit the accounts of the present session presented the following report, which was adopted as read:

Cleveland, O., November 24, 1882.

To the Officers and Members of the Federated Trades and Labor Congress:

Gentlemen:—Your committee to whom was referred the accounts of the Convention respectfully report that the receipts as per itemized reports since the commencement of the session are as follows:

RECEIPTS.

Nov. 21, Received by Secretary, as per itemized report, including Treasurer's balance.....	\$223 20
Nov. 24, From R. Powers, sale of proceedings.....	5 00
Nov. 24, Per capita from Lake Seamen's Union.....	60 00
Nov. 24, Per capita from Granite Cutters' National Union.....	60 00
	<hr/>
	\$348 20

EXPENDITURES.

Nov. 24, To Lake Seamen's Union, money advanced as per itemized report.....	\$150 00
Nov. 24, To R. Powers, telegrams, postage, etc.....	5 00
Nov. 24, To W. H. Foster, as per itemized report.....	59 55
Nov. 24, To Samuel Gompers, as per itemized report.....	6 00
Nov. 24, To S. Sloss, rent of hall.....	30 00
Nov. 24, To G. A. Colliss, for stationery, etc.....	1 70
	<hr/>
	\$252.25
Receipts over disbursements.....	95 95
	<hr/>
	\$348 20

WM. J. CANNON,
KENNETH MACKENZIE,
M. L. CRAWFORD,
Committee on Audit.

The following resolutions were adopted as offered:

By Mr. Gompers:

RESOLVED, That we will refrain, and use our best endeavors to influence all workmen to refrain from smoking cigars or frequenting places where cigars are sold that do not bear the union label.

By Mr. Edmonston:

RESOLVED, That the Legislative Committee be authorized to take charge of the work begun by the Federation of Labor in the District of Columbia and direct the same, with power to enlarge the committee when the best interests of labor require a proper presentation of statistics, etc., before Congress to substantiate our demands.

By Mr. Powers:

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

By Mr. Crawford:

RESOLVED, That the thanks of the Congress are hereby tendered to the trades unions of the city of Cleveland for the kind attention given to the delegates of this Congress; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the thanks of this Congress are hereby tendered to the newspapers of Cleveland for their impartial reports of the proceedings.

Mr. Richard Powers called attention to the fact that an impression had gone out that this Congress had ignored the Knights of Labor,

when, on the contrary, it had decided that the Knights of Labor shall have an equal representation in the Federation. He desired to have this action fully understood.

The minutes of the day having been read and approved, and the Divine blessing having been invoked by Mr. Mackenzie, the Federation adjourned *sine die*, to meet in New York on the third Tuesday in August, 1883.

LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE.

Immediately after the adjournment of the Federation, W. H. Foster, General Secretary, called the Legislative Committee to order for organization.

Mr. Samuel Gompers was nominated for Chairman, and, there being no further nominations, that gentleman was, on motion, declared the unanimous choice of the committee for the position.

Mr. Foster surrendered the gavel to Mr. Gompers, and assumed his position as Secretary.

The organization of the committee was completed by choosing unanimously for the following offices the respective gentlemen here named: First Vice-Chairman, Richard Powers; Second Vice-Chairman, Gabriel Edmonston; Treasurer, Robert Howard.

