

LABOR OMNIA VINCIT



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



HELD AT ROCHESTER, NEW YORK,  
NOVEMBER 11 TO 23, INCLUSIVE,

1912

THE LAW REPORTER PRINTING COMPANY  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

1912

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OF THE

## AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

1913

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# DELEGATES

## TO THE

# Thirty-Second Annual Convention

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Asbestos Workers' International Association, Heat, Frost, General Insulators, and.....	1	8	Joseph A. Mullaney, 516 McDonald st., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union.....	3	49	A. A. Myrup, 212 Bush Temple, Chicago, Ill.
		49	Henry Koch, 72 Graham ave., Paterson, N. J.
		48	Jacob Goldstone, 12 Harrison ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Barbers' International Union, Journeymen.....	4	75	Frank X. Noschang, Box 397, Albany, N. Y.
		75	Jacob Fischer, 222 E. Michigan st., Indianapolis, Ind.
		75	W. E. Klapetzky, Box 616, Los Angeles, Cal.
Bill Posters and Billers of America, International Alliance of.....	1	74	Ed. Anderson, 176 North Union ave., Pueblo, Colo.
		14	James Labraico, care of Star Theatre, Toronto, Can.
Blacksmiths, International Brotherhood of.....	3	31	James W. Kline, 1270-1285 Monon Building, Chicago, Ill.
		31	Wm. F. Kramer, 1270-1285 Monon Building, Chicago, Ill.
		31	Charles N. Glover, 6655 Paulina st., Chicago, Ill.
Boilermakers and Iron Ship Builders, Brotherhood of.....	4	42	J. A. Franklin, Room 9, Law Building, Kansas City, Kans.
		42	M. J. McGuire, 308 Fourteenth st., San Francisco, Cal.
		42	T. J. Garvey, 414 S. Bird st., Richmond, Va.
Bookbinders, International Brotherhood of.....	1	41	George W. Pring, Valley Junction, Iowa.
		85	Edward C. Strelle, 261 Herman st., Buffalo, N. Y.
Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.....	5	67	John F. Tobin, 246 Summer st., Boston, Mass.
		67	Charles L. Baine, 246 Summer st., Boston, Mass.
		67	Miss Mary Anderson, 166 W. Washington st., Room 610, Chicago, Ill.
		66	Alvin C. Howes, Middleboro, Mass.
		66	Daniel Harrington, 20 Everett st., Brockton, Mass.
Brewery Workmen, International Union of United.....	5	90	Joseph Proebstle, Station E, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		90	Louis Kemper, Vine st., near Hollister, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		90	Ed. F. Ward, 1117 Columbus ave., Boston, Mass.
		90	A. J. Kugler, Station E., Cincinnati, Ohio.
Brick, Tile, and Terra Cotta Workers' Alliance, International.....	1	90	John Sullivan, 25 Third ave., New York, N. Y.
		34	Frank Butterworth, 409-160 N. Fifth ave., Chicago, Ill.
Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, International Association of.....	3	34	Daniel J. O'Shea, Ericson Place, Niagara Falls, N. Y.
		33	Frank E. Thoman, 653 King Place, Chicago, Ill.
		33	Joseph E. McClory, 4721 Franklin ave., N. W., Cleveland, Ohio.

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of votes for Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Carpenters and Joiners, United Brotherhood of.....	7	275	Wm. D. Huber, Carpenters' Building, 222 E. Michigan st., Indianapolis, Ind.
		275	Frank Duffy, Carpenters' Building, 222 E. Michigan st., Indianapolis, Ind.
		275	Fred C. Wheeler, 1301 Waterloo st., Los Angeles, Cal.
		275	A. M. Swartz, 1410 Sandusky st., N. S., Pittsburgh, Pa.
		275	D. F. Featherston, Box 1374, Jacksonville, Fla.
		274	Wm. J. Kelly, Union Labor Temple, Washington and Webster aves., Pittsburgh, Pa.
Carriage and Wagon Workers' International.....	1	27	James R. Crozier, Box 123, Station A, Boston, Mass.
		30	Frank C. Gengenback, 646 W. Sixty-seventh st., Chicago, Ill.
Cement Workers, American Brotherhood of.....	3	30	Martin Goelnitz, Second ave., Woodside, Long Island, N. Y.
		30	Frank Shif, 363 W. Madison st., Chicago, Ill.
		84	Samuel Gompers, 801 G st. N. W., Washington, D. C.
		84	Thos. F. Tracy, 708 Ouray Building, Washington, D. C.
Cigarmakers' International Union.....	5	84	J. Mahlon Barnes, 232 N. Ninth st., Philadelphia, Pa.
		84	W. H. Fitzgerald, 799 Division st., Portland, Oreg.
		84	Phil. H. Mueller, 615 Chestnut st., St. Louis, Mo.
Clerks' International Protective Association, Retail.....	1	150	H. J. Conway, Lock Box 248, Lafayette, Ind.
Cloth Hat and Cap Makers, United.....	1	28	Max Zuckerman, 228 E. Seventh st., New York City.
Commercial Telegraphers' Union.....	1	10	Miss Mary McCauley, Lockport, N. Y.
		23	Frank A. Scoby, 2801 N. Third st., Minneapolis, Minn.
Coopers' International Union.....	2	22	James J. Doyle, 29 Lawn st., Roxbury, Mass.
Diamond Workers' Protective Union.....	1	3	Andries Meyer, 323 Washington st., Brooklyn N. Y.
		49	F. J. McNulty, Pierik Building, Springfield, Ill.
		49	Frank B. Glynn, 32 South ave., Rochester, N. Y.
		49	J. W. Yount, Howard and Western aves., Rogers Park, Chicago, Ill.
Electrical Workers, International Brotherhood of.....	4	49	Chas. P. Ford, Pierik Building, Springfield, Ill.
		23	Frank Feeney, 708 S. Fifty-second st., Philadelphia, Pa.
		45	Matt Comerford, Temple Bar Building, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Engineers, International Union of Steam.....	4	44	James G. Hannahan, 6303 Harvard ave., Chicago, Ill.
		44	R. G. Moser, 3795 Meade st., Denver, Colo.
		44	T. J. Dolan, Fort Dearborn Building, Chicago, Ill.
		38	Timothy Healy, 158 E. Twenty-seventh st., New York City.
Firemen, International Brotherhood of Stationary.....	3	38	M. J. Friel, 156 W. Washington st., Chicago, Ill.
		38	Wm. J. Brennan, 126 Market st., Newark, N. J.
		29	T. W. Rowe, 930 Ohio Building, Toledo, Ohio.
Flint Glass Workers' Union, American.....	3	29	William P. Clarke, 928 Ohio Building, Toledo, Ohio.
		29	Charles F. Green, 806 Buckeye st., Toledo, Ohio.
Foundry Employes, International Brotherhood of.....	1	5	James B. Conroy, 200 S. Broadway, St. Louis, Mo.

DELEGATES TO THE THIRTY-SECOND ANNUAL CONVENTION

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Freight Handlers, Brotherhood of Railroad.....	1	25	P. J. Flannery, 816-24 Harrison st., Chicago, Ill.
		93	T. A. Rickert, Room 324, 219 S. Dearborn st., Chicago, Ill.
		93	B. A. Larger, 117 Bible House, New York City.
Garment Workers of America, United.....	5	93	Miss Margaret C. Daily, 117 Bible House, New York City.
		93	V. Altman, 11 N. Ashland ave., Buffalo, N. Y.
		92	Maier Schwarz, 21 Milk st., Cincinnati, Ohio.
		117	Abraham Rosenberg, 32 Union Square, New York City.
		117	John A. Dyche, 32 Union Square, New York City.
Garment Workers' Union, International Ladies.....	5	117	Alo Cursi, 79 E. Tenth st., New York City.
		117	John F. Pierce, 7 W. Twenty-first st., New York City.
		116	Meyer Rosenberg, 2051 Wakeman st., Toledo, Ohio.
		34	D. A. Hayes, 930 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia, Pa.
Glass Bottle Blowers' Association.....	3	33	Charles E. Heritage, Room 8, Merritt Building, Woodbury, N. J.
		33	Edward J. Marx, 463 Carbon st., Mt. Oliver, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Glass Workers' International Association, Amalgamated.....	1	11	David Ring, 416 W. Fifteenth st., Kansas City, Mo.
Glove Workers' Union, International.....	1	11	Miss Agnes Nestor, 506 Bush Temple of Music, Chicago, Ill.
		45	James Duncan, Hancock Building, Quincy, Mass.
Granite Cutters, International Association of.....	3	45	James Garvey, 2 Bailey st., S. Lawrence, Mass.
		45	Alex. Archie, 508 Seventh st., Wausau, Wis.
		29	Martin Lawlor, 11 Waverly Place, New York City.
Hatters, United, of North America.....	3	28	H. C. Shalvoy, Danbury, Conn.
		28	Michael F. Green, 52 Freeman st., Orange, N. J.
		42	Dominick D'Alessandro, Drawer 597, Albany, N. Y.
Hodcarriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union, International.....	3	42	Joseph D'Andrea, Drawer 597, Albany, N. Y.
		41	Joseph B. Etchison, 25 Old Board of Trade Building, Indianapolis, Ind.
Horseshoers, International Union of Journeymen.....	2	26	Hubert S. Marshall, 908 Second National Bank Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		26	Roady Kenahan, 1464 Winona Court, Denver, Colo.
		96	Edward Flore, 469 Oak st., Buffalo, N. Y.
		95	Jere L. Sullivan, 610 Commercial Tribune Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Hotel and Restaurant Employes' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League.....	5	95	Thomas S. Farrell, 1120 Prospect ave., Cleveland, Ohio.
		95	George Miller, 3204 Lucas ave., St. Louis, Mo.
		95	Otto Pattberg, 24 Witte st., Glendale, Long Island, N. Y.
		23	Judson O'Neal, 831 N. Third st., Terre Haute, Ind.
Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers, Amalgamated Association of.....	2	22	John Williams, Room 506 House Building, Pittsburgh, Pa.
		25	Wm. J. McSorley, 401 Superior Building, Cleveland, Ohio.
Lathers, International Union of Wood, Wire, and Metal.....	2	25	John T. Taggart, 320 Highland ave., Mount Vernon, N. Y.
Laundry Workers, International Union.....	1	26	Charles F. Bailey, 604 Second ave., Troy, N. Y.
Leather Workers on Horse Goods, United Brotherhood of.....	1	20	W. E. Bryan, 209 Postal Building, Kansas City, Mo.
Leather Workers' Union of America, Amalgamated.....	1	6	Dennis Healey, 101 Whipple st., Lowell, Mass

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Lithographic Pressfeeders, International Protective Association of.....	1	9	Wm. A. Coakley, 43 Centre st., New York, N. Y.
		59	Thos. V. O'Connor, Brisbane Building, Buffalo, N. Y.
Longshoremen's Association, International.....	4	59	A. J. Chlopek, 3224 Lagrange st., Toledo, Ohio.
		59	George E. Neesham, Lock Box 407, Pittsburgh, Pa.
		58	Thomas Harrison, 618 Phillip st., New Orleans, La.
		120	Wm. H. Johnston, Room 405 McGill Building, Washington, D. C.
		120	B. F. Lamb, Howard Building, St. Louis, Mo.
Machinists, International Association of.....	5	120	Thos. Van Lear, 2395 University ave., St. Paul, Minn.
		119	A. O. Wharton, Howard Building, St. Louis, Mo.
		119	P. W. Buckley, care of Room 360 Albank Block, Oakland, Cal.
Maintenance of Way Employes, International Brotherhood of.....	3	31	A. B. Lowe, 3900 Olive st., St. Louis, Mo.
		30	M. J. Powers, 3900 Olive st., St. Louis, Mo.
		30	C. C. Allen, 3900 Olive st., St. Louis, Mo.
Marble Workers, International Association of.....	1	28	Walter V. Price, 406 E. One Hundred and Forty-ninth st., New York City.
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, Amalgamated.....	1	40	Homer D. Call, Lock Box 212, Syracuse, N. Y.
		34	T. M. Daly, 408 Neave Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Brass Workers' International.....	3	33	George Leary, 408 Neave Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		33	Thomas Rumsey, 2772 Monroe st., Toledo, Ohio.
		42	M. O'Sullivan, 407 Nelson Building, Kansas City, Mo.
Metal Workers' International Alliance, Amalgamated Sheet.....	4	42	John D. Crane, 407 Nelson Building, Kansas City, Mo.
		41	John J. Hynes, 407 Nelson Building, Kansas City, Mo.
		41	Thos. Walsh, 39 S. Fifth ave., Chicago, Ill.
		382	John P. White, 1111 State Life Building, Indianapolis, Ind.
		382	John Mitchell, 3 Claremont ave., Mount Vernon, N. Y.
Mine Workers of America, United.....	7	382	Frank J. Hayes, 1120 State Life Building, Indianapolis, Ind.
		381	John H. Walker, 508 Farmers' National Bank Building, Springfield, Ill.
		381	T. L. Lewis, Bridgeport, Ohio.
		381	Duncan McDonald, 505 Farmers' National Bank Building, Springfield, Ill.
		381	William Green, Coshocton, Ohio.
		127	John C. Williams, Grass Valley, Cal.
		127	M. J. Scanlan, 605 Railroad Building, Denver, Colo.
Miners, Western Federation of.....	4	126	Edwin Young, care of B. & M. Smelter, Great Falls, Mont.
		126	Joseph D. Cannon, 238 N. Grand ave., Los Angeles, Cal.
		125	Joseph F. Valentine, Commercial Tribune Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		125	John P. Frey, Box 699, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Molders' Union, International.....	4	125	R. H. Curran, 107 Hobart st., Rochester, N. Y.
		125	Jack L. Lanigan, Labor Temple, Vancouver, B. C., Can.
		125	Joseph N. Weber, 1370 Broadway, Room 2, New York, N. Y.
		125	Owen Miller, 3535 Pine st., St. Louis, Mo.
Musicians, American Federation of.....	4	125	D. A. Carey, 170 Montrose ave., Toronto, Can.
		125	Joseph F. Winkler, 175 W. Washington st., Chicago, Ill.

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ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
		115	George F. Hedrick, Drawer 99, Lafayette, Ind.
		114	J. C. Skemp, Drawer 99, Lafayette, Ind.
		114	Jacob Tazelaar, 43 E. Twenty-second st., New York City.
Painters, Decorators, and Paper-hangers, Brotherhood of.....	6	114	W. E. Rodriguez, 1058 N. Kedzie Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.
		114	Thos. Wright, 746 Coney Island ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.
		114	Emil Arnold, 5023 Strong st., Chicago, Ill.
Paper Makers, International Brotherhood of.....	1	28	J. T. Carey, 44-45-46 Benson Building, Albany, N. Y.
Pattern Makers' League of North America.....	2	30	James Wilson, Second National Bank Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		30	James L. Gernon, 411 Albemarle Road, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Pavers, Rammermen, Flag Layers, Bridge and Stone Curb Setters, International Union of.....	1	15	Edward I. Hannah, 223 E. Fifty-ninth st., New York, N. Y.
Paving Cutters' Union.....	1	35	John Sheret, Lock Box 27, Albion, N. Y.
Photo-Engravers' Union, International	1	40	Matthew Woll, 6111 Bishop st., Chicago, Ill.
Plate Printers' Union of America, Steel and Copper.....	1	12	William D. Clark, 220 Eighth st., S. E., Washington, D. C.
		53	Edward J. McGivern, 1414 Bluchill ave., Boston, Mass.
Plasterers' International Association, Operative.....	3	52	Peter G. Cook, 269 W. One Hundred and Fourteenth st., New York City.
		52	Joseph J. McDermott, 843 S. Harvey ave., Oak Park, Ill.
		65	John R. Alpine, 411-16 Bush Temple of Music, Chicago, Ill.
Plumbers, Gasfitters, Steamfitters, and Steamfitters' Helpers, United Association of.....	4	65	William J. Tracey, 337 W. Logan st., Philadelphia, Pa.
		65	E. W. Leonard, 411-16 Bush Temple of Music, Chicago, Ill.
		65	Patrick Murphy, 103 E. One Hundred and Twenty-fifth st., New York City.
Post-office Clerks, National Federation of.....	1	18	Oscar F. Nelson, 219 S. Dearborn st., Room 735, Chicago, Ill.
Potters, National Brotherhood of Operative.....	2	33	Edward Menge, Box 6, East Liverpool, Ohio.
		32	E. J. Whitehead, Box 770, Trenton, N. J.
		48	George L. Berry, Rogersville, Tenn.
		48	W. G. Halpine, 551 Hayward ave., Rochester, N. Y.
Printing Pressmen's Union, International.....	4	47	L. Hart, 17 Saxton st., Rochester, N. Y.
		47	Harry Wilson, 369 Exchange st., Rochester, N. Y.
Pulp, Sulphite, and Paper Mill Workers, International Brotherhood of.....	1	35	John H. Malin, P. O. Drawer K, Fort Edward, N. Y.
Quarry Workers' International Union	2	20	Fred W. Sutor, Scampini Building, Barre, Vt.
		20	P. J. Dacey, Milford, Mass.
		63	H. B. Perham, Star Building, St. Louis, Mo.
		63	W. T. Brown, Star Building, St. Louis, Mo.
Railroad Telegraphers, Order of.....	4	62	J. F. Miller, 2916 Huntington ave., Baltimore, Md.
		62	T. J. Gallagher, 4 Longwood ave., New York City, N. Y.
		72	Martin F. Ryan, 503 Hall Building, Kansas City, Mo.
		72	Edwin W. Weeks, 507 Hall Building, Kansas City, Mo.
Railway Carmen, Brotherhood of.....	4	72	Wm. J. Adames, 505 Hall Building, Kansas City, Mo.
		71	Frank Paquin, 638 1/2 E. Sixty-sixth st., Chicago, Ill.

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ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Railway Employes, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric.....	1	402	Ben. Commons, 1011 Poland st., New Orleans, La.
		54	A. Furuseh, 44-46 East st., San Francisco, Cal.
Seamen's Union, International.....	3	53	T. A. Hanson, 570 W. Lake st., Chicago, Ill.
		53	I. N. Hulen, 93 Steuart st., San Francisco, Cal.
Shingle Weavers' Union of America, International.....	1	15	J. G. Brown, 306 Maynard Building, Seattle, Wash.
Slate and Tile Roofers' Union of America, International.....	1	5	George M. Huddleston, 601 Fourth st. N. W., Washington, D. C.
Stage Employes' International Alliance, Theatrical.....	3	37	Charles C. Shay, Room 1511, 1547 Broadway, New York City, N. Y.
		37	John Suarez, 16 S. Sixth st., St. Louis, Mo.
		36	James Lemke, care of 34 Canal-ave., Troy, N. Y.
Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union of North America, International.....	2	22	James J. Freel, 1839 Eighty-fifth st., Brooklyn, N. Y.
		21	Charles A. Sumner, 403 Scanett Arcade, Kansas City, Mo.
		30	James A. Short, Ouray Building, Washington, D. C.
Stone Cutters' Association of North America, Journeymen.....	3	30	Octave Jette, 628 Garnier st., Montreal, Que., Canada.
		29	William McKay, Box 507, Victoria, B. C., Canada.
Stove Mounters' International Union.....	1	11	Frank Grimshaw, 1210 Jefferson st., East, Detroit, Mich.
		29	S. E. Heberling, 326 Brisbane Building, Buffalo, N. Y.
Switchmen's Union of North America.....	3	29	M. R. Welch, 326 Brisbane Building, Buffalo, N. Y.
		29	J. B. Connors, 707 E. Fortieth st., Chicago, Ill.
		40	E. J. Brais, Box 597, Bloomington, Ill.
		40	D. G. Biggs, Box 597, Bloomington, Ill.
		40	Hugh Robinson, 3 Kent st., Hamilton, Ont. Can.
Tailors' Union Journeymen.....	3	83	Daniel J. Tobin, 222 E. Michigan st., Indianapolis, Ind.
		83	Thomas L. Hughes, 222 E. Michigan st., Indianapolis, Ind.
Teamsters, International Brotherhood of.....	5	83	Wm. A. Neer, 175 Washington st., Room 301, Chicago, Ill.
		83	John M. Gillespie, Suite 35, 455 Columbus ave., Boston, Mass.
		83	J. J. Morris, 200 Guerrero st., care of Walter Duryea, San Francisco, Cal.
		55	John Golden, Box 742, Fall River, Mass.
		54	James Starr, Box 1168, Paterson, N. J.
Textile Workers of America, United.....	2		
Tile Layers and Helpers' International Union, Ceramic, Mosaic and Encaustic.....	1	24	Thomas J. Williams, Labor Temple, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Tip Printers, International Brotherhood of.....	1	2	Thomas J. Carolan, 6 Plum st., Newark, N. J.
Tobacco Workers' International Union.....	1	37	E. Lewis Evans, Rooms 50 and 51 American National Bank Building, Louisville, Ky.
Travelers' Goods and Leather Novelty Workers' International Union of America.....	1	8	Edw. E. Shilling, 522 S. Halsted st., Chicago, Ill.
Tunnel and Subway Constructors' International Union.....	1	18	Thomas J. Curtis, 178 E. Seventy-eighth st., New York City.



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		110	James M. Lynch, 650 Newton Claypool Building, Indianapolis, Ind.
		110	Frank Morrison, Ouray Building, Washington, D. C.
Typographical Union, International.....	5	109	Hugh Stevenson, 176 McPherson ave., Toronto, Ont., Can.
		109	Max S. Hayes, 979 Parkwood Drive, Cleveland, Ohio.
		109	T. W. McCullough, 2028 Maple st., Omaha, Nebr.
Upholsterers' International Union	1	28	John Hanley, 159 E. Fifty-seventh st., New York City.
		37	William J. Cooke, 227-231 W. Forty-sixth st., New York City.
White Rats Actors' Union of America.....	3	37	Abner All, 28 N. Fifth ave., Chicago, Ill.
		36	Joe Birnes, 1553 Broadway, New York City.
Arkansas State Federation of Labor....	1	1	Fred W. Holt, McAlester, Okla.
California State Federation of Labor....	1	1	Andrew J. Gallagher, 316 Fourteenth st. San Francisco, Cal.
Colorado State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Charles Moyer, 605 Railroad Building, Denver, Colo.
Connecticut State Federation of Labor	1	1	Jeremiah A. Keane, 40 Sheridan st., Danbury, Conn.
Florida State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Jackson W. Holder, 17 East Beaver st., Jacksonville, Fla.
Georgia State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	R. L. Corley, 112 Trinity ave., Atlanta, Ga.
Illinois State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Stephen Sumner, 6644 Bishop st., Chicago, Ill.
Indiana State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	William J. Pfeifer, 210½ N. Delaware st., Indianapolis, Ind.
Iowa State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	J. J. O'Brien, 202 W. Fifth st., Muscatine, Iowa.
Kansas State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	W. B. Shaughnessey, 820 Delaware st., Leavenworth, Kans.
Maine State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Henry M. Donnelly, 58½ Arsenal st., Augusta, Me.
Maryland State Federation of Labor....	1	1	P. J. Ryan, 212 F st. N. W., Washington, D. C.
Massachusetts State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Emmet T. Walls, 53 Elm ave., Brockton, Mass.
Michigan State Federation of Labor....	1	1	Joseph Smith, 623 Birney st., Bay City, Mich.
Minnesota State Federation of Labor....	1	1	W. F. McGrath, 20 N. Twelfth st., Minneapolis, Minn.
Missouri State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	E. T. Behrens, 315 S. Lamine st., Sedalia, Mo.
Montana State Federation of Labor....	1	1	M. M. Donoghue, 1115 W. Park st., Butte, Mont.
Nebraska State Federation of Labor....	1	1	C. L. Shamp, Rooms 2-4, 2502 N. Eighteenth st., Omaha, Nebr.
New Jersey State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Henry J. Vanderveld, 121 Paterson ave., Paterson, N. J.
New York State Federation of Labor....	1	1	Henry Prinz, 311 Church st., Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
Ohio State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	James P. Egan, 119 Twentieth st., Toledo, Ohio
Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	William Young, Jr., 131 N. Fifteenth st., Philadelphia, Pa.
Rhode Island State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	O. L. Preble, 98 Weybosset st., Room 19, Providence, R. I.
Tennessee State Federation of Labor....	1	1	Clarence E. Swick, Memphis, Tenn.
Texas State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	William L. Hoefgen, P. O. Box 1113, San Antonio, Texas.
Virginia State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	James J. Creamer, 619 China st., Richmond, Va.
Washington State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	W. J. Coates, 311 Sprague ave., Spokane, Wash.

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ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES
West Virginia State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	H. P. Corcoran, 1577 Washington st., Charleston, W. Va.
Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	F. C. Brockhausen, 553 Orchard st., Milwaukee, Wis.
Wyoming State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	James Scrivner, 805 Emerson st., Sheridan, Wyo.
Albany (N. Y.) Central Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Thomas D. Fitzgerald, 210 Jay st., Albany, N. Y.
Atlanta (Ga.) Federation of Trades.....	1	1	O. A. Cone, 13 Howard st., Kirkwood, Atlanta, Ga.
Baltimore (Md.) Federation of Labor.....	1	1	James H. Sullivan, 502 E. Fayette st., Baltimore, Md.
Belmont County (Ohio) Central Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	E. E. Tharp, 3026 Belmont st., Bellaire, Ohio.
Birmingham (Ala.) Trades Council.....	1	1	R. H. White, Box 180, Birmingham, Ala.
Bloomington (Ill.) Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	John B. Lennon, Bloomington, Ill.
Boston (Mass.) Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Frank H. McCarthy, 97 Union Park st., Boston, Mass.
Brockton (Mass.) Central Labor Union.....	1	1	James H. Collins, 757 Center st., Brockton, Mass.
Brooklyn (N. Y.) Central Labor Union.....	1	1	John P. Coughlin, 135 Adelphi st., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Chicago (Ill.) Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Joseph Morton, 1748 North Whipple st., Chicago, Ill.
Cincinnati (Ohio) Central Labor Council.....	1	1	Walter Mullen, 856 Hathaway st., Cincinnati, Ohio.
Cleveland (Ohio) Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Frank Smith, 310 Prospect ave., southeast, Cleveland, Ohio.
Cohoes (N. Y.) Central Federation of Labor.....	1	1	J. P. McGinley, 263 Elm st., Albany, N. Y.
Denver (Colo.) Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Harvey Garman, 721 Ernest & Crammer Building, Denver, Colo.
Dunkirk (N. Y.) United Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	James G. Sause, 317 Lion st., Dunkirk, N. Y.
Evansville (Ind.) Central Labor Union.....	1	1	John J. Keegan, 2333 Central ave., Indianapolis, Ind.
Geneva (N. Y.) Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Michael F. Tracy, 135 W. North st., Geneva, N. Y.
Granite City (Ill.) Tri-City Central Trades Council (Granite City, Madison, Venice, Ill.).....	1	1	T. M. Cavanaugh, 2121a E st., Granite City, Ill.
Hamilton (Ont., Can.) District Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	S. L. Landers, 39 Charles st., Hamilton, Ont., Can.
Hartford (Conn.) Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Sol. Sontheimer, 40 Charter Oak place, Hartford, Conn.
Huntington (W. Va.) Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	George W. Gillspec, 1836 Sixth ave., Huntington, W. Va.
Indianapolis (Ind.) Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Chas. A. Hays, 3534 N. Illinois st., Indianapolis, Ind.
Jacksonville (Fla.) Central Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	J. C. Privett, 301 E. Tenth st., Jacksonville, Fla.
Jamestown (N. Y.) Central Labor Council.....	1	1	J. M. Kane, Falconer, N. Y.
Kansas City (Mo.) Industrial Council.....	1	1	John T. Smith, Labor Temple, 1402 Woodland ave., Kansas City, Mo.
Kensington (Ill.) Calumet Joint Labor Council.....	1	1	Herman C. Diehl, 11518 Princeton ave., Chicago, Ill.
Lincoln (Nebr.) Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Clarence R. Elyea, 522 N. Fourteenth st., Lincoln, Nebr.
Logansport (Ind.) Trades Assembly.....	1	1	Edwin S. Burns, 408 1-3 Market st., Logansport, Ind.
Los Angeles (Cal.) Central Labor Council.....	1	1	L. W. Butler, Room 202, Labor Temple, Los Angeles, Cal.

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of votes for Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Louisville (Ky.) United Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Peter Campbell, 813 S. Hancock st., Louisville, Ky.
Meriden (Conn.) Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Geo. W. Chance, P. O. Box 341, Meriden, Conn.
Milwaukee (Wis.) Federated Trades Council.....	1	1	Frank J. Weber, 1223 Locust st., Milwaukee, Wis.
Mobile (Ala.) Central Trades Council	1	1	P. J. Doherty, Mobile, Ala.
Nashville (Tenn.) Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	C P. Fahey, 703 Main st., Nashville, Tenn.
Newark (N. J.) Essex Trades Council.....	1	1	Morris R. Welch, 30 N. Third st., Newark, N. J.
New York (N. Y.) Central Federated Union of Greater New York and Vicinity.....	1	1	James P. Holland, 158 E. Twenty-seventh st., New York City.
Niagara Falls (N. Y.) Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Joseph P. Hunter, Niagara Falls, N. Y.
Olean (N. Y.) Central Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Elmer E. Evans, Olean, N. Y.
Omaha (Nebr.) Central Labor Union.....	1	1	George E. Norman, 1817 Chicago st., Omaha, Nebr.
Ottawa (Can.) Allied Trades [and Labor Association.....	1	1	P. M. Draper, Drawer 515, Ottawa Can.
Philadelphia (Pa.) Central Labor Union of, and vicinity.....	1	1	Frank O. Bryan, 735 Sloan st., Philadelphia, Pa.
Pittsburgh (Pa.) Iron City Central Trades Council.....	1	1	R. J. McGrath, 426 Diamond st., Pittsburgh, Pa.
Poughkeepsie (N. Y.) Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	James C. Brower, 23 Washington st., Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
Richmond Borough (N. Y.) Central Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	William J. Bonner, 41 Whittaker place, Rosebank P. O. Staten Island, N. Y.
Richmond (Va.) Central Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	John Hirschberg, 209 N. Twenty-fifth st., Richmond, Va.
Rochester (N. Y.) Central Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Emanuel Koveleski, 19 Windsor st., Rochester, N. Y.
Sacramento (Cal.) Federated Trades Council.....	1	1	W. P. Hannon, 1005 Fourth st., Sacramento, Cal.
St. Louis (Mo.) Central Trades and Labor Union of, and vicinity.....	1	1	Louis P. Philippi, 1930 Sidney st., St. Louis, Mo.
St. Paul (Minn.) Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Charles E. James, 309 Wabasha st., St. Paul, Minn.
St. Thomas (Ont., Can.) Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	William Stokes, 69 Flora st., St. Thomas, Ont., Can.
Salem (Mass.) Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Silas N. Lapham, 8 Central st., Salem, Mass.
San Francisco (Cal.) Labor Council.....	1	1	Paul Scharrenberg, 316 Fourteenth st., San Francisco, Cal.
Savannah (Ga.) Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	J. J. Keane, 549 Park ave., east, Savannah, Ga.
Schenectady (N. Y.) Trades Assembly.....	1	1	John J. Henley, 215 Park place, Schenectady, N. Y.
Sharon (Pa.) United Labor League of, and vicinity.....	1	1	David Niven, 12 Porter st., Sharon, Pa.
South Chicago (Ill.) Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	James C. Felio, 9508 Commercial ave., South Chicago, Ill.
Springfield (Ill.) Federation of Labor.....	1	1	James F. Morris, 304 Pierik Building Springfield, Ill.
Syracuse (N. Y.) Central Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Edward Vincent Wood, 305 S. Warren st., Syracuse, N. Y.

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Toronto (Ont., Can.) District Labor Council.....	1	1	James Simpson, 54 High Park Boulevard, Toronto, Ont., Can.
Troy (N. Y.) Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Thomas J. Purcell, 73 Albany ave., Green Island, N. Y.
Utica (N. Y.) Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Edward A. Bates, 256 South st., Utica, N. Y.
Waco (Tex.) Central Labor Union.....	1	1	John R. Spencer, 209 1-2 S. Fifth st., Waco, Tex.
Washington (D. C.) Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Milton Snellings, 919 E st. S. W., Washington, D. C.
Watertown (N. Y.) Central Trades and Labor Union.....	1	1	Stephen English, 508 Cooper st., Watertown, N. Y.
Wilkes-Barre (Pa.) Central Labor Union.....	1	1	J. J. Youhon, 17 1-2 Regent st., Lee Park, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.
Yonkers (N. Y.) Federation of Labor.....	1	1	H. Wildberger, Jr., 48 W. Grand st., Mt. Vernon, N. Y.
Zanesville (Ohio) Central Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	John A. Voll, 134 Hamline ave., Zanesville, Ohio.
Badge, Banner, Regalia, Button, and Novelty Workers' Union No. 14065.....	1	1	Alice O'Rourke, 612 Kosciusko st., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Badge, Banner, Regalia, Button, and Novelty Workers' Union No. 14297.....	1	1	Miss Kathryn M. Duffy, 395 Exchange st., Rochester, N. Y.
Bookkeepers, Stenographers, and Accountants' Union No. 12646.....	1	1	Miss Elizabeth C. Morris, 3 Claremont ave., Mount Vernon, N. Y.
Commercial Portrait Artists' Union No. 14286.....	1	1	Charles V. Lawler, 21 N. Forty-first ave., Chicago, Ill.
Egg Inspectors' Union, No. 8705.....	1	2	Edward Lampa, 631 Montecello ave., Chicago, Ill.
Elevator Conductors and Starters' Union, No. 11959.....	1	3	J. J. McAndrews, 175 W. Washington st., Chicago, Ill.
Elevator Operators' Union, No. 14214.....	1	1	John J. Cunningham, 10 Haverford st., Jamaica Plains, Mass.
Federal Labor Union, No. 12362.....	1	1	Charles Woodhouse, 16 School st., Galeton, Pa.
Fish Splitters and Handlers' Union, No. 14270.....	1	2	John Sinclair, 6 Cross st., Gloucester, Mass.
Grain Workers' Association, No. 11407.....	1	1	Ernest Bohm, 210 E. Fifth st., New York City.
Laborers' Protective Union, No. 8079.....	1	6	George Waldron, Mineville, Essex County, N. Y.
Mineral Water Workers Union, No. 12674.....	1	1	Samuel Lebowitz, 151 Clinton st., New York City.
Newsboys' Union, No. 9077.....	1	2	Thomas J. Mulkern, 16 S. Russell st., Boston, Mass.
Newspaper and Mail Deliverers' Union, No. 9463.....	1	10	John R. Dunne, Room 912, New York World Building, New York City.
Railroad Helpers and Laborers' Union, No. 14075.....	1	1	J. E. Johnson, Princeton, W. Va.
Riggers' Protective Union, No. 11561.....	1	2	I. Beckman, 63 Sand st., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Sugar Refinery Employees' Union, No. 13053.....	1	4	Manny Weiss, Box 127, Yonkers, N. Y.
Theatrical Tailors' and Dressers' Union, No. 12719.....	1	1	Louis Gold, New York City.
British Trades Union Congress.....	2	1	J. A. Seddon, Laurel Dene, St. Helens, Lancashire, England.
Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.....	1	1	R. Smillie, Miller st., Larkhall, Scotland.
National Women's Trade Union League.....	1	1	John W. Bruce, 669 Carlaw ave., Toronto, Ont., Can.
			Mrs. Raymond Robins, 1437 W. Ohio st., Chicago, Ill.

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Women's International Union Label League.....	1	}	Anna B. Field, Harting Block, Elwood, Ind.
Federal Council of the Churches of Christ.....	2		Rev. Charles S. Macfarland, 1611 Clarendon Building, 215 Fourth ave., New York, N. Y.
American Federation of Catholic Societies.....	1		Rev. Henry A. Atkinson, 19 S. La Salle st., Chicago, Ill.
Church Association for Advancement of Labor.....	1		Rev. Peter Dietz, 503 Murray ave., Milwaukee, Wis.
			Rev. James Bishop Thomas, St. Andrew's Church, Averill ave. and Ashland st., New York City.

Number of Unions.	NAMES.	Number of Delegates.	Number of Votes.
90	National and International.....	231	17,202
30	State.....	30	30
67	Central.....	67	67
18	Trade and Federal Labor Unions.....	18	41
7	Fraternal Organizations.....	9	3
212		355	17,343

## List of Fraternal Delegates.

To British Trades Union Congress.		From British Trades Union Congress.	
1895	Samuel Gompers. • P. J. McGuire.	1894	John Burns. David Holmes.
1896	J. W. Sullivan. Adolph Strasser.	1895	Edward Cowey. James Mawdsley.
1897	Martin Fox. Geo. E. McNeil.	1896	Sam Woods. John Mallinson.
1898	James Duncan. Harry Lloyd.	1897	Edward Harford. J. Havelock Wilson.
1899	James O'Connell. Thomas F. Tracy.	1898	William Inskip. William Thorne.
1900	J. M. Hunter. Sidney J. Kent.	1899	James Haslam. Alexander Wilkie.
1901	Daniel J. Keefe. Eugene F. O'Rourke.	1900	John Weir. Pete Curran.
1902	Patrick Dolan. Henry Blackmore.	1901	Frank Chandler. Ben Tillet.
1903	Max S. Hayes. Martin Lawlor.	1902	M. Arrandale. E. Edwards.
1904	W. D. Ryan. D. D. Driscoll.	1903	William Mullin. James O'Grady.
1905	John A. Moffitt. James Wood.	1904	William Abraham. James Wignall.
1906	Frank K. Foster. James Wilson.	1905	William Mosses. David Gilmour.
1907	John T. Dempsey. W. E. Klapetzky.	1906	Allen Gee. J. N. Bell.
1908	Andrew Furuseth. James J. Creamer.	1907	David J. Shackleton. John Hodge.
1909	John P. Frey. B. A. Larger.	1908	John Wadsworth. H. Skinner.
1910	W. B. Wilson. T. V. O'Connor.	1909	A. H. Gill. J. R. Clynes.
1911	Wm. B. MacFarlane. Daniel J. Tobin.	1910	W. Brace. Ben Turner.
1912	George L. Berry. John H. Walker.	1911	G. H. Roberts. J. Crinion.
1913	Chas. L. Baine. Louis Kemper.	1912	J. A. Seddon. R. Smillie.
To Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.		From Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.	
1898	Thomas I. Kidd.	1898	David A. Carey.
1899	James H. Sullivan.	1899	David A. Carey.
1900	W. I. Malon.	1900	David A. Carey.
1901	John E. O'Brien.	1901	P. M. Draper.
1902	D. D. Driscoll.	1902	John H. Kennedy.
1903	John Coleman.	1903	James Simpson.
1904	John H. Richards.	1904	John A. Flett.
1905	Frank Feeney.	1905	William V. Todd.
1906	Thomas A. Rickert.	1906	Samuel L. Landers.
1907	Robert S. Maloney.	1907	W. R. Trotter.
1908	Hugh Frayne.	1908	P. M. Draper.
1909	Jerome Jones.	1909	F. Bancroft.
1910	John J. Manning.	1910	R. P. Pettipiece.
1911	Wm. J. Tracy.	1911	Wm. Glockling.
1912	John T. Smith.	1912	John W. Bruce.
1913	Wm. J. McSorley.		

# CONSTITUTION

## OF THE

# AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

1913

### PREAMBLE.

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

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

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

### CONSTITUTION.

#### ARTICLE I.—NAME.

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

#### ARTICLE II.—OBJECTS.

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

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

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

governed in conformity with the laws of the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 4. An American Federation of all National and International Trade Unions, to aid and assist each other; to aid and encourage the sale of union label goods, and to secure legislation in the interest of the working people, and influence public opinion, by peaceful and legal methods, in favor of organized labor.

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

#### ARTICLE III.—CONVENTION.

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

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

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

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

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

SEC. 6. The Convention shall have

power to order an executive session at any time.

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

SEC. 8. Party politics, whether they be Democratic, Republican, Socialistic, Populist, Prohibition, or any other, shall have no place in the Conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

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

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

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

#### ARTICLE IV.—REPRESENTATION.

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

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

SEC. 3. Questions may be decided by division or a show of hands, but if a call of the roll is demanded by one-tenth of the delegates present each delegate shall cast one vote for every one hundred members or major fraction thereof he represents, but no City or State Federation shall be allowed more than one vote.

SEC. 4. The Secretary shall prepare for use of the Convention printed poll lists, containing the number of votes the delegates from National and International Unions are entitled to, based upon the average membership during the year, from reports made to the office of the Federation not later than September 30 preceding the Annual Convention.

SEC. 5. No organization or person that has seceded, or has been suspended, or expelled, by the American Federation of

Labor, or by any National or International organization connected with the Federation, shall, while under such penalty, be allowed representation or recognition in this Federation, or in any Central Body or National or International Union connected with the American Federation of Labor, under the penalty of the suspension of the body violating this section.

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

#### ARTICLE V.—OFFICERS.

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### ARTICLE VI.—DUTIES OF PRESIDENT.

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

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

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

SEC. 4. The President shall call meetings of the Executive Council, when necessary, and shall preside over their deliberations, and shall receive for his services such sum as the Annual Convention may determine, payable weekly.

SEC. 5. In case of a vacancy in the office of President by death, resigna-



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

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

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

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

SEC. 3. The Secretary shall submit to the Auditing Committee, for their inspection, vouchers for all moneys expended; close all accounts of the Federation on September 30 of each year, and all moneys received or disbursed after such date shall not be reported in the general balance account of the ensuing Convention. He shall publish a financial report monthly in the "American Federationist," and send one copy to each affiliated body, and such additional number of copies as may be ordered and paid for by any organization connected with the Federation.

SEC. 4. The Secretary shall give a bond of \$2,000 for the faithful performance of his duties, and shall report to the Annual Convention of the Federation through the report of the Executive Council, and for his services he shall receive such sum as the Annual Convention may determine, payable weekly.

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

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

#### ARTICLE VIII.—DUTIES OF TREASURER.

SECTION 1. The Treasurer shall receive

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

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

SEC. 3. The Treasurer shall submit to the Annual Convention, through the report of the Executive Council, a complete statement of all receipts and disbursements during his term of office, and at the expiration of his term of office he shall deliver up to his successor all moneys, securities, books, and papers of the Federation under his control; and for the faithful performance of his duties he shall give a bond in such sum as the Executive Council may determine. The annual salary of the Treasurer shall be \$500.

#### ARTICLE IX.—EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

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

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

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

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

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

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

SEC. 7. The remuneration for loss of time by members of the Executive Council, organizers, or speakers engaged by them, shall be \$6.00 per day, hotel expense and actual railroad fare.

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

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

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

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

SEC. 12. The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall only have power to revoke the charter of an affiliated National or International Union

when the revocation has been ordered by a two-thirds majority of a regular Convention of the American Federation of Labor, by a roll-call vote.

#### ARTICLE X.—REVENUE.

SECTION 1. The revenue of the Federation shall be derived from a per capita tax to be paid upon the full paid-up membership of all affiliated bodies, as follows: From International or National Trade Unions, a per capita tax of two-thirds of one cent per member per month; from Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions, ten cents per member per month, five cents of which must be set aside to be used only in case of strike or lockout; Local Unions, the majority of whose members are less than eighteen (18) years of age, two cents per member per month; from Central and State bodies, \$10 per year, payable quarterly.

SEC. 2. Delegates shall not be entitled to a seat in the Annual Convention unless the tax of their organization, as provided for in Section 1 of this Article has been paid in full to September 30 preceding the Convention.

SEC. 3. Any organization affiliated with this Federation not paying its per capita tax on or before the 15th of each month shall be notified of the fact by the Secretary of the Federation, and if at the end of three months it is still in arrears it shall become suspended from membership by the Federation, and can be reinstated only by a vote of the Convention when such arrearages are paid in full, as provided in Section 2 of this Article.

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

SECTION 1. No Central Labor Union, or any other central body of delegates, shall admit to or retain in their councils delegates from any local organization that owes its allegiance to any other body, National or International, hostile to any affiliated organization, or that has been suspended or expelled by, or not connected with, a National or International organization of their trade herein affiliated, under penalty of having their charter revoked for violation of their charter, subject to appeal to the next Convention.

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

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

SEC. 4. The Executive Council and Local Central Labor Unions shall use all possible means to organize and connect as Local Unions to National or International Unions the organizations in their vicinity; to aid the formation of National or International Unions where

none exist, and to organize Federal Labor Unions where the number of craftsmen precludes any other form of organization.

Sec. 5. No Central Labor Union, or other central body of delegates, shall have the authority or power to order any organization, affiliated with such Central Labor Union, or other central labor body, on strike, where such organization has a national organization, until the proper authorities of such National or International organization have been consulted and agreed to such action.

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

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

Sec. 8. No Central Body or Department affiliated with the American Federation of Labor shall reject credentials presented by a duly elected or appointed delegation of a Local Union chartered by a National or an International Union having affiliation with the American Federation of Labor; provided, however, that upon written charges signed by at least three delegates, any delegate of an affiliated Union may, upon conviction after a fair trial, be expelled or suspended. Action of the Central Body under this section shall be subject to appeal to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and no delegation representing Local Unions affiliated, as herein described, shall be suspended or expelled until like action is taken.

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

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

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

SECTION 1. The Executive Council shall have power to declare a levy of one cent per member per week on all affiliated unions for a period not exceeding ten

weeks in any one year, to assist in the support of an affiliated National or International Union engaged in a protracted strike or lockout.

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

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

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

Sec. 2. In the event of a disagreement between a Local Union and an employer which, in the opinion of the Local Union, may result in a strike, such Union shall notify the President of the American Federation of Labor, who shall investigate, or cause an investigation to be made of the disagreement, and endeavor to adjust the difficulty. If his efforts should prove futile, he shall take such steps as he may deem necessary in notifying the Executive Council, and if the majority of said Council shall decide that a strike is necessary such Union shall be authorized to order a strike, but that under no circumstances shall a strike or lockout be deemed legal, or moneys expended from the defense fund on that account, unless the strike or lockout shall have been first authorized and approved by the President and Executive Council.

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

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

Sec. 5. When a strike has been inaugurated under the provisions of Sections 2 and 3, the American Federation of Labor

shall pay to the bonded officer of the Union involved, or his order, for a period of six weeks, an amount equal to four (\$4) dollars per week for each member. Each Local Union shall require its treasurer to give proper bond for the safe-keeping and disbursement of all funds of the Local. No benefit shall be paid for the first two weeks of the strike. The Executive Council shall have the power to authorize the payment of strike benefits for an additional period.

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

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

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

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

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

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

SEC. 12. No Local shall be entitled to any of the benefits of the defense fund unless it requires its members to pay not less than fifty (50) cents per month.

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

#### ARTICLE XIV.—MISCELLANEOUS.

SECTION 1. Certificates of affiliation shall be granted by the President of the Federation, by and with the consent of the Executive Council, to all National and International Unions and local bodies affiliated with this Federation.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

SEC. 2. To be entitled to representation in any Department, organizations eligible to join must first be, and remain in affiliation to the American Federation of Labor, and to be entitled to representation in Local Councils of Departments, Local Bodies shall first be and remain in affiliation to Central Labor Unions chartered by the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 3. The fundamental laws of each Department are to conform to, and be administered in the same manner as, the laws governing the American Federation of Labor. No Department or Local Council of same shall enact laws, rules, or regulations in conflict with laws of the American Federation of Labor, and in the event of change of laws of the latter, Departments and Local Councils are to change their laws to conform thereto.

SEC. 4. Each Department to be considered the official method of the American Federation of Labor for transacting that portion of its business.

SEC. 5. All Departments of the American Federation of Labor shall have their headquarters located in the City of Washington, D. C., and, if possible, in the same building with the Federation headquarters.

SEC. 6. All Departments of the American Federation of Labor shall hold their Conventions, whether annually or less often, during or immediately before or after the Conventions of the American Federation of Labor, and in the same city where the Conventions of the Federation are held.

SEC. 7. The Officers of each Department shall report to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor what

action, if any, has been taken by the Department, either through its Executive Council or through Conventions upon any and all matters that have been referred to the Department by the Federation.

SEC. 8. The officers of the various Departments shall submit a quarterly report to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor of the work done by their Department, and its general conditions.

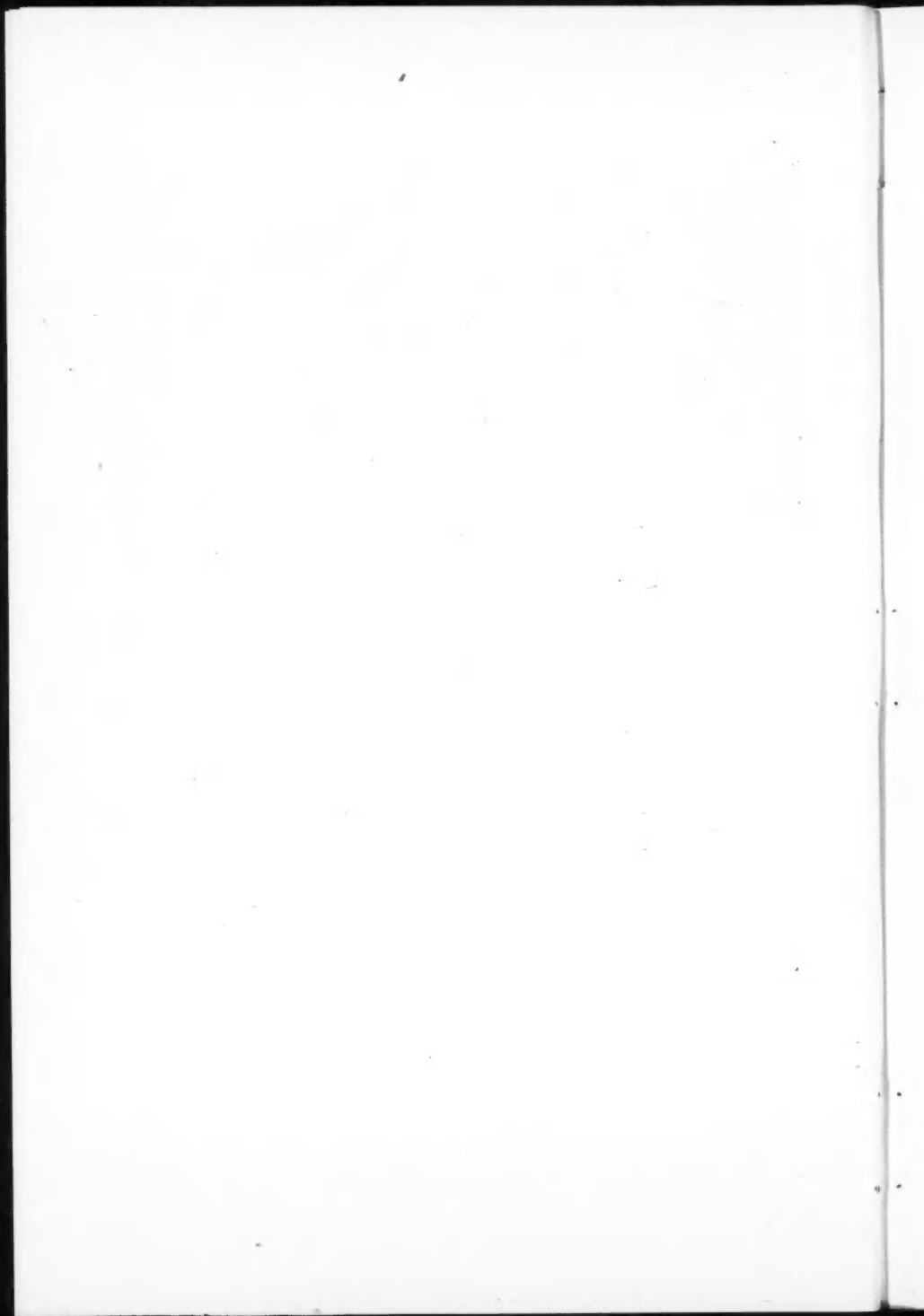
SEC. 9. At all regular meetings of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor there shall be present during some period of the Council meeting either the President or Secretary, or both, of each Department, to take up with the Council matters that may be of mutual interest.

SEC. 10. A page of each issue of the "American Federationist" to be available to, and to be used by each Department for official report or for publication of some subject identified with the Department.

SEC. 11. National and International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor shall also become affiliated with any Department in which they may be eligible. This section does not apply to the Union Label Trades Department.

#### ARTICLE XVI.—AMENDMENTS.

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



THIRTY-SECOND ANNUAL CONVENTION  
OF THE  
**AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR**  
1912

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REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

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**First Day—Monday Morning Session**

The Convention Hall, Rochester, N. Y.,  
November 11, 1912.

Pursuant to law, the regular meeting of the Thirty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor was called to order at 10 a. m. by President Samuel Gompers.

Mr. Richard H. Curran, Chairman of the Committee of Arrangements, was presented to the convention by President Gompers.

Chairman Curran—Mr. President and Fellow Delegates: In behalf of the Committee of Arrangements I have been requested to extend to the delegates a hearty, sincere and cordial welcome to our beautiful city. The Committee of Arrangements has taken considerable pains to properly entertain you while you are in our midst. We have arranged for a number of entertainments, and we wish to assure you that the sole purpose of the twenty thousand trades unionists of the City of Rochester is to look after the welfare and the pleasure of the men who have been elected by the different organizations as delegates to this convention. I realize that you have a great deal of work to do and will not detain you except to say that while you are in the

city if any of you have any troubles or if there is anything you wish the committee to do for you, if you will call at Room 1 we will see that you are properly taken care of.

Hon. H. H. Edgerton, Mayor of Rochester, was introduced to the convention by President Gompers, and in welcoming the delegates to the convention said in part:

It has been my pleasure and duty as the chief executive of Rochester to extend the greetings of my fellow citizens to a great many conventions and gatherings of people. This is always a pleasure. This morning I feel more than usually interested in this convention, and I not only wish to extend the greetings of the citizens of Rochester, but also my personal welcome and offer to you my services as a public official and as a citizen for anything I can do for you to make your stay here pleasant and agreeable.

I cannot imagine a city that would be more appropriate for you to gather in than the City of Rochester. We have a splendidly organized city. The whole population of Rochester is a committee of boosters for this town. The different divisions are organized. That is what makes things go. I find that I can accomplish but very little alone; it is only with the help of the organizations that are back of me that I can do the work that is necessary. We have a very leau-

tiful city here and we are proud of it. We are proud of the men of brains and brawn that have made it what it is. We have here, I think, a much higher class of citizenship than you will find in most cities. There is a great variety of manufacturing interests; we are not confined to any speciality whatever, and they all employ skilled labor. When our factories close at night you will see on the streets none but contented faces. We have little trouble here; everybody seems to be prosperous, and there is no poverty here except what misfortune brings.

I wish again to extend to you the heartiest welcome we can extend, and to offer to you as far as I can the freedom of our city. I thank you for inviting me to come here. I trust your deliberations will not only be agreeable, but profitable and that you will want to come back again.

President Gompers—Hon. John A. Dix, Governor of the State of New York, hoped that he might be here in person to extend a welcome to this convention to the Empire State of the Union. His business engagements and official duties have interfered and he has advised me, and I take pleasure in communicating it to you, that he has requested the Commissioner of Labor of the State of New York, Mr. John Williams, to appear here and speak the welcome he himself would have extended. I take pleasure in presenting to you John Williams, the Commissioner of Labor of this State.

Commissioner Williams in welcoming the convention to the State said in part:

It is a genuine pleasure to me to be privileged to come here to extend to the convention of the American Federation of Labor the greetings of the State of New York. I appear not only as a representative of that branch of government which is charged with certain duties in regard to conditions of labor within the State, but also as the special envoy of His Excellency, Governor John A. Dix, who on behalf of all the people welcomes the convention to the State.

Our Governor has evidenced, as many of you know, his concern in the welfare of the toiling masses of this Commonwealth by approving important legislation enacted in their interests; therefore, when he expresses a wish for the continued progress of the great American labor movement and for the fullest measure of wisdom in the conduct of the business of this convention, such words may be taken at their full face value. And may I say, in parenthesis, as it were, that the legislation approved by the Governor of our State was written in our statute books upon the urgent request, the insistent demand of the representatives of labor within the State. And I feel it is but proper for me to say at this time that the toiling masses of the State of New York

owe to the State Federation of Labor a debt of gratitude which they never can repay. I say this because I know there are representatives of other states present in this gathering, and I would like to inspire them so that when they return to their respective states they may catch some of the fire, some of the spirit of the State Federation of Labor of New York and go forth and accomplish for their constituents what has been accomplished in this state.

It would be presumptuous for me to occupy much of your time. You have been called from far and near to consider and to transact business which is of vital concern to your constituents and those who follow in their train.

The American Federation of Labor is a mighty force in the industrial affairs of our country, and yet it may be truly said that its work is but begun. Its record of achievements is a score to be proud of. It has written and is writing pages of contemporary history the full significance of which we cannot appreciate, because we are too close to the scenes of activity. But we sense the trend. We know the direction of the movement. It is toward higher and better things. Men, we have every right to be proud of our connection with a movement that is so freighted with matters of intense human interest. Mistakes have been made. Yes. Men have gone wrong. Yes. But let those who condemn a movement because of occasional errors or departures from the straight course, reflect that there never has been a movement of any breadth or scope anywhere in the world that did not suffer in the same manner.

In military campaigns, general officers fall into error both in their plans and in their execution of plans. Deserters and traitors have to be dealt with. But such errors and the presence of unworthy men in the ranks have never been accepted as grounds for indiscriminate and unreasoning condemnation of such military movements, neither should the great movement of the men and women who live by the sweat of their brow be condemned because here and there is found an unworthy or ill-balanced mind in action.

Much is heard in these days about the conservation of natural resources. Conventions to agitate the subject are frequently held. This convention also represents a conservation movement. The conservation of natural resources is important, but it pales to insignificance beside the purpose of such a gathering as this. You are engaged in conserving human life, human resources, human interests. A nobler purpose never brought men and women together.

I said that each and every one of us ought to be proud of this movement. We ought to be proud of it. And when I say "we" I want you to know that I am part and parcel of the great American labor movement. This may be news to some of you, but I still carry a card of membership in the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, and there is no fact of which I am prouder than the fact that I am in a position to say when my affilia-



tions are questioned than I am a member of one of the largest organizations of skilled mechanics in the world.

The people of the state of New York are proud to receive this convention. May your presence be a source of enlightenment and inspiration and may you at the close of the convention return to your respective homes stronger in purpose, higher in resolve to serve the cause of humanity.

President Gompers—It falls to my lot and it is my great pleasure to introduce to you now the President of the New York State Federation of Labor for many years, the active, fighting veteran of the trades union movement, with all the energy, physical and mental, of a youthful warrior, Dan Harris.

President Harris, in welcoming the convention on behalf of the State Federation of Labor of New York, said in part:

You cannot conceive the pleasure it gives me to greet the representatives of the labor movement of this great continent of ours. As your chairman said, I have been in this movement a number of years and I intend to die in the harness.

When we look back over the history of this organization we realize the almost unsurmountable obstacles that have been overcome. This movement for the last twenty-six years has stood for progress. Its achievements demonstrate that fact and refute the statements of our adversaries. When I see the men who represent the labor unions of this country here to-day I know that labor's confidence has not been misplaced. Your President and I worked side by side four decades ago, and I know he is the right man in the right place, and you realize that as well as I do.

The Commissioner of Labor spoke of the laws we placed on the statute books of this State. One of the laws is the fifty-four hour week for women and children. For fifteen years we struggled for that law before we secured it. We are reaching forth now for a compensation law for the men who toil. We believe this year we are going to put upon the statute books of the State of New York a compensation act for the men and women of this State who are employed in all trades that will be of great benefit to them and theirs.

We take pride in the Empire State in the fact that we have the oldest State federation in existence. It was organized in the year 1844 by a few men who came together for that purpose, and we have gone on until the present time making progress. And we are proud of being a part of the grandest organization on earth, the American Federation of Labor.

President Gompers, in replying to the addresses of welcome, said in part:

On behalf of the convention I want to express to you our deep appreciation of your words of welcome and your words of commendation. This organization of ours is just as you find it. We are made up of men and women and therefore are

human, and being human we possess the weaknesses and shortcomings of the human. But in our movement we also possess the strength of character which finds its expression in the effort to make this life and this world better than we found it when we entered upon our duties.

It has been well said here this morning that the shortcomings or the errors of men in our movement are exaggerated. No such general application is made to any other institution on earth. In business we take the honest man, the earnest man and say "This is the general type of the business men of our day." In the professions, in the law, in finance, in the church, in all other vocations the highest and the best is taken as the type. But in the labor movement the effort is made to find some derelict and hold him up as the type of what is termed the labor agitator, the labor organizer, the labor leader. Against such a designation or calumination we enter our most emphatic protest. Grant you there are some who may fall by the way; grant you that some fail to perform their full duty; but taking man for man in the labor movement they will compare with any set of men in any walk of life for unselfishness, for altruism, for high motives and purposes. And they propose to meet the obstacles that seem almost unsurmountable and apply themselves to see to it that wrongs are righted and rights established; to see to it that the home is made better and brighter; to see to it that labor is made lighter and improved; to see to it that man shall conceive that at last he must help to bear his brother's burden and make the burdens of all so much the lighter.

President Gompers spoke at some length of the struggle of organized labor and its history. He also spoke of the work of the labor unions in connection with the new citizens of the republic, stating that there is no factor and no influence in all the country so potent in Americanizing the new comers as the trades union movement. In concluding his address, President Gompers said

Again I want to thank you, Mr. Mayor, and you gentlemen representing organized labor of the State of New York and of the magnificent city of Rochester, Rochester which is the alma mater and the mecca of my first convention of any sort in my life. We are glad to have an opportunity of visiting your beautiful city and noting its growth and development, its new civic pride, its splendid organized labor movement, its spirit of cleanliness and honesty. We are glad to have an opportunity of visiting your city and holding our convention therein, and we thank you again for your offers of hospitality, which we know will be unbounded.

I now declare this Thirty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor duly open and ready for the transaction of business.

President Gompers requested the members of the Executive Council to occupy seats on the stage.

Mr. Emanuel Koveleski, President of the Central Trades and Labor Council, stated that President Huber, of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, had a presentation to make in behalf of the District Council of that organization. President Huber stated that a handsome rosewood gavel, union made, had been presented to the District Council of the Carpenters by Mr. Hopkins of Rochester, with the request that it be given to the chairman of the convention.

President Gompers made a brief address in which he thanked the donors of the gavel, and stated that a smaller gavel of ivory had been presented to him by the President of the Rochester Central Labor Union.

Mr. Duncan McDonald, Secretary of the Committee on Credentials, read the following report:

#### Report of Committee on Credentials.

Rochester, New York, Nov. 11, 1912.

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

Gentlemen:

Your Committee on Credentials beg leave to report that they have examined the credentials of 357 delegates, representing 85 International and National Unions, 39 State Branches, 76 Central Bodies, 19 Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions, and 8 fraternal delegates, and recommend that the following be seated:

Asbestos Workers, International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and—Joseph A. Mullaney, 8 votes.

Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America—A. A. Myrup, Henry Koch, Jacob Goldstone, 146 votes.

Barbers' International Union, Journeymen—Frank X. Noschang, W. E. Klapezky, Jacob Fischer, Ed Anderson, 239 votes.

Bill Posters and Billers of America, International Alliance of—James Labralco, 14 votes.

Blacksmiths, International Brotherhood of—James W. Kline, William F. Kramer, Charles N. Glover, 93 votes.

Boilermakers and Iron Ship Builders of America, Brotherhood of—J. A. Franklin, M. J. McGuire, T. J. Garvey, George W. Fring, 167 votes.

Bookbinders, International Brotherhood of—Edward C. Strelle, 85 votes.

Boot and Shoe Workers' Union—John F. Tobin, Charles L. Baine, Mary Anderson, Alvin C. Howes, Daniel Harrington, 333 votes.

Brewery Workmen, International Union of the United—Joseph Proebstle, Louis Kemper, Ed. F. Ward, A. J. Kugler, John Sullivan, 450 votes.

Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers' Alliance, International—Frank Butterworth, 34 votes.

Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, International Association of—Daniel J. O'Shea, Frank E. Thoman, Joseph E. McClory, 100 votes.

Carpenters and Joiners of America, United Brotherhood of—Wm. D. Huber, Frank Duffy, Fred C. Wheeler, A. M. Swartz, D. F. Featherston, William J. Kelly, W. E. Hemsell, 1,923 votes.

Carriage, Wagon and Automobile Workers of North America, International Union of—James R. Crozier, 27 votes.

Cement Workers, American Brotherhood of—Frank C. Gengenback, Martin Goelnitz, Frank Shiff, 90 votes.

Cigarmakers' International Union of America—Samuel Gompers, Thomas F. Tracy, J. Mahlon Barnes, W. H. Fitzgerald, Phil. H. Mueller, 420 votes.

Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North America, United—Max Zuckerman, 23 votes.

Commercial Telegraphers' Union of America, The—Wesley Russell, 19 votes.

Coopers' International Union of North America—Frank A. Seoby, James J. Doyle, 45 votes.

Diamond Workers' Protective Union of America—Andries Meyer, 3 votes.

Electrical Workers of America, International Brotherhood of—F. J. McNulty, Frank B. Glynn, J. W. Yount, Charles P. Ford, 196 votes.

Elevator Constructors, International Union of—Frank Feeney, 23 votes.

Foundry Employes, Brotherhood of—Jas. B. Conroy, 5 votes.

Engineers, International Union of Steam—Matt Comerford, James G. Hannahan, R. G. Moser, T. J. Dolan, 177 votes.

Firemen, International Brotherhood of Stationary—Timothy Healy, M. C. Friel, Wm. J. Brennan, 114 votes.

Garment Workers of America, United—T. A. Rickert, B. A. Larger, Margaret C. Daley, V. Altman, Maier Schwarz, 464 votes.

Garment Workers' Union, International Ladies—Abraham Rosenberg, John A. Dyche, Aldo Cursi, John F. Pierce, Meyer Rosenberg, 534 votes.

Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada—D. A. Hayes, Charles E. Heritage, Edward J. Marx, 100 votes.

Glass Workers' International Association, Amalgamated—David Ring, 11 votes.

Glove Workers' Union of America, International—Agnes Nestor, 11 votes.

Granite Cutters' International Association of America, The—James Duncan, James Garvey, Alex Archie, 135 votes.

Hatters of North America, United—Martin Lawlor, H. C. Shalvoy, Michael F. Green, 85 votes.

Hod Carriers and Common Laborers' Union of America, International—Dominick D'Alessandro, Joseph D'Andrea, Joseph B. Etchison, 125 votes.

Horse Shoers of United States and Canada, International Union of Journeymen—Hubert S. Marshall, Roady Keneshan, 52 votes.

Hotel and Restaurant Employees International Alliance and Bartenders International League of America—Edward Flore, Jere L. Sullivan, Thomas S. Farrell, George Miller, Otto Pattberg, 476 votes.

Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, Amalgamated Association of—Judson O'Neal, John Williams, 45 votes.

Lathers, International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal—William J. McSorley, John T. Taggart, 50 votes.

Laundry Workers' International Union—Charles F. Bailey, 26 votes.

Leather Workers on Horse Goods, United Brotherhood of—W. E. Bryan, 20 votes.

Leather Workers' Union of America, Amalgamated—Dennis Healey, 6 votes.

Longshoremen's Association, International—Thomas V. O'Connor, A. J. Chlopek, George E. Neisham, Thomas Harrison, 235 votes.

Machinists, International Association of—William H. Johnston, B. F. Lamb, Thomas Van Lear, A. O. Wharton, P. W. Buckley, 593 votes.

Marble Workers, International Association of—Walter V. Price, 23 votes.

Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, Amalgamated—Homer D. Call, 40 votes.

Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers, Brass and Silver Workers' Union of North America—T. M. Daly, George Leary, Thomas Rumsey, 100 votes.

Metal Workers' International Alliance, Amalgamated Sheet—M. O'Sullivan, John D. Crane, John J. Hynes, Thomas Walsh, 166 votes.

Mine Workers of America, United—John P. White, John Mitchell, Frank J. Hayes, John H. Walker, T. L. Lewis, Duncan McDonald, William Green, 2,670 votes.

Miners, Western Federation of—John G. Williams, Daniel Holland, Edwin Young, Joseph D. Cannon, 506 votes.

Molders' Union of North America,

International—Joseph F. Valentine, John P. Frey, R. H. Curran, Jack L. Lanigan, 500 votes.

Musicians, American Federation of—Joseph N. Weber, Owen Miller, D. A. Carey, Joseph F. Winkler, 500 votes.

Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, Brotherhood of—George F. Hedrick, J. C. Skemp, Jacob Tazelaar, W. E. Rodriguez, Thomas Wright, Emil Arnold, 685 votes.

Paper Makers, International Brotherhood of—J. T. Carey, 23 votes.

Pattern Makers' League of North America—James Wilson, James L. Gordon, 60 votes.

Pavers, Rammermen, Flag Layers, Bridge and Stone Curb Setters, International Union of—Edward I. Hannah, 15 votes.

Paving Cutters' Union of the United States of America and Canada—John Sheret, 35 votes.

Photo-Engravers' Union of North America, International—Matthew Woll, 40 votes.

Plate Printers' Union of North America, International Steel and Copper—William D. Clark, 12 votes.

Plasterers' International Association of the United States and Canada, Operative—Edward J. McGivern, Peter G. Cook, Joseph J. McDermott, 157 votes.

Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters and Steam Fitters' Helpers of United States and Canada, United Association of—John R. Alpine, William J. Tracey, James F. Mailey, Patrick Murphy, 260 votes.

Postoffice Clerks, National Federation of—Oscar F. Nelson, 13 votes.

Potters, National Brotherhood of Operative—Edward Menge, E. J. Whitehead, 65 votes.

Printing Pressmen's Union, International—George L. Berry, W. G. Halpine, L. Hart, Harry Wilson, 190 votes.

Quarry Workers' International Union of North America—Fred W. Sultor, P. J. Dacey, 40 votes.

Railroad Telegraphers, Order of—H. B. Perham, C. A. Mulhall, J. F. Miller, T. J. Gallagher, 250 votes.

Railway Carmen of America, Brotherhood—Martin F. Ryan, Edwin W. Weeks, William J. Adames, Frank Paquin, 287 votes.

Railway Employes of America, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric—W. D. Mahon, Ben Commons, William Taber, 402 votes.

Seamen's Union of America, International—A. Furuseth, T. A. Hanson, I. N. Hylen, 160 votes.

Shingle Weavers' Union of America, International—J. G. Brown, 15 votes.

Slate and Tile Roofers' Union of America, International—George M. Huddleston, 5 votes.

Stage Employes' International Alliance, Theatrical—Charles C. Shay, John Suarez, James Lemke, 110 votes.

Stereotypers' and Electrotypers' Union of North America, International—James J. Freel, Charles A. Sumner, 43 votes.

Stonecutters' Association of North America, Journeymen—James A. Short, Octave Jette, William McKay, 89 votes.

Stovencounters' International Union—Frank Grimshaw, 11 votes.

Switchmen's Union of North America—S. E. Heberling, M. R. Welch, J. E. Connors, 87 votes.

Tailors' Union of America, Journeymen—E. J. Brals, D. G. Biggs, Hugh Robinson, 120 votes.

Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of—Daniel J. Tobin, Thomas L. Hughes, William A. Neer, John M. Gillespie, J. J. Morris, 415 votes.

Textile Workers of America, United—John Golden, James Starr, 209 votes.

The Layers' and Helpers' International Union, Ceramic, Mosaic and Encaustic—Thomas J. Williams, 24 votes.

Tip Printers, International Brotherhood of—Thomas J. Carolan, 2 votes.

Tobacco Workers' International Union—E. Lewis Evans, 37 votes.

Travelers' Goods and Leather Novelty Workers' International Union of America—Edward E. Shilling, 8 votes.

Tunnel and Subway Constructors' International Union—Thomas J. Curtis, 13 votes.

Typographical Union, International—James M. Lynch, Frank Morrison, Hugh Stevenson, Max S. Hayes, T. W. McCullough, 547 votes.

Upholsterers' International Union of North America—John Hanley, 28 votes.

White Rats Actors' Union of America—William J. Cooke, Abner All, Joe Birnes, 110 votes.

Arkansas State Federation of Labor—Fred W. Holt, 1 vote.

California State Federation of Labor—Andrew J. Gallagher, 1 vote.

Colorado State Federation of Labor—Charles Moyer, 1 vote.

Connecticut State Federation of Labor—Jeremiah A. Keane, 1 vote.

Florida State Federation of Labor—Jackson W. Holder, 1 vote.

Georgia State Federation of Labor—R. L. Corley, 1 vote.

Illinois State Federation of Labor—Stephen Sumner, 1 vote.

Indiana State Federation of Labor—William J. Pfleger, 1 vote.

Icwa State Federation of Labor—J. J. O'Erien, 1 vote.

Kansas State Federation of Labor—W. B. Shaughnessey, 1 vote.

Maine State Federation of Labor—Henry M. Donnelly, 1 vote.

Maryland State Federation of Labor—P. J. Ryan, 1 vote.

Massachusetts State Federation of Labor—Emmet T. Walls, 1 vote.

Michigan State Federation of Labor—Joseph Smith, 1 vote.

Minnesota State Federation of Labor—W. F. McGrath, 1 vote.

Missouri State Federation of Labor—E. T. Behrens, 1 vote.

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

Nebraska State Federation of Labor—C. L. Shamp, 1 vote.

New Jersey State Federation of Labor—Henry J. Vanderveid, 1 vote.

New York State Federation of Labor—Henry Prinz, 1 vote.

Ohio State Federation of Labor—James P. Egan, 1 vote.

Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor—William Young, Jr., 1 vote.

Rhode Island State Federation of Labor—O. L. Preble, 1 vote.

Tennessee State Federation of Labor—Clarence E. Swick, 1 vote.

Texas State Federation of Labor—William L. Hoeffgen, 1 vote.

Virginia State Federation of Labor—James J. Creamer, 1 vote.

Washington State Federation of Labor—W. J. Coates, 1 vote.

West Virginia State Federation of Labor—H. P. Corcoran, 1 vote.

Wisconsin State Federation of Labor—Fred Brockhausen, 1 vote.

Wyoming State Federation of Labor—James Scrivner, 1 vote.

Alamosa, Colo., Trades and Labor Council—C. F. Darling, 1 vote.

Albany, N. Y., Central Federation of Labor—Thomas D. Fitzgerald, 1 vote.

Atlanta, Ga., Federation of Trades—O. A. Cone, 1 vote.

Baltimore, Md., Federation of Labor—James H. Sullivan, 1 vote.

Beaumont, Texas, Trades and Labor Assembly—F. S. Laurentz, 1 vote.

Birmingham, Ala., Trades Council—R. H. White, 1 vote.

Elcomington, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly—John B. Lennon, 1 vote.

Boston, Mass., Central Labor Union—Frank H. McCarthy, 1 vote.

Erockton, Mass., Central Labor Union—James H. Collins, 1 vote.

Brooklyn, N. Y., Central Labor Union—John P. Coughlin, 1 vote.

Chicago, Ill., Federation of Labor—Joseph Morton, 1 vote.

Cincinnati, Ohio, Central Labor Council—Walter Mullen, 1 vote.

Cleveland, Ohio, Federation of Labor—Frank Smith, 1 vote.

Clinton and Lyons, Iowa, and Fulton, Ill., Tri-City Labor Congress—George C. Campbell, 1 vote.

Cohoes, N. Y., Central Federation of Labor—J. P. McGinley, 1 vote.

Denver, Colo., Trades and Labor Assembly—Harvey Garman, 1 vote.

- Dunkirk, N. Y., United Trades and Labor Council—James G. Sause, 1 vote.
- Fort Edward, N. Y., Trades Assembly Elmer Glidden, 1 vote.
- Geneva, N. Y., Federation of Labor—Michael F. Tracy, 1 vote.
- Granite City, Ill., Tri-City Central Trades Council (Granite City, Madison, Venice, Ill.)—T. M. Cavanagh, 1 vote.
- Hamilton, Ont., Can., District Trades and Labor Council—S. L. Landers, 1 vote.
- Hartford, Conn., Central Labor Union—Sol Sontheimer, 1 vote.
- Haverhill, Mass., Central Labor Union—Patrick J. Burke, 1 vote.
- Herrin, Ill., Trades and Labor Council—Abe Hicks, 1 vote.
- Huntington, West Va., Trades and Labor Assembly—George W. Gillispee, 1 vote.
- Indianapolis, Ind., Central Labor Union—Chas. A. Hays, 1 vote.
- Jacksonville, Fla., Central Trades and Labor Council—J. C. Privett, 1 vote.
- Jamestown, N. Y., Central Labor Council—J. M. Kane, 1 vote.
- Kansas City, Mo., Industrial Council—John T. Smith, 1 vote.
- Kensington, Ill., Calumet Joint Labor Council—Herman C. Diehl, 1 vote.
- Logansport, Ind., Trades Assembly—Edwin S. Burns, 1 vote.
- Los Angeles, Cal., Central Labor Council—L. W. Butler, 1 vote.
- Louisville, Ky., United Trades and Labor Assembly—Peter Campbell, 1 vote.
- Meriden, Conn., Central Labor Union—George W. Chance, 1 vote.
- Milwaukee, Wis., Federated Trades Council—Frank J. Weber, 1 vote.
- Mobile, Ala., Central Trades Council—P. J. Doherty, 1 vote.
- Nashville, Tenn., Trades and Labor Council—C. P. Fahey, 1 vote.
- Newark, N. J., Essex Trades Council—Morris R. Welch, 1 vote.
- New York, N. Y., Central Federated Union of Greater New York and vicinity—James P. Holland, 1 vote.
- Niagara Falls, N. Y., Trades and Labor Council—Harvey C. Berry, 1 vote.
- Olean, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Council—Elmer E. Evans, 1 vote.
- Omaha, Neb., Central Labor Union—George E. Norman, 1 vote.
- Oneida, N. Y., Trades Assembly—Wm. R. Ferguson, 1 vote.
- Ottawa, Canada, Allied Trades and Labor Association—P. M. Draper, 1 vote.
- Philadelphia, Pa., Central Labor Union of and vicinity—Frank O. Bryan, 1 vote.
- Pittsburgh, Pa., Iron City Central Trades Council—R. J. McGrath, 1 vote.
- Poughkeepsie, N. Y., Trades and Labor Council—James C. Brower, 1 vote.
- Raleigh, N. C., Central Labor Union—Edward R. Pace, 1 vote.
- Richmond Burrough, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Council—William J. Bonner, 1 vote.
- Richmond, Va., Central Trades and Labor Council—John Hirschberg, 1 vote.
- Rochester, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Council—Emanuel Koveleski, 1 vote.
- Roundup, Mont., Central Trades and Labor Council—W. H. Morgan, 1 vote.
- Sacramento, Cal., Federated Trades Council—W. P. Hannon, 1 vote.
- St. Louis, Mo., Central Trades and Labor Union of, and vicinity—Louis P. Philipp, 1 vote.
- St. Paul, Minn., Trades and Labor Assembly—Charles E. James, 1 vote.
- St. Thomas, Ont. Can., Trades and Labor Council—William Stokes, 1 vote.
- Salem, Mass., Central Labor Union—Silas N. Lapham, 1 vote.
- San Francisco, Cal., Labor Council—Paul Scharrenberg, 1 vote.
- Savannah, Ga., Trades and Labor Assembly—J. J. Keane, 1 vote.
- Schenectady, N. Y., Trades Assembly—John J. Henley, 1 vote.
- Slaron, Pa., United Labor League of, and vicinity—David Niven, 1 vote.
- South Chicago, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly—James C. Felio, 1 vote.
- Springfield, Ill., Federation of Labor—James F. Morris, 1 vote.
- Syracuse, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Assembly—Edward Vincent Wood, 1 vote.
- Toronto, Can., District Labor Council—James Simpson, 1 vote.
- Troy, N. Y., Federation of Labor—Thomas J. Purcell, 1 vote.
- Utica, N. Y., Trades and Labor Assembly—Edward A. Bates, 1 vote.
- Waco, Texas, Central Labor Union—John R. Spencer, 1 vote.
- Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union—Milton Shellings, 1 vote.
- Watertown, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Assembly—Stephen English, 1 vote.
- Wilkes Barre, Pa., Central Labor Union—J. J. Youhon, 1 vote.
- Yonkers, N. Y., Federation of Labor—H. Wildberger, Jr., 1 vote.
- Zanesville, Ohio, Central Trades and Labor Council—John A. Voll, 1 vote.
- Badge, Banner, Regalia, Button and Novelty Workers' Union No. 14065—Alice O'Rourke, 1 vote.
- Badge, Banner, Regalia, Button and Novelty Workers' Union No. 14297—Kathryn M. Duffy, 1 vote.
- Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union No. 12846—Elizabeth C. Morris, 1 vote.
- Commercial Portrait Artists' Union No. 14286—Charles V. Lawlor, 1 vote.
- Egg Inspectors' Union No. 8705—Edward Lampa, 2 votes.

Elevator Conductors and Starters' Union No. 11939—J. J. McAndrews, 3 votes.

Elevator Operators' Union No. 14214—John J. Cunningham, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 12362—Charles Woodhouse, 1 vote.

Fish Splitters and Handlers' Union No. 14270—John Sinclair, 2 votes.

Grain Workers' Association No. 11407—Ernest Bohm, 1 vote.

Laborers' Protective Union No. 8073—George Waldron, 6 votes.

Newsboys' Union No. 9077—Thomas J. Mulkern, 2 votes.

Newspaper and Mail Deliverers' Union No. 9463—John R. Dunne, 10 votes.

Railroad Helpers and Laborers' Union No. 14075—J. E. Johnson, 1 vote.

Riggers' Protective Union No. 11561—I. Beckman, 2 votes.

Sugar Refinery Employees' Union No. 13053—Manny Weiss, 4 votes.

Stenographers and Typists Association No. 12755—L. Plasterer, 1 vote.

Theater Employees' Union No. 14089—M. R. Labbee, 1 vote.

Theatrical Tailors and Dressers' Union No. 12713—Louis Gold, 1 vote.

British Trades Union Congress—J. A. Seddon, R. Smillie, 2 votes.

Canadian Trades and Labor Congress—John W. Bruce, 1 vote.

National Women's Trade Union League—Mrs. Raymond Robins.

Federal Council of the Churches of Christ—Rev. Charles S. Macfarland, Rev. Henry A. Atkinson.

American Federation of Catholic Societies—Rev. Peter Dietz.

Church Association for the Advancement of Labor—Rev. James Bishop Thomas.

**EDWARD J. MARX**, Chairman.

**W. A. NEER**,

**DUNCAN McDONALD**, Secretary.

Secretary McDonald—Certain credentials have been protested. These will be taken up by the committee. We will meet the delegates concerned in the committee room.

A motion was made by Secretary McDonald that the report as read be adopted. (Seconded).

Mr. John Mangan—May I be permitted to ask a question? In view of no mention having been made concerning the creden-

tials of the International Association of Steam and Hot Water Fitters and Helpers, may I ask what disposition has been made of them by the committee?

President Gompers—The question is upon the report of the Committee on Credentials of delegates entitled to seats. Any other matter will be acted on later.

Mr. Mangan—May I be permitted to ask the committee through the chair what disposition has been made of the credentials?

Secretary McDonald—The committee will give that question a hearing later.

The motion to adopt the partial report of the committee was carried.

Secretary McDonald—I desire to have representatives of the following organizations meet with the committee later:

The International Association of Steam and Hot Water Fitters and Helpers, J. T. Kinsella, John Mangan. Protested by the United Association of Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters and Steam Fitters Helpers.

The American Flint Glass Workers Union, T. W. Rowe, William P. Clarke, Charles F. Green. Protested by the International Association of Machinists.

Hudson County, N. J. Central Labor Union, Edward H. Mead. Protested by the United Association of Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters and Steam Fitters Helpers.

Evansville, Indiana, Central Labor Union, John J. Keegan.

President Gompers—The chair desires to submit the following names for the respective offices of this convention and as assistants to us in our work:

Assistant Secretary, Peter Bohrer, Jr., Typographical Union No. 15; Sergeant-at-Arms, James Patterson, Sheet Metal Workers' Union No. 46; Messenger, John H. Baker, Painters and Decorators Union No. 150.

No objection being offered to the appointments, the chair stated that they were confirmed.

At 12 o'clock the convention was adjourned, to reconvene at 2 p. m. of the same day.

## First Day—Monday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2 p. m., Monday, November 11th, President Gompers in the chair.

**Absentees**—Noschang, Baine, Thomas, Wheeler, Goelnitz, Barnes, Zuckerman, Russell, McNulty, Feeney, Daley (Margaret), Altman, Dyche, Pierce, Rosenberg, Lawlor, O'Neal, Williams (John), McSorley, Taggart, Bryan, Healey (Dennis), O'Connor, Price, Call, Daly (T. M.), Leary (Geo.), White, Hayes (F. J.), Lewis, Green (Wm.), Holland, Curran, Weber (J. N.), Winkler, Carey (J. T.), Wolf, Murphy, Nelson, Whitehead, Halpine, Hart, Wilson (Harry), Mulhall, Miller (J. F.), Gallagher (J. T.), Huddleston, Freel, Sumner, Grimshaw, Welch (M. R.), Brais, Biggs, Starr, Donnelly, Ryan (P. J.), Behrens, Young, Swick, Fitzgerald, McCarthy (Frank), Smith (Frank), Campbell, Glidden, Burke, Hicks, Kane, Doherty, Berry (H. C.), Ferguson, Draper, McGrath (P. J.), Pace, Morgan, James, Stokes, Henley, Morris (J. F.), Bates, Snellings, English, O'Rourke, Lawler (C. V.), Cunningham, Waldron, Plasterer, Labbee, Gold.

President Gompers—This morning the chair called attention to the fact that a letter had been received from the Governor of the State of New York. The Secretary will read the letter.

Secretary Morrison read the following letter:

State of New York, Executive Chamber, Albany, November 8, 1912.

Hon. Samuel Gompers, President, American Federation of Labor, Rochester, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Gompers—Official business compels me to forego the pleasure of being present at your important meeting, which I had looked forward to with the idea of presenting to the delegates here present, some suggestions on the importance of the relation between the employer and the employe. I am able, therefore, only to offer a few suggestions for lines of thought in your deliberations.

In our land there is no honest and efficient worker who is not inspired by the vision of opportunity and ambition—especially when we consider the tremendous significance of the fact that the difference between America and other nations is that our contemporary countries are confronted with problems and evils that grow out of the hopeless and grinding poverty of the ill-paid and ill-fed masses of their population, while the problems with which we are confronted grow out of the boundless and ever-increasing industrial wealth of our people.

Our country still holds for the poor man a horizon not bounded by a vista of inevitable dependence on charity. Here any man can speak to another man without a lurking feeling of condescension, and a civil word from a poor man is not always a covert hint for a gratuity.

This Commonwealth has enacted laws pursuant to an enlightened public opinion giving to the toiler at the shuttle and spindle, at forge and loom better conditions and hours, and a better place of abode. The relations of capital to labor is a well-worn phrase. Yet capital and labor are, if not synonymous, at least interblending terms, for the capitalist is a toiler, even if only with his brain, and the laborer is a capitalist, even if his sole capital is that of brawn.

Employer and employe are coming to a better understanding. Industrial peace through arbitration is coming to be the rule, whereas a few years ago it was the exception. Neither employer nor employe can to-day say we have nothing to arbitrate. Public sentiment will not tolerate it, and public sentiment is, in such matters, common sense codified. Peaceful arbitration of industrial disputes is the demand of our day. Human conditions are rarely ideal; but we are making conditions better, and we must make them still better. For the wise solution of our economic and industrial problems depends upon the well-being and contentment of society; and we can look forward to the future with confidence; we can look the world in the face and promise a peaceful solution of every economic problem and a just settlement of every pressing social question.

With every good wish for the success of your meeting, and the hope that only good will result from the coming together of this representative body, I am,

Very truly yours,

JOHN A. DIX.

Secretary Morrison read the following telegrams:

"Atlanta, Ga., Nov. 11. 1912.

"Samuel Gompers, President A. F. of L., Convention Hall, Rochester, N. Y.

"Greetings to the delegates to the Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, the hope of the men and women of labor, the bulwark of democracy, the only militant organization demanding for the workers absolute political and industrial freedom, and the truest exponent of the Magna Charta.

"JEROME JONES."

New York, N. Y., Nov. 11, 1912.

"The American Federation of Labor, Convention Hall, Rochester, N. Y.

"United Hebrew Trades of New York are sending their hearty congratulations. We are happy to note your growing power and influence. We shall endeavor in the future as we have done in the past to group the Jewish workers under the glorious banner of the American Federation of Labor. Long live organized labor.

"B. WEINSTEIN, Secretary."

#### Appointment of Committees.

President Gompers—In compliance with the provisions of our law the President makes the following appointments for the respective committees, subject to the ratification of this convention.

Secretary Morrison read the following list of committee appointments:

**Committee on Rules and Order of Business**—T. A. Rickert, Jacob Fischer, W. J. Pfeiffer, John Sullivan, E. T. Walls, C. F. Bailey, C. C. Shay, M. M. Donoghue, J. T. Carey, D. C. Diggs, M. E. Green, M. F. Tracy, H. P. Corcoran, T. J. Carolan, H. M. Donnelly.

**Committee on President's Report**—A. Furuseth, Frank Duff, G. L. Berry, James Wilson, W. D. Clark, Charles L. Isaacs, Owen Miller, William Green, Thomas F. Tracy, James J. Creamer, Hugh Stevenson, T. V. O'Connor, Homer D. Call, Martin Lawlor.

**Committee on Secretary's Report**—R. H. Curran, Wesley Russell, D. F. Featherston, John M. Gillespie, I. N. Hylan, J. P. Miller, James F. Malley, Wm. McKay, Edw. E. Shilling, J. P. McGinley, S. L. Landers, John J. Henley, J. P. Morris, Chas. E. James, L. W. Butler.

**Committee on Treasurer's Report**—J. W. Kline, T. J. Dolan, T. J. Gallagher, William J. Adams, Daniel Harrington, Frank B. Glynn, Thomas L. Hughes, Harry Wilson, Joseph B. Etchison, Geo. E. Neisham, M. R. Welch, Jeremiah A. Kane, Clarence E. Swick, Geo. C. Campbell, C. W. Woodman.

**Committee on Resolutions**—James Duncan, John P. Frey, B. A. Langer, W. D. Mahon, M. F. Ryan, E. F. Ward, Joseph N. Weber, John T. Smith, John A. Voll, J. A. Franklin, E. C. Strelle, C. P. Fahy, Scl. Sontheimer, Matt Comerford, Jas. R. Crozier.

**Committee on Laws**—John B. Lennon, J. C. Skemp, Daniel J. Tobin, Roady Kenehan, T. A. Hanson, S. E. Heberling, James P. Eagan, James H. Sullivan, Joseph Morton, Harvey Garman, Thomas Pumscey, Stephen Sumner, Chas. A. Sumner, Dennis Healey, James Starr.

**Committee on Organization**—James M. Lynch, John P. White, John Williams, T. M. Daly, Joseph Proebstle, John T. Taggart, John A. Dyehe, A. J. Gallagher, Thos. D. Fitzgerald, A. A.

Myrup, John Hanley, Frank A. Scoby, Henry Prinz, Fred C. Wheeler, Charles E. Pfeil.

**Committee on Labels**—John F. Tobin, Jere L. Sullivan, Louis Kemper, M. Swartz, H. J. Conway, E. J. Brais, J. M. Barnes, F. X. Noschang, Max S. Hayes, Max Zuckerman, Henry Koch, Wm. L. Hoefgen, J. Birnes, J. J. Morris, Fred Brockhausen.

**Committee on Adjustment**—John Mitchell, Matthew Woll, John Golden, T. W. McCullough, Frank H. McCarthy, E. Lewis Evans, Edward Flore, W. H. Fitzgerald, Ed. Anderson, Victor Altman, George Leary, Hugh Shalvoy, Hugh Robinson, W. E. Bryan, Wm. Taber.

**Committee on Education**—Joseph F. Valente, James J. Freil, D. A. Carey, Ben Commons, John H. Walker, Paul Scharrenberg, James L. Gernon, Phil Mueller, Agnes Nestor, John F. Pierce, John D. Crane, Thomas Wright, C. A. Mulhall, Fred W. Suito, Edwin W. Weeks.

**Committee on State Organizations**—John R. Alpine, Edward A. Bates, Wm. J. Kelly, P. J. Ryan, H. S. Marshall, Chas. P. Moyer, Chas. N. Glover, George W. Pring, Frank Butterworth, Judson O'Neal, Walter Price, J. L. Lanigan, Thomas Van Lear, Abraham Rosenberg, A. J. Chiopek.

**Committee on Local and Federated Bodies**—H. B. Perham, Oscar F. Nelson, James G. Hannahan, John J. Hynea, James F. Holland, Alvin C. Howes, Chas. E. Heritage, Martin Goelintz, Thos. Harrison, Frank Grimshaw, Edw. Menge, L. Hart, J. W. Holder, Geo. Miller, Andries Meyer.

**Committee on Building Trades**—W. D. Huber, James A. Short, George Hedrick, Frank Feeney, W. J. Tracy, M. O'Sullivan, Wm. J. McSorley, F. J. McNulty, Frank E. Thomas, D. Alessandro, E. J. McGivern, W. H. Johnston, James Garvey, F. C. Gengenback, Thos. J. Williams.

**Committee on Boycotts**—D. A. Hayes, James E. Connors, Margaret C. Daley, Timothy Healy, Thomas S. Farrell, Frank J. Hayes, A. J. Kugler, J. P. Winkler, Alex. Archie, A. M. Schwartz, Frank O'Brien, Jos. Smith, T. M. Cavanaugh, William J. Cook, B. F. Lamb.

On motion, duly seconded, the committee appointments were confirmed by the convention.

#### Reports of Officers.

First Vice-President Duncan presided during the reading of the report of President Gompers. At the conclusion of the report the chairman stated that the report, following the usual custom, would be referred to the Committee on President's Report, and that printed copies would be distributed to the delegates.



President Gompers in the chair.

Secretary Morrison and Treasurer Lennon read portions of their reports, omitting the tabulated financial statements. The reports were referred to the Committee on Secretary's Report and the Committee on Treasurer's Report, and later printed copies were distributed to the delegates.

The Convention Committee distributed handsome souvenir badges to the delegates.

The chairmen of the various committees announced places of meeting for the purpose of organizing immediately upon the adjournment of the convention.

At 5 p. m. the convention was adjourned, to reconvene at 9 a. m. Tuesday, November 12th.

## PRESIDENT GOMPERS' REPORT.

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ROCHESTER, N. Y., November 11, 1912.

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

**FELLOW TRADE UNIONISTS:** The past year has been one of steady, undeterred advances toward better conditions and a position of greater influence, despite severe trials. The events of the year have brought out the reasonableness and practicability of our methods and aims. What at the time our critics and antagonists declared to be the forerunner of our ultimate disintegration, only served to bring out the devotion and the tenacity of purpose of the membership of organized labor, the honesty and stability upon which our movement is builded. We have ever made progress surely and safely, undeceived by beguiling crusades that, like a will-o'-wisp, allure the unwary into treacherous bogs. It is no easy matter to maintain an open mind, aware of new forces and tendencies, able and alert to detect the real from the spurious, the lasting from the ephemeral, in a day when the minds of all mankind are pondering the problems of society and straining after solutions. With the progress of the ages has come a widening of men's thoughts and social vision, a new appreciation of the meaning of life with its attendant responsibilities and obligations. Among men and women of all walks of life has come this awakening; all manner of social solutions are urged; all kinds of associations for the promotion of special reforms have arisen. The accumulated momentum of all these activities has swept away the mental atmosphere generated by the old individualistic philosophy, made way for broader, more generous sympathies and impulses, and enlightened, scientific efforts to achieve the highest development industrially, politically, socially, and morally. In starting the forces that have led to these changes, our much misrepresented organized labor movement has wielded an influence previously little understood outside our ranks. As is just, we profit also by the changes we have created, for this wider social vision has enabled men to see the justice of our work and of our fundamental principles and purposes. Today we find innumerable organizations working independently, or willing to co-operate with us, to the end that workers shall be enabled to have better working conditions, a shorter working day and better wages, that our life may be wholesome, clean, and uplifting. All of these things are stepping-stones by which the toilers climb upward and onward—each step revealing a wider horizon and an increasing conception of human possibilities.

In reviewing the progress of Labor, two viewpoints are necessary to present the whole development: A dynamic examination to show advancement, tendencies, causes, etc.; a static examination, or a cross-section of the present civilization, to show relations with present conditions, problems, and needs. Contemplation of the progress of Labor reveals the journey upward through the centuries from the status of slavery to serfdom, to villanage, and finally to freedom, opening the road to a new plane of battle—legal, individual freedom did not as such secure industrial and social freedom. The struggle to secure for the individual, opportunity for development of mental, physical, and moral powers that he might enter into his rightful heritage, joy in life and work, began with juristic freedom and is the inspiration of our present activities. To show what progress we have made, one has only to turn the pages of history. The organized workman of today enjoys comforts of which feudal barons never dreamed—comforts of home, heating, furnishing, sanitation, food, and clothing; his children receive in the public schools an education more comprehensive than medieval universities could bestow; his opportunities for intellectual stimulation and social amusement have increased a thousandfold; his advantages in transportation and communication have revolutionized living. These same pages of history tell the story of how those who labor have been able to secure so much greater proportion of the social wealth. Wherever the working people have made progress, some form of organization has been the agency that has transformed individual impotency into collective strength—fraternities, lodges, merchant guilds, craft guilds have been helpful, but the labor unions, trade unions, have been the most potent factors in the forward movement. A survey of methods shows that the forms of "labor war"

have been constantly refined; free workmen do not employ the methods of revolting slaves. As the workers' organizations were strengthened, more benefits were secured; as a result of these benefits, the workers developed physically and mentally and were able to produce more wealth; with a broader outlook and increased self-appreciation, new demands were formulated—so the cycle of progress continues. This dynamic examination presents achievements of which we are justly proud, affords encouragement for continuation of the struggle. The backsets have been temporary; what seemed at the time disasters, the historic perspective reveals as incentives to new methods and activities; increased well-being has been permanent.

The static examination deals with the movement at close range, endeavors to present forces, relations, activities of a single epoch—as it were, snap-shots of the movement in action. Such a view enables one to take readings of our various records that indicate our progress at that time; allows us to get our bearings, sense our strength, our opportunities. Often dangers loom up large and threatening; injustice, suffering, sorrow on all sides, warn us that the fight is not yet ended. But these phenomena can not be estimated apart from their relations to the past in which they have their origin, and the satisfaction from the glance backward encourages us for the work before us.

The demand for higher wages represents our conviction that a constantly greater share of increased social wealth should go to those who create it. The progress of humanity results from the elimination of poverty. Poverty means degrading environment and influence that result in intellectual and moral degeneration. Permanent amelioration of the human lot must have as its basis material resources. The next step is to distribute these products so that the greatest number may fairly benefit thereby. As an element in the forces determining distribution, the trade union has been most potent. A comparison of conditions prevailing among unorganized with those that have employed collective bargaining, reveals unmistakable proofs of the beneficent results due to trade unionism. Higher wages mean better homes, better clothing, better food, better bodies and minds, recreation, a higher standard of life.

The aim for a higher standard of life is the incentive for the demand for a shorter workday. The verdicts of modern scientists are confirming the fundamental importance of this demand which the trade union has so long been pressing. These scientists are warning us against the danger to the race from the continuous industrial strain and concentration of energy in modern industry. Commerce and industry can be allowed to exploit the leisure of the workers only at the expense of national well-being. The shorter workday means increased efficiency of the worker in the shop, better, longer, and happier living, and development of the higher emotions and feelings. It increases the productive period of the worker, lengthens his life, and enables him longer to provide for those dependent upon him, that the children may have an opportunity to taste of the pleasures of child life before assuming the burdens of the human "struggle for existence."

This more efficient, more human worker, demands better working conditions, the aim being to conserve human resources. Much has been done to let pure air and sunshine into working places, to exclude conditions breeding organisms injurious to life, but ever-increasing knowledge and the widening of our conception forbid us to stop or stay in the crusade for human welfare. Among all the organizations on the American continent working upon the various phases of this great problem, the American Federation of Labor is the leader, and has often been the pioneer blazing the way.

These three demands of organized labor are comprehended in this larger and ultimate ideal—to enrich, enlarge, and magnify humanity. The influence and the potency of the American Federation of Labor are so well appreciated by the thinkers and leaders in our nation's affairs, that almost every considerable movement for humanitarian, economic, or political reform has endeavored to enlist our approval and support. Men of labor, we play an honorable and important part in the affairs of this great nation. We are daily helping to determine its destiny.

But in spite of many alluring proposals, many new prophets proclaiming, "Lo! here," and "Lo! there," the American Federation of Labor has ever cleaved to the old and tried fundamental propositions upon which we have builded our organization. We have not been deluded by fads or impractical visions, but have ever examined each new one to see whether it contained that one essential quality—furtherance of human welfare. We have been wedded to the cause and to the movement for the pro-

tection, development, and advancement of the people. We have ever endeavored to maintain an alertness, an awareness of the needs and tendencies of the times that members of our organizations and our fellow-workers might profit thereby. In the political field we have taken advantage of every opportunity, and often created opportunities, which, in a fair degree, promised tangible results in the interests of the workers, the masses of our people. In our movement the political methods and instrumentalities are of less consequence than the attainment of the objects which we seek. There has been no factor in all our land so effective in establishing the initiative and referendum as the American Federation of Labor, because we believe that through that system a safer method would exist by which, with a well organized labor movement, real democracy shall be realized. Here, as in all political problems, we realize that democracy will not come to pass automatically as a result of the machinery, but only as a result of political education and aroused sense of responsibility. Hence, the American Federation of Labor has ever endeavored to direct, warn, and rouse the voters of the country to the designs and activities of the forces that would sacrifice social welfare to individual, industrial, commercial, and political profits. When political machinery renders officialdom responsive to public opinion and humanitarian interest, an alert, educated, interested electorate will achieve democracy.

As a result of the recent awakening of the workers of the United States, this growing realization of their political power and influence, more progress in remedial, constructive legislation has been made this year than in the decade previous. We do need new devices and new methods of political expression, but not half as much as we need to realize and to use the power that we now possess, to consecrate ourselves and our ability to humanity's cause.

As labor organizations have been able to secure advantages for their members, they have endeavored as far as possible to share these with the workmen not enrolled in their ranks. We have endeavored to help them to help themselves, to organize, federate, and educate their fellow-workers so that we shall hasten the time when poverty, with its fear and degradation, shall be eliminated, and the way opened for lasting progress. Rights and privileges that are today entrusted to our care, are the fruits of past struggles. We are obligated to preserve inviolate the things entrusted to our keeping, and to account for them with interest to the next age.

As is my privilege and duty, I shall now present for your consideration some of the various phases of the activities of the American Federation of Labor not covered by the report of the Executive Council, which will be presented later. The phases dealt with were chosen as representative and distinctive. Study of them will reveal many reasons for encouragement and good cheer. Though shadow and darkness have passed over us, yet we have not lost in strength, influence, or organization. We are planning to enter upon big and difficult problems and undertakings.

### ORGANIZATION AND GROWTH.

It is exceedingly gratifying to report the extension and growth of the American Federation of Labor, as well as the membership of affiliated organizations. The American Federation of Labor issued 260 certificates of affiliation (charters) during the fiscal year ending September 30, 1912, as follows:

Department.....	1
International unions.....	2
State federations.....	2
City central bodies.....	57
Local trade unions.....	149
Federal labor unions.....	49

At the close of the fiscal year there were affiliated to the organization:

Departments.....	5
International unions.....	112
State federations.....	41
City central bodies.....	560
Local trade unions.....	434
Federal labor unions.....	156

The average membership reported and upon whom per capita tax was paid by the affiliated organizations to the American Federation of Labor during the past year, was 1,770,145, an increase over the number reported for 1911, which was 1,761,835. On September 30, 1912, the membership of affiliated organizations was 1,841,268.

Perhaps it would be well to again repeat that our international organizations each have jurisdiction over the classes of work performed by their respective memberships within the American continent. Each international is composed of various local unions. Affiliated to the 112 internationals belonging to our Federation, are 20,964 local unions.

The success and the growing appreciation of the value of organization along international lines has been particularly gratifying during the past year. This progress is discussed under the section on Canada in this report and in the *American Federationist* for June and September, 1912.

The State and city central bodies are composed of representatives from various local organizations; such organizations are intended to secure for the workers advantages impossible of achievement by isolated organizations or those who often call themselves "independent." It is an isolation and independence on a par with the position of impotency of the non-union "independent" wage-worker.

The city central bodies and State federations have been of tremendous importance in securing for the workers in the local unions and for all wage-earners, improved conditions in all the affairs and interests of the working people.

Our international unions and our American Federation of Labor can do the cause of Labor no greater benefit than by encouraging and assisting, in strengthening and extending, the power and influence of the State federations and central bodies, and by seeing to it that the spirit, as well as the letter of our laws, shall be enforced requiring that local unions shall be represented in these bodies.

It will be seen that there are now 112 international unions affiliated, and from that bare statement a wrong inference may be drawn that there is a smaller number of organized workers in international unions. The fact is, that during the past few years there has been a process of amalgamation. Then, again, others have had their charters either revoked or suspended, as will be shown in Secretary Morrison's report.

### CANADA.

The year 1912 marks a new epoch in the development of the international trade union movement in Canada. From the Atlantic to the Pacific there has been an awakening to the value of organization under international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. The marked difference between the condition of members of trade unions and that of unorganized workers has induced thousands of indifferent workers, who had never identified themselves with the movement, to seek admission to the organizations of their craft or calling. In all the chief industrial centers unsolicited applications for membership were received by the business agents and secretaries of the different labor organizations. Government statistics show that wages have increased during the past ten years. These statistics also show that where increases in wages have been obtained they were almost entirely the result of the organization of the workers into international trade unions.

Reports from every industrial center indicate that by either collective bargaining or the use of the strike, remarkable progress has been made in shortening hours of labor and increasing wages. Statistics compiled by union officials show that wage increases in some cases have been as much as two hundred and fifty dollars a year and reduction in working time as much as twelve hours a week. Viewing the question of trade union membership from the standpoint of investment in dues and assessments, the returns for the year show the payment of dividends anywhere from 260 to 2,777 per cent. These splendid results, coming at a time when public attention has been constantly drawn to the surprising increase in the cost of living, have contributed to the widespread interest in the organized labor movement, while the value of international affiliations has been emphasized by that solidarity which alone can command the respect of the employing interests.

The organizers of the American Federation of Labor, the international unions, and the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, have worked harmoniously to build up trades and labor organizations wherever the workers could be brought together

for that purpose. The consensus of opinion among these organizers is that this year has been the best in the history of the labor movement in Canada. On the other hand, there is every indication that the attempts to develop the purely Canadian type of trades unionism isolated from the general American movement, are doomed to failure. In the Province of Quebec, where the boot and shoe workers have been organized upon national lines, there has been a sudden breaking away from the Independent United Shoe Workers of America in Montreal so that only a remnant of that movement exists in the city of Quebec. This weakening of the forces of the nationalists was also emphasized at the recent convention of the "Canadian Federation of Labor" when a mere handful of delegates met to represent a few scattered local organizations of miners, boot and shoe workers, and miscellaneous trades. The International Boot and Shoe Workers' Union is now in complete control in Montreal, and has established unions in Nova Scotia and Newfoundland.

The convention of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, held at Guelph, Ontario, September 9-14, inclusive, was the most successful in the history of the Congress, and revealed remarkable development. Over 240 delegates, from Victoria, B. C., in the West, to Glace Bay on Cape Breton Island in the East, were present to represent between 60,000 and 70,000 international trade unionists directly, and over 140,000 indirectly. The report of the secretary-treasurer showed growth in the numerical strength and a surplus of about \$5,500 in the treasury. Matters of great importance to the trade union movement of the Dominion were considered at the convention, including the preparation of Labor's case to be presented to the special committee on old-age pensions, appointed by the Canadian Federal Government; the report of the special committee on workmen's compensation for the Province of Ontario; the demand for the repeal of the Lemieux Industrial Disputes Act; strong opposition to the relaxation of restrictions on immigration; and an urgent demand for the appointment of a Royal Commission to investigate labor conditions among the mine and steel workers of Nova Scotia.

Owing to the method of intimidation used by the Dominion Coal and Steel Corporation to break up the international trade union movement, it was urged that a determined effort be made by the international unions interested to defeat the purpose of this powerful corporation. The president of the Congress and organizer O'Dell of the boot and shoe workers, while performing their duties as organizers, stated that in the coal and steel districts they were not only shadowed by the company's special police, but were prevented from holding meetings among the mine and steel workers in some districts. On this question the Congress took very definite action, and through its Executive Council will demand a thorough investigation by a Government commission. One serious phase of the situation in the Nova Scotia coal districts is the attitude of the Provincial Workmen's Association, an organization of miners acting as an ally of the coal and steel corporation and in bitter opposition to the bona fide international miners' organization. To unite the Provincial Workmen's Association and the United Mine Workers of America is the task to which the leaders in the international movement must apply themselves to effect a thorough and speedy organization of the mine and steel workers.

Through the joint action of the Ontario executive of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada and the officers of the Toronto Street Railway Employees' Union, the Provincial Legislature has passed an act guaranteeing to all employees of the street and electric railway companies one day off each week and a working day not to exceed ten hours. For violation of the provisions of this act the penalty imposed upon the employers is a fine of \$250 for each offense. Similar legislation will be asked by the street and electric railway employees in the other Provinces of the Dominion. Obtaining such legislation by organized labor has been the means of strengthening the organizations of street railway employees. The Toronto union alone added over 500 new members to its roll during the past year, and obtained annual wage increases amounting to \$140,000 under a three years' agreement.

Significant victories for organized labor were achieved by the garment workers of Montreal; by the freight handlers in the employ of the Canadian Northern Railway Company at Fort William, Ontario; and by the construction men on the Grand Trunk Pacific and Canadian Northern Railway in Western Canada. The Royal Commission on Industrial Training and Technical Education, a member of which is ex-Vice-President Simpson of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, is now completing its report. The result of the work of this commission will be presented to

the Minister of Labor in the early part of December so that the Parliament of Canada may deal with it in the approaching session. The commissioners not only made a thorough survey of Canada with a view to ascertaining what the country had in equipment, what was needed and how these needs were to be met, but also visited the best industrial and technical schools of the United States and several countries in Europe investigating the system of industrial and technical education in operation. The findings of the Commission will be a valuable contribution to industrial and technical education.

The Quebec executive committee of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada has been successful in obtaining legislation abolishing property qualification for those running as candidates for municipal honors in the Province. This legislation will remove one of the most serious obstacles to working class representation in municipal councils. Several accounts of this splendid progress in Canada, furnished by Mr. James Simpson, have been published in the *American Federationist*, and have enabled the trade unionists in the Dominion to follow this significant development in the labor movement.

The trade unionists of Canada witnessed a wonderful development in the labor press during the past year, supplementing and aiding the development in organization. There is today a chain of well-edited labor papers from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

With the widening of commercial organization and the development of worldwide markets, has come the identification of the aims and purposes of the workingmen of the countries on this continent and the breaking down of artificial boundaries.

### PORTO RICO.

Statistics collected in Porto Rico show that from November, 1901, up to the present time, 290 local, federal, and central unions have been organized under the auspices of the American Federation of Labor and the various internationals. The record shows that there are 160 unions with 9,000 members in good standing at the present time. Last year 23 unions were organized in different towns of the Island. One daily labor paper is published, three weekly papers and bulletins for several local unions. This is indeed a creditable showing when the backward industrial conditions of the Island and the brief time that organized labor has been operating in that field, are taken into consideration.

Working conditions have been steadily improving as the trade and industry of the Island have increased, and with them organization of the workers. During the past year the external trade of Porto Rico reached a total of \$92,000,000; nearly 90 per cent of this trade was with the United States. The Island brought from the mainland markets, during the past year, over \$40,000,000 of manufactured products and supplied our markets with about an equal amount of products.

Legislation that the citizens of Porto Rico are extremely desirous of obtaining from the Congress of the United States includes the following measures: Citizenship for Porto Rico; Department of Labor and Agriculture, and a new Organic Law for the Island.

A sentiment of earnest and sincere loyalty for the United States has been developing upon the Island. The Islanders are rapidly becoming Americans in sympathy, ideals, and customs, and to no factor is this sentiment more due than to the American Federation of Labor and its organized fellow-unionists of the Island. During the year the representative of the labor organizations of Porto Rico, Mr. Santiago Iglesias, in co-operation with the American Federation of Labor, has been insistently pressing upon the attention of the members of Congress a bill which would grant citizenship to the people of Porto Rico. Progress made toward this end is taken up under the section on legislation in this report.

During the month of September, the first Bureau of Labor in Porto Rico was established. The second chief of the Bureau is a member of a carpenters' union at Mayaguez. This Bureau will be of special value to the labor people of the Island, as it will afford them a clearing house for the discussion of economic conditions and needs within the Island. Tactful work on the part of the Labor Bureau will bring about many needed reforms. Wages, hours, and misemployment of women and children are the grievances that need most immediate relief.

The public school system has been extended throughout the Island. Attendance has increased from 20,000 to 160,000. Although the system of education has been

improved, there is a most evident need on the part of the school to connect intimately with the social needs of the Island. The system used in America has been introduced, with very little attempt to adapt it to the social and industrial conditions prevailing in Porto Rico. To produce most effective results, the school system should take into consideration the backward industrial conditions, the most immediate needs of the people for instruction in the practical things in life, that they may learn how to live and work. Since the greatest need of the Island from the vocational standpoint is improvement in agricultural methods and mechanical pursuits, the greatest service the school could perform for the country would be along these lines.

A most illuminating report of educational conditions was made at the request of Henry L. Stimson, Secretary of War, and George R. Colton, Governor of Porto Rico, by Meyer Bloomfield, Director of the Vocational Bureau of Boston. Mr. Bloomfield states that while the present schools may result in better citizenship, Americanizing the children and lessening illiteracy, that there has been no corresponding progress in safe-guarding the economic welfare of the children by fitting them to cope with their environment. There does not seem to be that creative localization of the school which Porto Rican conditions require, and the standard of living of the masses and the probable future of the majority of the children demand. There is an immediate need of provision for adequate vocational training through the public schools of the Island. The economic needs are home makers, producers, skilled workers, self-reliant, and efficient bread winners. American teachers have done much during the time of occupation in purely intellectual instruction, and this is a notable achievement, but there is a larger and a wider function the school may serve, corresponding to the movement for the socialization of our own schools. Each American school on the Island, Mr. Bloomfield thinks, should be made a home center, from which all manner of social influences could emanate. The instructors in the school, by fitting up model homes adapted to local needs, could give the people instructions in home making, home sanitation, cooking, and all other practical necessities. The teaching of hygiene is most important in that tropical climate. Hence, the teachers must also give instruction in the conservation of health. This should include proper food, clothing, personal cleanliness, and disinfectants. Such an educational policy would result in substantial development of the Island population, socially and economically.

The delegates from Porto Rico introduced in the Atlanta Convention of the American Federation of Labor, a resolution petitioning that the President of the American Federation of Labor be instructed, when possible, after the adjournment of the convention, to make a tour of inspection of Porto Rico, because the Island was less favored by visits of high officials than any other part of the labor movement, and because such a visit would awaken sincere enthusiasm and give needed impetus to organization. This resolution was adopted by the convention, but at no time during the past year has it been possible for me to make the trip as instructed. Circumstances have so shaped themselves that it has been impossible for me to be out of touch with headquarters for any considerable length of time, and in addition was the trial in the contempt proceedings against Mr. Morrison, Mr. Mitchell, and myself, the continuation of the Hatters' case, and the situation of legislation in Congress.

#### CITIZENSHIP FOR PORTO RICANS.

The bill H. R. 20048, providing for citizenship for the people of Porto Rico, passed the House on March 4, 1912, and has since been before the Senate Committee on Pacific Islands and Porto Rico. The chairmanship of that committee was held by former Senator Lorimer of Illinois, who during the session of Congress was so thoroughly absorbed in his personal defense that he had but little or no time to give to public affairs; hence this important measure failed to obtain a favorable report by the committee, although, from a careful poll made, it is known that the sentiment of the members of the committee is favorably disposed toward the bill. The new chairman, Senator Poindexter, of Washington, has given assurance that he will call a meeting of the committee for the special purpose of considering this bill immediately upon the convening of the next session of Congress. It is known that the administration, including the Secretary of War and the Chief of the Bureau of Insular Affairs, together with the Governor of Porto Rico, are all actively co-operating with the American Federation of Labor for the early granting of citizenship to the Porto Ricans.



**BUILDING TRADES DEPARTMENT.**

William J. Spencer, secretary-treasurer of the Building Trades Department, reports the following principal features of the work in his department for the past year:

Notwithstanding the fact that there has been considerable friction between affiliated organizations during the past year, there has been made an unusual degree of progress in solving the problems that have confronted these allied trades. While there have been many differences to be considered and harmonized, this condition does not indicate lack of progress, but on the other hand it is the normal result of progress and of the necessity of adopting methods and organization to meet new conditions and new methods within the industry, and to make mechanical inventions react for the betterment of the workers. The chief cause of differences in the building trades growing out of questions of jurisdiction, is the invention of machinery and methods for cheapening production by eliminating high priced skilled labor.

Perhaps the best evidence of steady and continuous development in the Building Trades Department is found in the fact that it has succeeded in promoting a higher type of contractual relationship between the employing interests of the building trades and the affiliated internationals. This condition has been produced by the activity and energy of the department and the affiliated organizations in removing the cause for trade conflict between allied bodies, thereby necessarily decreasing the number of sympathetic strikes. They have been able to reduce the number of sympathetic strikes and to settle effectually and with little friction grave and complex problems which a few years ago would have resulted in radical action. The department has served as a sort of general clearing house where the dissatisfied members might confer in regard to the conflicting trade jurisdiction and reach some mutually agreeable understanding, or at least postpone contemplated action, hoping that time and reason would meanwhile work out a solution. It is gratifying to report that several cases of this nature have been so disposed of during the year. There is a growing feeling of responsibility for the maintenance of contracts with the builders and contractors.

Healthy progress in the internal affairs of the department during the past year is unmistakably indicated by the following summary of affiliated bodies taken from the annual report of the secretary-treasurer to be presented to the convention of these allied trades which will convene upon the adjournment of that of the American Federation of Labor. Affiliated with the department are 19 international unions, 173 local councils, 2 State councils. The total number of organizations in good standing August 31, 1912, was 194. A gratifying increase in membership is indicated by the report. On the 31st of August, the total membership of the department was 476,238, an increase over the last year of 181,892. The financial resources of the department are equally encouraging. The balance on hand for September 1, 1911, was \$3,235.96. The total receipts during the year were \$23,592.44. The total disbursements during the year were \$18,487.77, leaving a balance on hand September 1, 1912, of \$8,340.63.

Several dual organizations were considered and acted upon during the year. Because of failure on the part of the organization to accept and abide by the terms of consolidation stipulated by the executive body of the American Federation of Labor, the American Federation of Labor revoked the charter of the Amalgamated Carpenters. In accordance with this action of the American Federation of Labor the Department notified the several local councils and advised them that locals of the Amalgamated Society were no longer eligible to membership. In several instances the instructions of the department have not yet been complied with. This is due principally to the negligence of the locals of the United Brotherhood in not affiliating with the councils. These cases are being taken up as rapidly as possible and the policy of the American Federation of Labor enforced. Effective maintenance of discipline in such cases requires unusual tact, firmness, and good judgment in order to secure voluntary and helpful co-operation.

The same course of conduct has been followed in the case of the electrical workers. So uniform and general has been the co-operation that few locals of the seceding body are identified with the local councils in good standing in this department.

Similar co-operation existed in the case of the steamfitters. Since the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor prescribed the terms and conditions under which the organization named is privileged to hold membership in the Federa-

tion and its subordinate bodies, the department has uniformly complied with the decision.

The Executive Council deemed it expedient to extend jurisdiction over the marble mosaic workers to the Ceramic, Mosaic, and Encaustic Tile Layers and Helpers' International Union. This arrangement will prevent the development of new jurisdictional disputes and will accord the workmen affected greater protection under a more resourceful organization.

With a single exception, all the eligible organizations of the building trades industry identified with the American Federation of Labor are in affiliation and hearty accord with the department. The only dissenting body is the Operative Plasterers' International Association. For more than a year this organization has failed to keep up its dues and has therefore been suspended. Since all overtures by the department and the Federation have been of no avail, it is the general opinion that the law governing departments should be invoked in the case of the Operative Plasterers' International Association.

### METAL TRADES DEPARTMENT.

The secretary-treasurer of the Metal Trades Department, Albert J. Berres, has prepared a statement of the progress made by his department, the substance of which is herewith incorporated in this report:

The Los Angeles strike continued for a period covering more than twenty-one months. At the beginning of the fight organization among the workers of that city was in a deplorable condition. During the struggle, at the suggestion of this Department, the different internationals sent representatives to the coast and carried on an active and successful organizing campaign. In a short time, the number of strikers numbered 1,400; while the great majority of this number were new recruits in the labor movement, the report received from the secretary-treasurer of the strike committee shows that there were but twelve deserters during the long strike. It is generally conceded by those who were on the ground that our fight for the shorter workday would have been won, had it not been for the deplorable calamity in connection with the destruction of the Los Angeles *Times* building. Even with this handicap, after the public declaration of Labor's position and attitude toward the alleged crime, there was still a chance of winning, up to the time when the guilt of the McNamaras was established by their confession. Then it was recognized that there was no chance of winning the strike, or persuading the employers to make concessions. For the purpose of holding Los Angeles organizations together, in the latter part of February, 1912, at a conference between the California Metal Trades Association and the representatives of the Metal Trades, a resolution officially declaring the strike off was endorsed by all parties concerned. This department appealed to its various international organizations, having members employed in trades in Los Angeles, to render every assistance possible to keep the organizations there intact, and to extend them so that the fight for the eight-hour day might again be taken up at a more opportune time. Through these efforts the movement in Los Angeles has resulted in a healthier condition.

The Iron Trades Council of San Francisco and the California Metal Trades Association have so far been unable to agree upon terms regulating hours of labor and rates of wages in that city. Several conferences have been held by committees representing the Iron Trades Council and the California Metal Trades Association since the expiration of the last agreement. On July 12, 1912, the conferees representing both organizations agreed to recommend an agreement to their respective organizations. The agreement contained the following terms: A five-year contract on an eight-hour basis with the present wage-scale and the privilege to conform to shop conditions prevailing in the East. Grievances not relating to hours and wages covered by the agreement to be presented in writing by either party. A committee was to endeavor to settle the difficulty immediately. Grievances not settled in this manner to be referred to a conference. The agreement provided that the minimum wage of the craft should be raised from \$3.50 per day to \$3.75 per day, to continue at that rate for a period of twelve months, when the minimum should be raised to \$4 per day. This agreement was submitted to both the Metal Trades Association and the Iron Trades Council for ratification, but received endorsement only by the Iron Trades Council. Since the rejection of the agreement by the employers, although much correspondence has passed between the two organizations, with the last report the whole

matter was still in the hands of the San Francisco industrial conciliation board. The department is determined that nothing shall permanently deprive the Metal Trades of San Francisco of conditions which they enjoyed under the agreement which has expired.

Greater progress has been made since the last convention in securing the establishment of an eight-hour workday than has ever been achieved in any similar period. (This progress is enumerated under the caption "The New Eight-Hour law," in this report.)

It has been the conviction of this department that joint efforts are necessary to attain greater progress in organizing industries. During the year of 1911 the executive board decided to make a joint effort to organize the manufacturers of ice and refrigerating machinery. A number of affiliated organizations had made separate efforts to organize locals of their crafts among the men employed by the York Manufacturing Company, located at York, Pa. These separate efforts had failed. After conferring with the general superintendent of the plant in regard to organizing the plant, the various internationals responded readily to the call for assistance. A great enthusiasm among the men was stimulated, but the unusual progress alarmed the officials, who initiated a policy of intimidation of the employes. The department has met with considerable success in some localities in carrying out this work. We feel sure that persistent continuation of our policy will ultimately result in organization of these employes. The campaign has not been in vain, for it instilled into the men the spirit of co-operation, a conception of what can be attained through joint effort.

In accordance with the action of the Atlanta convention this department refused the per capita tax from the International Association of Steam, Hot Water and Power Pipe Fitters and Helpers of America, and has instructed all of its affiliated councils to comply with this decision of the American Federation of Labor. Only one council has refused to comply with the decision of the convention, and should it continue to maintain that position the department will take the necessary steps to require compliance.

Since the Atlanta convention of the Metal Trades Department the affiliation of the United Association of Plumbers, Gasfitters, Steamfitters, and Steamfitters Helpers of the United States and Canada has been secured. With the exception of one international organization, International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen, the department now has secured the affiliation of all eligible. So far, efforts to secure the co-operation of this international have not been successful. It is hoped that some action will be taken by the next convention of the American Federation of Labor relative to the affiliation of internationals that have been declared eligible to the department.

The Atlanta convention of the Metal Trades made a change in representation and voting strength in the conventions. For several years efforts had been made to secure to local councils representatives to the convention. After much discussion, the Atlanta convention agreed to grant local councils this representation. The internationals will have the same voting strength as they have in the conventions of the American Federation of Labor; each local council will vote, as do the central bodies and State federations of labor in the American Federation of Labor convention. In view of this change, the local councils given representation are required to pay dues to the amount of \$12 per year, payable monthly. Since the majority of the metal trades are already affiliated with numerous labor organizations to which they pay dues, it is doubtful whether many of them can continue to pay this additional sum.

Another change determined upon by this convention was that of making the office of president of the department a salaried one. Since it was believed that more extensive and effective work could be performed if the president were enabled to give all of his time to this department, and since there was sufficient amount of funds on hand to give trial to the idea without increasing the per capita, the convention determined to pass the amendment.

The greatest weakness and hindrance in successfully carrying out joint movements result from the low dues prevailing in their organizations. Since joint effort is the special function for which this department was created, it has been carrying on a continuous campaign of education among the internationals. A high rate of dues and per capita adequate to carry on the work successfully, is necessary to co-operation with other trades, for the correction of bad conditions. The machinists, the metal polishers, the blacksmiths and boilermakers, have all enacted legislation for this

purpose. Efforts will be continued until a higher rate of dues and per capita exists among all affiliated international unions as the basis for future success and progress.

From all reports an unusual condition exists in the ship-building industry. Every ship-building plant in the country is running at full speed. Some employers are trying to give the impression that it is impossible to get a sufficient number of mechanics for the operation of their plant. While the metal trades men are uniformly busy, there still remain some men unemployed who would accept work if the corporations paid a fairer rate of wages. Upon such a plea the Fore River Ship Building Company within the last few months has been granted permission by the Department of Commerce and Labor to import alien labor into this country, namely, template makers and loftsmen. This department and the other organizations of the metal trades protested against the granting of this privilege. The protest resulted in further investigation by the Department of Commerce and Labor to ascertain whether this corporation had made every effort to secure this kind of labor in this country under fair conditions. The effect of the department's activity and protest will prevent future recurrence of such permissions.

The Department of Commerce and Labor may be justified in criticizing the labor organizations on the ground that they do not give proper co-operation and assistance to that department. There should be more activity and watchfulness on the part of all organizations to prevent corporations from bringing in alien labor when the workers of this country are unemployed. The Metal Trades Department aims to inculcate individual responsibility so that workmen in all localities shall ascertain from immigrants what prompted them to come to this country, and under what conditions they came. Such individual efforts, especially in the centers where most of the immigrants are employed, will enable all organizations and the Department of Commerce and Labor to discover many of the schemes of the corporations. By joint effort and co-operation the law can be much more vigorously enforced.

During the past year charters to local councils have been issued in the following cities:

Belleville, Ill.; Kokomo, Ind.; Charleston, Mass.; Sacramento, Cal.; Akron, Ohio.

The total membership of the department on September 30, 1911, was 214,468. This represented a membership of eleven international organizations that were affiliated with this department. On September 30, 1912, the membership of the department was 222,012, showing an increase over the previous twelve months of 7,544. There had been deposited in the banks on September 30, 1912, \$4,428.05. It is the earnest desire of this organization to educate metal trades men of the United States and Canada to the realization that sooner or later they will be compelled to take advantage of an organization which will enable them to cope with the present industrial conditions through joint effort. There is a growing inclination in the metal trades to unite for common progress and betterment.

#### **MINING DEPARTMENT.**

At the Atlanta Convention it was announced that the United Mine Workers of America and the Western Federation of Miners had organized a Mining Department and had presented their by-laws and constitution to the Executive Council asking for a charter. The charter was granted by the Executive Council. The secretary-treasurer of the department, Edwin Perry, reports that up to the present time the Mining Department has held two executive board meetings and extended invitations to the Longshoremens' and Iron Workers' organizations to affiliate with them. He reports that there is every reason to believe both of the organizations named will in the near future become a part of the department. The department had on hand a fund of \$2,450. Their expenses so far have been purely nominal.

#### **RAILROAD EMPLOYES DEPARTMENT.**

H. B. Perham, chairman of the Railroad Employes Department, presented the following report:

"The work of the department for the past year has been principally along the lines of legislation and the advancement of the federation idea among railroad men.

"It has not assumed the protective phase as yet, but strong indications point to that as the next development. Up to the present time each

organization affiliated has carried on its own work under its own laws as it did in the past, and there has been no interference between one organization and another.

"Democracy in action and fellowship have characterized its work, with the result that railroad employes are now closer together and better acquainted than they have ever been before. The unaffiliated organizations and those in the department are on good terms on every railroad system in the country, and the path towards perfect co-operation has been made easy wherever and whenever it may be needed.

"Amendments to the Federal arbitration law—commonly known as the Erdman Act—agreed upon and unanimously endorsed by the department, were introduced in the House of Representatives and referred to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, from which body a favorable report is expected. It is altogether probable that Congress will adopt these amendments at the next session. They provide that all classes of employes on railroads engaged in interstate commerce may come under the act which in its present form only applies to engineers, firemen, conductors, brakemen, and telegraphers. Besides extending the scope of the law, the amendments provide for striking out the court features, which experience proved were ineffective in action and caused much vexatious delay and needless expense. The amendments will make the law a model of its kind, as experience with the old law has pointed out the weak clauses and the necessity for the additions which we hope to have inserted.

"The department unanimously endorsed amendments to the Hours of Service bill which affects telegraphers and signalmen, and provides for a straight eight-hour day for that class of employes. After exhaustive hearings before the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, the bill containing the amendments was recommended for passage and is now on the calendar for consideration at the next session of Congress.

"There were several other bills affecting railroad employes that received attention, but owing to peculiar political conditions in the House and Senate they did not make the progress expected.

"Attention of railroad men is called to the recent decision of the Supreme Court of Kansas anent the 'Coercion Act' of Kansas. The act prohibits any employer, agent, etc., from demanding or influencing 'any person or persons to enter into any agreement, either written or verbal, not to join or become or remain a member of any labor organization or association as a condition of securing employment or continuing in the employment of such employer.' The decision of the Supreme Court of Kansas upheld this law. Legislative committees in all the States of the Union should now interest themselves in the matter and get a similar law enacted in every State in the Union."

#### UNION LABEL TRADES DEPARTMENT.

Thomas F. Tracy, secretary-treasurer of the Union Label Trades Department, presented the following review of the work performed during the fiscal year ending September 30, 1912:

"At the close of the fiscal year we have in affiliation with the department, 38 national and international unions, and with an approximate membership of 370,000. During the year three international unions affiliated with the department—the Leather Workers on Horse Goods' International Union, the Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance, and the United Powder and High Explosive Workers of America.

"We have continued the work of organizing local departments as ordered by previous conventions, and during the year seventeen local departments, located in Scranton, Pa.; Cleveland, Ohio; Lancaster, Pa.; Kansas City, Mo.; St. Paul, Minn.; La Crosse, Wis.; Spokane, Wash.; Steubenville, Ohio; Springfield, Mass.; Birmingham, Ala.; Binghamton, N. Y.; Toronto, Canada; Danville, Ill.; Houston, Texas; Springfield, Ill.; Pittsburg, Pa., and Newark, N. J., were organized and affiliated, making a total of fifty local departments now in existence.

## REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

"While the number of local departments affiliated with us may appear to be a small number, yet when it is realized that practically every one of them was organized through correspondence, it can be seen that we have done fairly well in this direction in the last two years.

"The publication and issuance of a directory containing the names of manufacturers who are in agreement with our various affiliated organizations and who use the label of the same—which is really in fact what might be termed a fair list—has been continued by direction of the last convention. Three issues of this directory have been published during the year, a total of 55,000 directories in all.

"This directory has a wide circulation, and is sent to all local unions of international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. There is a constant demand for it, not only from local unions, local departments and central labor unions, but from business men in various sections of the country who are desirous of purchasing union-made products.

"Several circular letters have been issued to all local unions, and other circular letters have been issued to central labor unions as well. In the work of publicity and distributing information that is of value and interest to our members and friends, during the year we have sent out from this office upwards of 150,000 pieces of mail and express matter, besides the regular correspondence of the office.

*Union Labels.*

"The increase in the output of union labeled products for the year 1912 as above the output for the year 1911 as compiled from reports received from the executive officers of our affiliated organizations is indeed gratifying, and for your information the following figures are quoted as reported:

	1911.	1912.	Increase.
United Brewery Workmen's Union.....	41,836,850	44,239,850	2,403,000
American Wire Weavers' Association.....	6,000	6,000	.....
Stove Mounters' International Union.....	20,000	22,000	2,000
United Cloth Hat, and Cap Makers.....	4,015,000	5,305,000	1,290,000
Tobacco Workers' International Union.....	383,900,000	408,925,000	25,025,000
Glove Workers' International Union.....	1,841,500	1,874,500	33,000
United Garment Workers.....	42,384,000	45,430,000	2,048,000
Bakery and Confectionery Workers.....	548,210,590	555,439,000	7,228,410
United Textile Workers.....	240,000	400,000	160,000
Travelers' Goods and Leather Workers.....	11,000	47,000	36,000
Journeyman Tailors' Union.....	511,000	529,681	18,681
International Molders' Union.....	.....	.....	28,100
Electrical Workers' Union.....	.....	.....	33,675
Cigarmakers' International Union.....	28,315,000	28,600,000	285,000
American Federation of Labor.....	9,309,000	9,423,000	114,000

"The International Brotherhood of Papermakers reports that during the year 24,000 labels were issued which were pasted upon bundles or rolls of paper. This is a material increase as above the year 1911. They further report that it is impossible to make any estimate on their watermark label, as this goes into the sheet and there is no means of knowing just how many of these labels are turned out.

"The Boot and Shoe Workers' International Union reports that during the year they have entered into agreements with and issued their union stamp to thirteen boot and shoe manufacturers, and that the membership secured from the organizing of these factories was 2,385. They further report that a conservative estimate of the output of the additional union factories organized during the year would be about 11,500 pairs of shoes per day.

"The International Photo-Engravers' Union reports that during the year 1912 they have issued their label to 31 employers, and that there are now a total of 296 employers using the label of their organization. This, of course, is independent of any work bearing the label of the Allied Printing Trades Council, of which they are a part.

"The Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers, Brass and Silver Workers' Union of North America reports that during the year they have signed label

agreements with nine firms, but do not state the number of employes affected.

"The Journeymen Barbers' International Union reports that on account of reissuing shop cards, many of which replaced others, that they could not give any reliable figures as to the number of shop cards issued during the year, but report that at the present time there are in use approximately about 17,000 union shop cards.

"The secretary-treasurer of the International Typographical Union reports: 'This office has sold more labels during the past year than ever before in its history.'

"The work of carrying on label agitation among the farmers was continued this year, and a considerable degree of success was reached in the State of Tennessee through the efforts of organizers C. P. Fahey, and A. E. Hill. Three other States were selected in which to carry on this work—Illinois, Indiana, and Texas. While a representative of the Department attended the State conventions, on account of the secret nature of the Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union, we were not in a position to obtain a list of the secretaries of their locals and the time and place of meeting so that representatives could address them on this important subject.

"The publication of cuts of union labels in official journals of the national and international unions, together with the publication of appropriate reading matter, has also been carried on with considerable success. A large number of the journals of international unions are publishing several cuts of labels monthly, free of charge. A number of labor papers have rendered the same service, and at no time has there been so much space devoted to union labels in official journals and the labor press as there has been during the past year.

"Under instructions of the last convention, we have given assistance to the Federal Convict Labor bill, as well as to bills of a like character in a number of various States. You are familiar with the status of the Convict Labor bill.

"We have also had introduced in the Federal Congress a bill protecting union labels and other emblems of organizations of labor located in the District of Columbia and the Territories. This bill was introduced in Congress by Congressman Maher of New York, the ex-treasurer of the United Hatters of North America, and is known as H. R. 20423. This bill has been reported favorably from a sub-committee to the full committee and it is expected that it will be reported by the full committee early in the next session of Congress.

"The income of the department for the year ending September 30, 1912, inclusive of the balance on hand, was \$15,660.24. The expenses for the same period of time was \$10,073.44, leaving a balance on hand September 30, 1912, of \$5,586.80 deposited in the bank in the name of the Union Label Trades Department.

"In conclusion let me say, that the work of the department has progressed very favorably during the past year, and it is confidently hoped that the results of the coming year will far exceed the gain of the past year."

In connection with this departmental report, it is appropriate to refer to the plan of the New York Central Union Label Council to spread information concerning the union label, its purposes and underlying philosophy, and to stimulate the workers themselves to renewed activity and interest. That council proposed to prepare and conduct a series of stereopticon lectures on the union label. The Central Union Label Council presented this proposition and asked for financial assistance. The plan was endorsed and it was agreed to furnish two organizers to assist in the lecture part of the work. All other expenses for equipment, etc., were borne by the Central Union Label Council. The expenses were reduced by securing the use of several churches for the lectures.

The moving picture exhibition opened with views of the Ash Building fire. The lecturer brought out the fact that this was a non-union shop at the time of the fire, and that it was the shop where the shirt-waist makers' strike first started. Other pictures presented participants and scenes from the strike of the textile workers in

Lawrence last February. The lecturers called attention to the attitude of the textile employers toward organized labor and to their opposition to organization among their workers. Reference was also made to recent developments in the "Lawrence dynamite conspiracy." To bring out the contrast between union and non-union conditions and ideals, exhibition of all the different labels, explanations of them and their purposes, and interesting historical data concerning them, were given by the lecturers. Union standards were still further illustrated and emphasized by pictures representing the evils of child labor and the mercenary greed that causes it.

This movement, conducted under the auspices of the New York Central Union Label Council and the American Federation of Labor, is extremely suggestive. In view of the fact that the moving picture exhibitions have become an important element in education and disseminating information of current happenings of the day they furnish a channel by which we could reach people not otherwise readily accessible, as well as our own people, to place conditions and incidents before them correctly, and in a most vivid and forceful manner.

Many requests were made for return engagements. Much literature on the union label and union ideals was distributed. The New York experience has been successful, and is presented to the members of this convention for consideration.

#### CARL LEGIEN'S VISIT.

Upon the invitation of the American Federation of Labor, Mr. Carl Legien, secretary of the International Secretariat and president of the Federation of Trade Unions of Germany, visited the United States last spring. I planned an itinerary for him that would afford him the best possible opportunities for learning the industrial conditions within our country and getting in touch with the labor movement in such a way as to understand its various relations. As Mr. Legien had been compelled the previous year to decline an invitation to make a tour of the country and had again been invited to make such a tour in 1912, he accepted it and at the same time accepted an invitation to address meetings held under the auspices of the Socialist party.

Upon the advice of American Federation of Labor officials, and it was agreed to by Mr. Legien, it was arranged that he should begin and complete the tour of meetings arranged under the auspices of the American Federation of Labor, and, upon its completion, then proceed on his tour lecturing under the auspices of the Socialist party. The itinerary mapped out afforded him an opportunity to visit all of the large industrial centers from Boston to Denver. It was arranged that Mr. Legien should make one speech in each city, and have the remainder of his time for conferences with various labor representatives, visiting various labor headquarters, investigating methods, ways and conditions, as well as seeing something of American civilization, progress and natural beauties.

Arrangements were made with various representatives of local organizations, international officers, and other labor representatives, so that every avenue would be open to Mr. Legien to obtain the greatest amount of information with the least amount of difficulty on his part. As he does not speak English, it was necessary for his addresses to be interpreted by his secretary, Mr. A. Baumeister, who accompanied him. Mr. Legien made two visits to Washington. It was arranged during the first visit that he be invited by the House of Representatives to address that body. The address was delivered in German and translated into English by Mr. Baumeister; then in recess the members greeted him in person. On the second trip to Washington, Mr. Legien's chief purpose was to study more thoroughly the work done at the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor.

Such exchange of international visits are of incalculable value to the different organizations. Personal contact of representatives and personal investigation enable the workers, though separated, to understand more thoroughly and more exactly the conditions and the problems under which the labor movement of the various countries operates. Correspondence is often the cause of misunderstanding; men may misunderstand or misrepresent and give biased or partial accounts. Mr. Legien expressed his astonishment at some of the conditions he found which were so different from any report that had been carried to him. The information acquired by Mr. Legien will be of greatest importance in correcting misinformation that had been carried abroad and in establishing more cordial and sympathetic co-operation between our respective countries. Mr. Legien is in a position to exercise influence in moulding popular opinion



in his various capacities as secretary of the International Secretariat of trade unions of the world and president of the Federation of Trade Unions of Germany.

While here, on several occasions, both in public address as well as private conference, Mr. Legien emphatically declared that co-operation, not rivalry, was the basis for the success of organized labor in Germany; that the spirit of rivalry and opposition to trade unionism can not result in substantial progress. In Germany co-operation in trade union effort has produced best results. He made clear to all that in the United States the trade union movement as represented by the American Federation of Labor is the only one which is bona fide and that any or all antagonism or rivalry should be condemned. He emphasized as of considerable importance the fact that several years ago some so-called radical socialists of Germany organized "Socialist unions," and that the congress of the Socialist party of Germany then issued directions that these unions should not be recognized as bona fide organizations and that any socialist who became a member of a so-called "Socialist union" should be expelled from the party. Mr. Legien repeatedly expressed disapproval of antagonistic rival organizations and attempts to undermine the work of the American trade union movement.

The American Federation of Labor will gain in effectiveness and usefulness by establishing cordial relations and co-operation with the organized labor movement of Europe. Only through the exchange of personal representatives can correct impressions of our purposes and policies be conveyed. Misrepresentation resulting in false conceptions can be successfully refuted and counteracted only by having a representative participating in the discussions of the International Secretariat. Therefore, the attention of the convention is called to the fact that our organization should request a meeting of the International Secretariat in 1913, and the advisability of electing a delegate or authorizing the Executive Council to select some delegate in case a meeting is held that year. Should it be deemed inadvisable to hold a meeting in 1913, I suggest that this convention request that no convention be held until 1915. During that year the Panama Canal Exposition will be held in San Francisco between February 20 and December 4. Inasmuch as that will be an event of more than ordinary international interest, it would be most timely and fitting for this convention to extend a cordial invitation to the International Secretariat to hold its meeting for 1915 in San Francisco, immediately preceding or following the convention of the American Federation of Labor, which, I assume, will be held in that city in 1915.

#### LABOR FORWARD MOVEMENT.

The success and effectiveness of the Religion Forward Movement of the past year attracted the interest and attention of the thinking people of the country. The trade unionists of Minnesota recognized the value and possibility of such a method applied to the trade union movement. As a result, organized labor of Minnesota and St. Paul inaugurated and carried on a Labor Forward Movement. The aims of the campaign were to rouse the members to renewed activity and zeal, to develop more militant enthusiasm and to disseminate more widely information of the principles of trade unionism among all of the citizens. The efforts succeeded both in practical results in organization and in reviving trade and fraternal feeling. The success of the movement in Minneapolis and St. Paul induced Duluth to take up the plan. The constructive results and the enthusiasm stimulated by these local efforts brought the matter to the notice of the members of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor who investigated what had been done, thoroughly discussed the subject in all its bearings, and directed me to draft a tentative plan for such a campaign on a national basis. The plan I then presented to the Executive Council was approved and its adoption recommended to the various bodies of organized labor throughout the American continent. Its full text was published in the October issue of the *American Federationist*, and is recommended to all trade unionists for their most earnest study. The entire subject-matter is further recommended to this convention for its consideration and action.

It is most sincerely hoped the different organizations throughout the country will generally adopt the policy and inaugurate a nation wide campaign for better organization, increase of membership, and for the quickening and reviving of the feeling of comradeship and common interest of all the workers.

**ORGANIZING STEEL WORKERS.**

The American Federation of Labor, true to its mission, has stood by and aided the workers in every industry to uphold their rights and to promote their interests. In the earlier days of the organization, the workers in the iron and steel industry were in a condition requiring little outside aid. Indeed, aid was given rather than received by them. In later years the American Federation of Labor has stood faithfully by these men when engaged in contests of tremendous importance, but, owing to events and incidents which can not be recorded here at this time, a visible decline in the power of the iron and steel workers' organization ensued, particularly where the membership had been employed by the great steel corporations. However, no opportunity was permitted to pass without some effort being made to be of tangible assistance in maintaining and strengthening the organization and aiding the workers in that industry. It is gratifying to report a revival in the growth of that organization.

The American Federation of Labor was successful in calling the attention of the public, the administrative authorities, and Congress to the wretched conditions and social injustice prevailing among these workers. Public attention and condemnation roused the conscience of some of the directors of the Steel Corporation, so that they felt compelled to grant some of the workers better conditions. In an address which I made before the annual meeting of the American Academy of Political and Social Science last March, I took issue with the statement of the counsel for the U. S. Steel Corporation, and in reply to his statements, said in part:

"Today the United States Steel Corporation is practically free from any 'inconvenience' from the organized labor movement. It has 'peace' in its plant. It is the sort of peace that the Czar of Russia proclaimed when he said, 'Peace reigns in Warsaw.' The United States Steel Corporation, and all of the other corporations which have either by direction or indirection in the same or less degree succeeded in crushing out labor organization, are lulling themselves into a fancied security, but one morning or other they will wake up and find it was either a dream or a nightmare. They have crushed out the organizations of labor in many plants. They have, by direct or indirect methods, opened up a channel of immigration to their plants, and American workers no longer are there to any appreciable extent. The managers think—in a way know—that their immigrant employes are docile. They do their bosses' bidding without murmur, they go along patiently carrying their burdens, and the heads of the corporations feel safe. So did the proprietors of the textile mills of Lawrence. The effect of all schemes put in operation by these corporations has been to degrade their workmen, to tie them to their work, to take away from them the opportunity of protest. But some day they will protest."

Some months ago the American Federation of Labor inaugurated a campaign of education among the steel workers of the United States and Canada, with the purpose of bringing this great number of toilers into the beneficent and protective fold of the trade union movement. The history of the antagonism of the great steel companies toward the organization of their employes is a matter of common knowledge. Their evident purpose being to thwart any attempt made to organize the workers or for them to organize themselves, the plan of employing workmen speaking foreign tongues was adopted. The steel corporations, by the intermingling of the various races, nearly all endowed with pronounced racial characteristics, consider that these differences in temperament will provide an effectual barrier to successful organization. These workmen, many of whom are untutored, born in lands of oppression, surrounded by squalor, inured to hardship, reaching manhood without that full mental development which makes for independence and self-preservation, are lured to America. Upon arrival in this English-speaking country, the light of our civilization but slowly dawns upon them. The rights to which the American citizen is entitled are unknown to them—the struggle for subsistence being the great necessity. With languages not easily understood, and various tongues spoken in a single steel plant, it is not to be wondered that the workers' comprehension of the rights to which they are entitled comes as an exceedingly slow process.

These facts were the first to be considered in our preliminary arrangements for

the educational and organizing campaign to be conducted by the American Federation of Labor.

There are nearly 150 cities and towns in the United States and Canada where steel and iron workers are employed. Twenty-eight States have steel mills or iron works.

Without recounting in detail the efforts already made, it is sufficient to say that city central bodies and general and volunteer organizers were directed to assist the American Federation of Labor in distributing literature to these workers. Circulars were printed in the various foreign languages and circulated broadcast among the steel workers. These circulars were prepared in a series of three, so that the presentation of organized labor's cause might be methodically and systematically brought to the attention of those whom it is desired to organize. Two of the series of these circulars have been issued.

Aside from these circulars, large editions of the Weekly News Letter, with the circulars incorporated therein, have been distributed, with the knowledge that many of the foreign workmen could read English, and thus secure labor news other than the information contained in the circulars. Several hundred thousand of these News Letters have been thus used, and from reports which have been received the campaign of education is making a deep impression upon the steel workers.

This campaign will be continued and every assistance rendered the workers in the steel mills to secure the right to have a part in the determination of the wages which they receive and the conditions under which they shall be employed.

### MIGRATORY WORKERS.

The organization of migratory workers has been given all the attention that has been possible this year by the American Federation of Labor. The demands made by affiliated organizations upon the American Federation of Labor for organizers have precluded the continued assignment of many organizers to this particular field. Furthermore, the organization of the migratory workers largely depends upon the influence exercised by the unionists in the localities where the migratory laborers are employed at the time. With no permanent abiding place, with periods of employment of short duration and places of employment scattered over a wide area, the organization of these workers is exceedingly slow. Local unions in the localities where labor is intermittently performed can render valuable service by calling these workers together and informing them of the fraternal and helpful attitude of the general labor movement toward them, and at the same time give information of the fundamental principles upon which the organizations of labor are founded. However, some progress has been made, notably in California, where the American Federation of Labor is bearing part of the expense of an organizer who is devoting his entire time and devising plans for more thoroughly organizing the migratory workers. While the progress which has been made is encouraging, it has been necessarily slow. The problem is not one of easy solution.

It is suggested that State federations, city central bodies, and local unions in the sections of the country where migratory labor is employed in seasonal occupations, arrange to hold meetings during the seasons of employment and lay before these casual workers the benefits which accrue to those who are affiliated with the organized labor movement. The American Federation of Labor will also render assistance with organizers wherever it is possible. With this combined influence the aims and objects of our movement may be communicated to those whose opportunity is limited in the study and comprehension of the great influence and power exercised by the trade unions of our country.

### ARBITRATION, MEDIATION, AND CONCILIATION.

*(The Erdman Act—Extension of.)*

The Committee on Resolutions at the Atlanta Convention reported a substitute for resolutions 46 and 61, which instructed the Executive Council to consider amending the Federal Arbitration law so as to include all railroad employees instead of only those actually engaged in train operation or train service, as the law now provides, and if, in the judgment of the Executive Council, such amendment should be desirable, to cause it to be framed and to endeavor to have it enacted into law. This substitute was adopted by the convention, with a memorandum directing that when the subject

of this resolution was considered, the representatives of the railroad organizations directly interested in the proposition should be invited to be present.

I hesitated to proceed further, because, early in the year, it became apparent that the United Mine Workers would encounter difficulties in renewing their contracts in the bituminous and anthracite regions. Considerable newspaper discussion resulted, and several propositions for intervention were made by outside persons who perhaps meant well, but who were not acquainted with all the problems. These academicians suggested arbitration, mediation, conciliation, or peace at any price, in preference to allowing the toilers to work out their own salvation by means of their own well tried, thoroughly tested, reliable trade union agency. This sentiment was finally embodied in a bill to extend the Erdman act to persons engaged in and around coal mines, which was urged before the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. When this was called to my attention, I objected to its further consideration, as did the officers of the United Mine Workers. In the meantime, I had learned that several of our organizations, whose members are employed by railroad companies, had urged the extension of the Erdman act to cover their members. Anticipating that grave misunderstandings might arise and encouragement be given to legislation of a character freighted with great potential power that would be seriously injurious to the workers, I deemed it advisable at that time to discourage any discussion of this proposition in congressional committees until after the whole subject could be more fully discussed and considered in our conventions.

Some members of Congress and of State Legislatures would not hesitate to experiment with legislation of this character, in spite of its far-reaching possibilities and the grave dangers latent in such proposed measures affecting the rights of the workers and their labor power. There are too many who have so little knowledge or regard for the fundamentals of liberty and freedom that they would legally tie the workers to their toil as readily as they would physically tie a horse to his stake, and it is lamentable that there are some who can not distinguish the difference. Then again, there are even some workmen who with us seek to avoid the stress and strain of a strike, who are loud to advocate statutory compulsory investigation, State mediation, and arbitration, and the pronunciamiento of an award, with a supposed voluntary acceptance of such an award. They do not know that wherever these systems have been introduced they have led either to compulsory arbitration with compulsory award, compulsory obedience to the terms of the award, or else have resulted in a reaction demanding the repeal of the so-called State compulsory investigation and voluntary State mediation and award.

In Canada the reaction has set in against the Lemieux act. In one of the countries "without strikes" several strikes have occurred, and during this year a general sympathetic strike of all workmen occurred in Brisbane, Queensland. The American labor movement aims to avoid the stress and strain of strikes, but we are not led by glittering generalities or vain hopes. We have some realization of the elements and equation which prompt men to exercise on the one hand the power they possess to dominate for selfish, narrow greed, and on the other hand, the constant hope and aspiration of the toilers to be larger sharers in the wealth they create. The first take advantage of the opportunities which they can create to exercise their power for their narrow, selfish ends. The second, the toilers, realizing that their constant material improvement is necessary for the welfare and progress of the human race, will protest or strike, law or no law, in the effort to accomplish their justifiable purpose. Any attempt by law to curb the right of the workers to sever their relations with their employers, to strike, will be resented, as it should be resented. The American Federation of Labor years ago took a position of antagonism to any such policy, and it is a source of great gratification that I have in some measure aided in preventing, either openly or covertly, the introduction in the industrial affairs of our land of any species of compulsory arbitration or entering wedge that would facilitate such introduction.

We want peace in industry, but we want peace with honor, progress, and freedom. So-called peace, purchased at the price which would shackle the minds and the actions of the workers, is no real peace at all; it is the beginning of slavery. Before any definite instructions are given to the officials of the American Federation of Labor upon this subject, I trust that certain well thought out and properly defined principles will again be formulated, so that all possibilities of error or danger may be properly and safely avoided.

**LABOR DAY AND LABOR SUNDAY.**

The observance of Labor Day has now become generally customary on the American continent and in Porto Rico. This institution is of incalculable value in maintaining interest among union members, fixing the attention of those indifferent or unfamiliar with our work, and demonstrating publicly the power and conviction actuating our movement. Through such demonstration of loyalty and devotion to the great cause of humanity for which our movement stands, we stimulate again the underlying determining emotions and estimate the spirit of brotherhood and unity in the common life. It is one of the contradictions of human nature that when customs and institutions once established become familiar and sometimes, therefore, unappreciated, they gradually decline because they fail to receive due consideration and valuation. To guard against such a fate for Labor Day, the one day in the year secured by the toilers to give genuine dignity and worth to the underlying motives of the cause of organized labor, we must keep alive its finest and deepest sentiments.

Labor Day is not a time for mere merry-making and personal enjoyment, but a time for pledging anew our faith to our cause and to each other. It is worth to the movement far, far more than its cost in money, time, or physical expenditure.

There was never before a period when all of the people were so deeply interested in the social and economic problems as now. Those things which are vital to human welfare and fundamental for future progress, have become the chief topics of daily conversation, of the reporters' columns and of editorial comment, and are the central theme of political discussion. We can not, as an organization, afford not to use Labor's special day, Labor Day, as a time to set forth to the best advantage our needs, demands, and position with respect to what is of greatest interest to the thinking people. Labor Sunday is another means by which we can present our cause to many before whom we could not otherwise gain a hearing. Every opportunity to defend and interpret our much abused and misrepresented trade unionism, should be seized upon with avidity. In this age of publicity, it is not enough to be right, but we must also convince the world that we are right. Every invitation or opportunity to uphold the cause and purposes of unionism before the public, is a chance to put in telling blows for Labor. Let us regard these opportunities as sacred duties, and make Labor Day of each recurring year a milestone on the ever onward march of industrial, social, and human progress.

**AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR POLITICAL CAMPAIGN—ITS RESULTS.**

In 1906, the American Federation of Labor served notice upon Congress that it proposed to enter upon a campaign to secure justice through legislation. For many years Labor had appealed to Congress for the passage of remedial legislation. These appeals to a considerable extent had fallen upon deaf ears. It was decided that vigorous action should be taken. As a result of this decision, a campaign was inaugurated against one of Labor's most conspicuous enemies, Charles E. Littlefield, of the second district of Maine. That campaign was effectual, for Mr. Littlefield, although re-elected, finally felt compelled to resign as Congressman. The sentiment against him thus created was too strong to withstand.

This contest aroused the men of Labor. In practically every State efforts were made to have men, holding paid-up union cards, seek nominations on the various party tickets for election as Representatives in Congress. As a result, six labor men were elected to Congress in the fall of 1906—Messrs. Wilson and Nichols of Pennsylvania, coal miners; Sherwood of Ohio, printer; Hughes of New Jersey, textile worker; and McDermott and Cary, telegraphers, of Chicago and Milwaukee respectively. The influence of these men was felt in Congress. Their re-election in 1908 quickened labor men throughout the country to the possibilities of directly increasing the strength of union labor in the national legislature. In that same year additional union card men were also elected—Messrs. Anderson of Ohio, musician; Murphy of Missouri, telegrapher; Martin of Colorado, locomotive fireman, and Jamieson of Iowa, printer. The election of these four new members revealed the increasing influence of organized labor in the political and legislative field.

But Labor was not satisfied. The conviction prevailed that by adopting the slogan of "calling upon the workers of our common country to stand faithfully by our friends,

oppose and defeat our enemies, whether they be candidates for President, for Congress, or other offices, whether executive, legislative or judicial." material additions could be made to the Labor group in Congress. The fall of 1910 witnessed the election of fifteen members of trade unions to the sixty-second Congress. They were:

Messrs. Wilson, miner, Pennsylvania; Lee, blacksmith, Pennsylvania; Martin, fireman, Colorado; Cary, telegrapher, Wisconsin; Berger, printer, Wisconsin; Hughes, weaver, lawyer, New Jersey; Buchanan, structural iron worker, Illinois; McDermott, telegrapher, Illinois; Lewis, miner and lawyer, Maryland; Smith, telegrapher, New York; Anderson, musician, Ohio; Sherwood, printer, Ohio; Roberts, miner, Nevada; Farr, printer, Pennsylvania; Maher, hatter, New York. 6

The campaign made by Labor in 1910 was, in a large measure, responsible for the change in the political complexion of the House of Representatives. Labor was recognized in the appointment of one of the important committees of the Sixty-second Congress. W. B. Wilson was named as Chairman of the House Committee on Labor. Three other labor men were associated with him on that committee, Messrs. Maher, Lewis, and Buchanan. The other members of the committee, although not belonging to any labor organization, have been friendly to, and sympathetic with, all measures coming before them in which Labor is interested. This committee did splendid work during the past session of Congress, having reported out favorably a number of important bills, three of which were also favorably reported by the Senate Committee on Education and Labor and were enacted into law—

Labor's Eight-Hour bill, now law.

Children's Bureau bill, now law.

Industrial Relations Commission bill, now law.

Other bills and their present status are:

From the floor of the House there was inserted an eight-hour provision in the Fortifications bill, providing for an eight-hour day, now law.

Extension of Federal Compensation for Injuries Act, now law.

Second-class postal rates for trade union publications, now law.

Popular Election of U. S. Senators, passed and referred to the States for ratification.

Eight hours in the Naval Appropriation bill, now law.

Right of hearing, petition, and association restored to post-office employes, passed and now law.

Eight hours for letter carriers and clerks in post-offices, now law.

Plate Printers' bill, now law.

The prohibition of the manufacture of phosphorus matches passed, now law.

Through the efforts and with the help of Labor, other remedial legislation has been enacted, or is on the calendar for early consideration.

The House Judiciary Committee reported favorably, and the House passed, the bill limiting the power of the courts to issue injunctions, now before Senate Judiciary Committee.

The same committee reported the Contempt bill which provides for a trial by jury in cases of indirect contempt, passed the House, now before the Senate Judiciary Committee.

House Committee on Labor reported favorably the Bacon-Bartlett bill to relieve the organizations of labor from the operation of the Sherman Anti-Trust law.

Bill to regulate convict labor, passed the House.

Department of Labor bill, with secretary a member of the President's cabinet, passed the House, favorably reported out of Senate Committee.

Committee reported favorably the Eight-Hour bill for Dredgemen, passed the House, reported out of Senate Committee.

The House Committee on Labor also reported favorably the resolution to investigate the "Taylor System." The Committees on Labor reported favorably the Anti-"Taylor System" bills.

The bill creating a Federal Bureau of Health was favorably reported to the Senate.

The Senate passed the Immigration bill, including the "illiteracy" test for immigrants. The "illiteracy" test provision has been favorably reported by the House Committee.

Seamen's bill, passed the House, now before Senate Committee on Commerce.

The Employers' Liability and Workmen's Compensation bill, passed the Senate.

The Porto Rican Citizenship bill, passed the House.

Obtained appropriation of \$20,000 from the House for investigation of the working conditions in the iron and steel industries.

Increase in wages for the printing pressmen in the Government Printing Office, now law. (For a fuller understanding of these measures see October, 1912, issue of the *American Federationist*.)

The record thus given has been made possible from the fact that organized labor has pursued a practical policy leading to a considerable measure of success. And though it is true that in no other one session of Congress has so much remedial labor legislation been secured, Labor must yet be insistent and persistent in the effort to obtain the laws so necessary to our very existence.

In line with the pursuit of that policy, the last convention of the American Federation of Labor by unanimous vote adopted the following instructions:

"We recommend that this convention authorize and direct the Executive Council to urge the President of the United States to recommend in his forthcoming message to Congress the amendment of the Sherman Anti-Trust law upon the lines as contained in the Wilson bill to amend the Sherman Anti-Trust law; and further, that the Executive Council be, and it is hereby directed, either as a body or by the selection of a committee thereof, to obtain an interview with the President in furtherance of the purpose of this report.

"The Executive Council is hereby further authorized and directed to take such further action, as its judgment may warrant, to secure the enactment of such legislation at the forthcoming session of Congress as shall secure the legal status of the organized movement of the wage-workers for freedom from unjust discrimination in the exercise of their natural, normal, and constitutional rights, through their voluntary associations.

"And the Executive Council is further authorized and directed that in the event of a failure on the part of Congress to enact the legislation which we herein seek at the hands of the Congress and the President, to take such action as in its judgment the situation may warrant in the presidential and congressional election of 1912."

In compliance therewith, every effort was made to carry out the spirit and letter of the instructions, in the recent general elections for President and members of Congress, as well as Governors and State legislators, for it must be borne in mind that much of the legislation affecting Labor must find its expression in the Legislatures of the States. It was felt that with the true records furnished them, it was best to leave the formative judgment and action to the interest and the true patriotism of our fellow-workers and fellow-citizens, with the general additional incentive to increase the number of Congressmen with paid-up union cards in their pocket, and thus strengthen the Labor group.

Inasmuch as custom requires the report of the President of the American Federation of Labor be printed in advance of the convention, and this is written before the elections have occurred, it is not possible to herein state the results of the election. The results, I trust, will soon be tabulated, and in so far as Labor is more directly interested, published in the columns of the *American Federationist*.

This may be here stated that Labor's opponents, those who antagonize every effort made by the toilers to secure redress for their wrongs and improvement in their condition and the attainment of their rights, and others who discourage and ridicule the attempt of organized labor to use its political as well as its economic power upon practical lines, have not deceived and will not deceive Labor. The organized labor movement will contend against every wrong from which the toilers suffer and insist upon the attainment of every right to which they are entitled.

The American Federation of Labor is not partisan to any political party, but it is partisan to a principle—to achieve results in the interests of the great mass of the wage-earners of our continent. It resents the attitude of those who seek to force the workers back into the condition and character of serfdom, and with equal insistence it refuses to postpone to the far future, the advantages and benefits of a better life when we propose to secure them here and now.

Taking into consideration that which organized labor has already accomplished upon the economic, political and legislative fields to bring light and life into the homes

and the workshops of our toiling masses, we are fully confident of greater success in the future. The spirit and humanitarianism cultivated and developed by the organized labor movement will find its full fruition in the material, social, and moral standards of our people, and will be crystallized in the written laws of our land, and in the unwritten laws of our every-day lives.

#### EXTENSION OF EIGHT-HOUR LAW.

The struggle of the American workers to obtain a normal workday of eight hours is replete with human sacrifice, resource, and success. At first the endeavor was attempted by means of legislation. This method proved to be slow, cumbersome, disappointing, and often inefficient. The workers were compelled finally to depend more upon their own efforts through their economic power, instead of waiting for recognition on the part of legislators to keep pace with industrial development. The history of the effort to obtain an eight-hour day for employes of the United States Government, and for employes of contractors and sub-contractors doing work for the United States Government, was covered in an article on "The Eight-Hour Day on Government Work" in the *American Federationist* for December, 1910, and supplemented in my report to the Atlanta Convention under the caption "Eight-Hour Law Extension." It is not my purpose at this time to cover that ground again, but it is essential that I should refer to efforts made since the enactment of the Federal Eight-Hour law of 1892.

Labor believed that that act covered contractors and sub-contractors doing work for the United States Government, but opinions of attorneys-general and decisions by Federal courts rendered that feature of the bill almost nugatory. Labor construed the words "on any of the public works of the United States" in a general, and not in a technical sense. It was expected that all work done for the Government would be public work and that the act would place nearly all, if not all, work by contract or by the Government direct under the eight-hour rule. It was because of the difference in the construed and the anticipated effects of the law of 1892 that organized labor has continued its efforts to obtain additional and more far-reaching eight-hour legislation.

Even the act of 1892 as technically and legally construed by the attorneys-general and courts to apply strictly to the "public works" of the Federal Government, instead of "public work," was not properly enforced; in fact, it may be truthfully stated that it was not enforced at all, where persons engaged on such public works were not members of labor organizations, and its enforcement was attended with great difficulty even where we possessed the economic power of our trade unions to insist upon the strict letter and spirit of the law being observed. Its violation became so flagrant that it was found necessary to make the following protest to the President and to Congress in our "Bill of Grievances" on March 21, 1906:

"The Eight-Hour law in terms provides that those entrusted with the supervision of Government work shall neither require nor permit any violation thereof. The law has been grievously and frequently violated. The violations have been reported to the heads of several departments who have refused to take the necessary steps for its enforcement."

This protest was to a considerable extent effective, so effective, in fact, that Attorney-General Wm. H. Moody, on October 31, 1906, issued an order to United States District Attorneys, directing their attention to the provisions of the Eight-Hour act of 1892. He said to them in part, as follows:

"The Government is determined upon a strict enforcement of this statute and you are directed diligently to investigate all complaints which may come to you from any source of violations of this law, and upon your own initiative to make investigation if there appears to you to be any reasonable ground for suspecting violation of this law. In every case in which you can secure sufficient evidence you will submit that evidence to the Grand Jury with a view to securing indictment.

"I impress upon you the importance of using every effort to secure these indictments. Be vigilant and active in this matter. You will make



prompt and full report to me of all cases and your action thereon, with your reasons therefor. You will report immediately the action of the Grand Jury and the results of all trials, with a specific statement of the penalty imposed."

The American Federation of Labor has continued its efforts Congress after Congress since 1896 to secure an extension of the law. Hearings upon hearings were held, and many voluminous documents contain evidence of our effort. When we found difficulty in securing an extension of the act through a statute, we turned our attention to the Appropriation bills, and on April 21, 1910, and June 24, 1910, we succeeded in securing eight-hour contract provisions for the construction of revenue cutters and vessels for the navy in appropriation acts. On February 21, 1911, we secured a more sweeping provision in the Naval Appropriation act, which read:

"Provided that no part of this appropriation shall be expended for the construction of any boat by any person, firm or corporation which has not at the time of commencement and during the construction of said vessels, established an eight-hour workday for all employes, laborers, and mechanics engaged, or to be engaged, in the construction of the vessels named herein."

The debate upon this contractual provision in the Naval Appropriation bill in the House of Representatives established a most important precedent and principle; namely, that the House of Representatives decided in a most emphatic manner that it possessed power to include contractual specifications in its appropriation bills. For many years this important feature had been continuously disputed and often denied. Our success in this latter instance undoubtedly paved the way and made it easier to obtain the legislation we had so long sought. A remarkable change in sentiment was manifested among the members of the House of Representatives. This, which came with the change in the political complexion of the House, coupled with the fact that members were appointed to serve on the House Committee on Labor, who were industrial statesmen as well as political statesmen and were in sympathy with Labor's demands, makes it possible at this time to report the following material progress:

Provisions were inserted in the several appropriation bills providing for the construction of harbors, and in the fortification bill providing for ordnance and powder. The instructions of the convention were observed, with the result that the general Eight-Hour bill passed the House December 14, 1911, passed the Senate May 31, 1912, came out of conference June 8, 1912, and was approved by the President June 19, 1912. The pen used by the President in affixing his signature to this measure was presented to me immediately after it was signed. This act will become effective January 1, 1913, and will apply to Government work and work done for the Government by contractors and sub-contractors.

We succeeded in having all of the eight-hour provisions included in all the contracts of the appropriation bill for naval construction. The substance of the eight-hour measure was also included in the Fortification Appropriation bill, which passed June 1, 1912. There is also an eight-hour provision in the fortification bill applicable to contractors and sub-contractors furnishing powder for the army. We made an effort to secure an eight-hour proviso in the Naval Appropriation bill requiring that the coal should be mined on the eight-hour basis. We succeeded in having it included in the House bill, but failed to hold it in the bill in the Senate. The Dredgemen's Eight-Hour bill passed the House on July 17, 1912, with the same practical unanimity with which the other eight-hour measures passed the House. By mistake it was referred to the Committee on Judiciary of the Senate, but a change of reference was made after we called the attention of the Committee on Education and Labor to the error. Senator Borah favorably reported this bill on August 20. He made several efforts to have it considered by the Senate, but owing to the congestion of business during the closing days of the session, it was repeatedly "passed over," without losing its place on the calendar. I feel confident in saying that it will receive favorable consideration by the Senate at the next session and will be incorporated into law.

After many years of effort and controversy with officials in the Post-Office Department and others, we ultimately succeeded in obtaining hearings before the House and Senate Committees on Post-Office and Post-Roads, and finally secured

the enactment of a mandatory eight-hour provision for post-office clerks and letter carriers.

A large number of post-office employes have gratefully acknowledged the assistance rendered them by the American Federation of Labor in behalf of the eight-hour day.

We have positively and repeatedly asserted that if the measures urged and advocated by the American Federation of Labor could ever be brought before the House of Representatives and the United States Senate, and be seen in the light of day instead of hidden in the desk drawers of antagonistic chairmen of committees, our bills would pass both Houses upon their merits, and that few, if any Congressmen, would openly oppose them. These assertions of ours were proven correct during the second session of the Sixty-second Congress. During the debates upon the eight-hour bills and eight-hour provisions in appropriation bills, lively discussions ensued, in which members of the House vied with each other in warmly advocating an eight-hour day for workmen. Even Representatives and Senators who in the past Congresses seemingly exerted every effort to smother eight-hour legislation and other bills urged in behalf of the workers, seemed most ardent and cordial in behalf of the eight-hour day. Evidently, they had seen the new light, the assertive power of Labor.

After the many years of struggle we have undergone in behalf of eight-hour legislation, it is a great gratification to be able to report to you such material legislative progress.

#### THE NEW EIGHT-HOUR LAW.

This law was enacted during the last session of Congress, providing an eight-hour day not only for laborers and mechanics employed directly by the Government but also for those employed by contractors and sub-contractors doing Government work and work for the Government. This act, together with the eight-hour provisions incorporated in appropriation bills, has extended the application of this principle. Although this law will go into effect January 1, 1913, many workers are already enjoying the benefits of the shorter workday. Its inauguration has brought advantageous conditions which have been invariably accompanied by increases in wages. The full text of the law appears on page 552 of the July issue of the *American Federationist*. Officers of various labor organizations whose members come under this law have, since its enactment, reported the following beneficial results in the form of increased wages and improved conditions of work:

"It is reported that all manufacturers of projectiles established an eight-hour day July 1, 1912. Concerning three industries, we are furnished reliable information—the Midvale Steel Company, the Washington Steel and Ordnance Company and the Tredegar Iron Works.

"The Midvale Steel Company at Philadelphia, Pa., has established the eight-hour day in several departments.

"The Tredegar Iron Works at Richmond, Va., decreased the hours of work from nine to eight and gives the same pay as was given for the nine hours.

"The New York Shipbuilding Company at Camden, N. J., decreased the working hours from ten and a half to eight, and increased pay from thirty-five cents to forty-two cents per hour.

"The Fore River Ship Building Company at Quincy, Mass., at once reduced the workday from nine to eight hours for pattern makers, molders and some machinists. Wages of these workers were increased from thirty-six cents to forty and a half cents per hour. The whole plant on an eight-hour basis November 4.

"The Firth-Sterling Steel Company at Giesboro Point, D. C., established the eight-hour day on July 22. There was an increase of three cents per hour in the rate of wages to workers who received less than twenty-two cents per hour. As soon as contracts are received under the new naval bill, the men will receive the same pay for eight hours as they formerly received for the longer workday. Most of the work done by this firm consists of contracts from the Government for the manufacture of heavy seacoast artillery and projectile shells. All will be on an eight-hour basis.

"The Newport News Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Company at Newport News, Va., has under construction for the United States Government

one battleship and two colliers. They are being built under the eight-hour law. The hull is sub-contracted to shipfitters. These contractors hire their own help. While they work but eight hours, the sub-contractors pay them the same as they did for nine hours. The day workers on Government work get the same pay for eight hours work as they formerly received for nine. If men start on Government work in the morning and are sent off to other jobs, they can only work eight hours that day."

These benefits attending the Federal Eight-Hour legislation will naturally increase as more contracts and work come under its provisions. The extent and scope of these beneficent influences can be much augmented by more complete organization, thereby increasing the economic power and improvement in the condition of the workers.

### CONSTRUCTION BY THE GOVERNMENT.

The substance of resolutions 64 and 75, introduced at the Atlanta Convention, was contained in the substitute resolution by the Committee on Resolutions, which urged that efforts be made to have all naval vessels for the service of the United States constructed in its Government navy yards. The discussion in the House of Representatives on the Naval Appropriation bill was a long drawn out controversy; the declaration on the part of the majority was against the construction of any war vessels. Finally the construction of a number was authorized. When this decision was reached, largely in response to the efforts made by representative committees of the Metal Trades organizations, working in co-operation with the American Federation of Labor, a clause was included in the bill by which the Secretary of the Navy was empowered to build any or all of the vessels authorized in this act in such navy yards as he may designate.

While this discussion was at its height and when it was evident that members of Congress were not familiar with the efficient and economical accomplishments of the men employed by the Government in its navy yards, arsenals and other establishments doing work for the United States Government, and when it was also clearly apparent that self-interested persons and concerns were causing unfair and untruthful attacks upon the trade union workmen employed by the Government to be circulated, I prepared and published in the *American Federationist* for June, 1912, an article containing comprehensive data under the caption "Underhand Opposition to Trade Unionism." In that article, I proved by official statements and statistics that the cost of manufacture and construction was less in the Government establishments than the prices paid to private concerns. There is every reason to believe that after this article was brought to the attention of Congress, it was sufficiently convincing and effective in having incorporated in the act the clause giving instructions to the Secretary of the Navy for more construction directly by the Government.

### INJUNCTION LIMITATION BILL.

It is difficult and almost impossible in this report to recount the work in connection with the passage of this bill in the House of Representatives to limit and define the issuance of injunctions as they have been made to apply in labor cases. The bill had a stormy career and it required watchfulness and action. The joint effort finally found its expression in the Clayton bill, which was reported favorably to the House, and then constant attention and work were necessary to secure its consideration by the House itself. It required a special rule from the Committee on Rules to bring the bill before the House. The bill was discussed for nearly a whole day in the House and then passed.

Nearly four months passed before the Senate Judiciary Committee took up the bill for consideration in sub-committee, and then the attorneys for the interests hostile to the workers, the attorneys whose presence has become so familiar to the men of Labor, the men who oppose every species of industrial, political, social, and moral reform which organized labor advocates, were present, and a few of them indulged in argument. They littered the record with vituperation and abuse, and the Senate Judiciary sub-committee seemed willing to hear.

Because of the splendid affirmative report by Chairman Clayton to the House, and because of the discussion on the bill in the House, I was at first disinclined to argue in favor of the bill, believing that these records would form the basis of all informa-

tion for the committee upon the subject. But it was quite evident that the attorneys for the opponents by their methods of so-called argument and evidence, and under the pretense of argument, at least, not one particle of the latter having any relation to the bill under consideration, were desirous of prolonging the hearings.

The sub-committee had decided not to consider the bill further until the next session of the present Congress. I entered a protest against that procedure, and insisted at least upon an opportunity for hearing on the part of several trade unionists and myself against whom insinuations or charges had been leveled. Mr. Jos. F. Valentine, president of the International Molders' Union, Mr. John P. Frey, editor of the official journal of that organization, and I appeared before the committee and refuted the charges and insinuations of the attorneys of "big business." We were unable, however, to persuade the committee from its course, although, as stated, the protest which I entered against the Senate Judiciary sub-committee afforded us this limited opportunity for protest.

The Clayton Injunction Limitation bill is before the Senate, and if the men of organized labor but do their duty, and by conference with and communication to the Senators from their respective States make known that they insist upon the passage by the Senate of this bill, it will be passed before the close of the Sixty-second Congress.

#### JURY TRIAL IN CONTEMPT CASES.

That which I have recorded under the caption of "Injunction Limitation Bill" applies equally to the Clayton Contempt bill, which provides that in indirect contempt trial shall be before a jury. Its progress through the House Judiciary Committee and the House of Representatives was a duplicate of the progress of the Injunction Limitation bill. The bill passed the House, was sent over to the Senate, was referred to the Committee on Judiciary, but was never considered by the committee.

It is recommended that this convention take such action as will call upon the workers of our country (and that they be urged to respond) to meet with and write to the Senators of their respective States, insisting that this much needed legislation be enacted before the close of the Sixty-second Congress.

#### SEAMEN'S RIGHTS.

The Seamen's bill, H. R. 11372, by Representative Wilson of Pennsylvania, which was endorsed by the Atlanta Convention, was duly considered by the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries at several hearings. After considerable change had been made, the bill was reintroduced by Mr. Wilson as H. R. 23673. It was before the House on several occasions and openly opposed by Representatives Humphrey of Washington, J. Hampton Moore of Philadelphia, and John W. Weeks of Massachusetts. It was defended and championed by its sponsor, Representative Wilson, in an able and vigorous manner. The greatest credit is due him for his perseverance, persistent labor with individual members, and parliamentary tact in making the principles and benefits of the bill understood and securing its final passage without any votes cast in opposition.

The bill as passed meets with the complete approval of the seamen and their officials. It restores freedom to the seamen; it provides a standard of skill for seaman-ship. It is drafted with the design of equalizing the operating expenses of foreign vessels and American vessels. It will tend to build up the American merchant marine without resorting to subsidies or subterfuge. It will encourage the American to follow the sea as a profession. It will provide in a much greater measure improved conditions of life on board ship for seamen. Its safety provisions will, to a considerable extent, increase security of life and property at sea. Above all and of vastly most importance, it will abolish the last provisions in our statutory law for compulsory labor within the jurisdiction of the United States. Seamen will no longer be deprived of their individual liberty, or be compelled to suffer hardships and wrongs beyond what are naturally inherent in their dangerous, hazardous calling.

The bill is now in the Senate Committee on Commerce, of which Senator Nelson of Minnesota is chairman. He left it to a sub-committee, of which Senator Burton of Ohio is chairman. Every effort was exerted by us to get Mr. Burton to report the bill before Congress adjourned; all to no avail. Instead of giving this important bill the attention it merited, Mr. Burton departed for Europe previous to the adjournment of Congress and let this measure, freighted as it is with so much human weal

or woe, pass over until another session of Congress. It is to be fervently hoped that no terrific marine disaster like that which happened to the Titanic, on April 14, 1912, will ever again occur and certainly not in the meantime, to rivet public attention upon the deplorable fact that the marine laws of the United States are behind those of all nations in the civilized world.

In behalf of justice for the men who go down to the sea in ships, the men of organized labor are urged to bring sufficient pressure to bear upon their United States Senators to secure favorable action upon this measure during the coming session of Congress.

### IMMIGRATION AND CHINESE EXCLUSION.

The bill, S. 3175, reported by the Senate Committee on Immigration, according to general understanding, was intended to be a codification of the several acts regulating immigration and Chinese exclusion. Section 39 of the bill proposed to repeal "all laws relating to the exclusion of Chinese persons, or persons of Chinese descent, except such provisions thereof as may relate to the naturalization of aliens". Section 3 enumerated the persons, or classes of persons, to be excluded from admission to the United States, and added (evidently intended as a substitute for the Chinese exclusion laws, and a proposal to repeal them), that among the exclusions should be "persons who are not eligible to become citizens of the United States by naturalization, *unless otherwise provided for by treaties, conventions, or by agreements as to passports, etc.*"

The members of the Senate Committee seemed to be generally of the opinion that the above quoted provision would be sufficient to maintain the exclusion of the Chinese, but I preferred to consult our attorneys for an opinion. On March 2, 1912, our attorneys replied in a very comprehensive brief, saying in substance that the Burlingame Treaty of 1868 recognized the full right on the part of the Chinese to enter, travel and reside in the United States. Those provisions have never been abrogated by treaty, but had only been modified by the Treaty of 1880, which regulated and limited the admission into and residence of certain professional classes of Chinese in the United States. In 1882 Congress passed the Chinese Exclusion Act, and subsequently amended it in 1892 and 1902. The statement of facts as to the treaties and laws was summed up by the attorneys as follows:

"The Treaties provide for the free admission of Chinese in the absence of certain specific findings of fact by the Government of the United States. It is proposed (in the Immigration codification bill, S. 3175), that the Congress shall repeal the laws containing such findings. Immediately upon this action being taken, we will revert to the condition which existed immediately consequent upon the signing of the Burlingame Treaty of 1868. The modification proposed to that Treaty by the Treaty of 1880, and itself dependent upon the action of the Government of the United States, not being invokable because of the failure of the Government to act, or, more strictly speaking, because of the revocation by the Government of the United States of its former action. The conclusion, therefore, is irresistible that if the pending bill becomes enacted in its present form, the right of Chinese to come to this country will be absolutely unrestricted."

Immediately our organizations in the inter-mountain and Pacific Coast States were urged to co-operate with us by protesting to the United States Senators and members of Congress against allowing any law, or any provision of law, to be enacted which would in any manner modify or repeal existing law relating to Chinese exclusion from the United States and its possessions. The responses were instantaneous. Their protests were so effective that when the Senate passed the bill on April 19, 1912, the following exclusion amendment in section 3 of the bill was adopted:

"Chinese persons or persons of Chinese descent, whether subjects of China or subjects or citizens of any other country foreign to the United States, persons who are not eligible to become citizens of the United States by naturalization unless otherwise provided for by existing agreements as to passports, or by treaties, conventions, or agreements that may hereafter be entered into."

The bill was perfected in other respects to conform to this provision, and passed. The illiteracy test advocated by the American Federation of Labor was added to the bill and passed by the Senate. The head tax for immigrants was increased from four dollars to five dollars. The bill was then referred to the House Committee on Immigration where, after prolonged consideration, it was decided, on June 6, to strike out several important features. Many conflicting opinions developed in the House on the advisability of giving the amended measure consideration during the session. Many futile efforts were made to have the bill called up in the House, the general cause given being that other committees held the calendar ahead of the Immigration Committee. Efforts were made to obtain a special rule from the Rules Committee so that the bill could be then brought before the House. Hon. John L. Burnett, chairman of the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization made vigorous endeavors to obtain action, and in response to his request before the Committee on Rules, he finally secured the positive proposition that a special rule would be reported early in December of the next session of Congress.

Earnestly I urge our organizations to bring the subject-matter of this bill to the attention of their Representatives and emphasize the request for an early passage of this reasonable regulation or restriction of immigration.

#### CHILD LABOR AND CHILDREN'S BUREAU.

The recent session of Congress enacted a law providing for a Children's Bureau of the Department of Commerce and Labor. That Bureau is now in active operation. The measure was opposed by some so-called "child welfare organizations." It was supported by philanthropic and charitable organizations in co-operation with the American Federation of Labor. Its purpose is to secure more complete information and better insight into the nature and environment of child life, to investigate conditions relative to the employment of children and women in this country, and to throw light on the problem of the conservation of the child. This humane measure met with opposition from many Senators and Representatives upon the plea of unconstitutionality.

In some of our States protective legislation has been passed. In recent issues of the *American Federationist* there has been published a valuable statistical compilation of legislation enacted in the various States, together with data proving the influence and activity of organized labor in securing these laws. In some other States, the conditions that are allowed to obtain are not merely a disgrace to civilization but are calculated to impair in a grave degree the welfare of the American people, but because several special interests have found profit and advantage from such flagrant conditions, the Legislatures tolerate them.

A permanent Bureau of the Federal Government will be enabled to maintain continuous supervision, investigation and records, and thus educate and arouse public sentiment. Uniform laws embodying the best provisions of legislation regulating the employment of women and children can be enacted in all of the States, if our organizations in each State act as vigorously and faithfully in the future as they have in the past.

The measure establishing the Federal Children's Bureau is without doubt the beginning of a great reform. It is a great satisfaction to know that our organizations took such active part in successfully prevailing upon Congress to establish that Bureau.

#### INITIATIVE, REFERENDUM, AND RECALL.

The Committee on President's Report at the Atlanta Convention made this strong declaration:

"We renew our adherence to the principles of the initiative, referendum and recall, and we realize that these principles which we have long contended for are now being very generally accepted, and the last stand is being made upon the right of the recall of judges. We can not see the soundness of such a stand. Judges are like other men—good, bad, and indifferent. The selection of any man as a judge does not necessarily thereby change his character or make him infallible. It is not always possible to know in advance whether or not a person selected for a position is qualified to fill it, either

mentally or morally, and whenever it becomes apparent that any one who has been selected as a judge is incapable of meting out justice to all parties coming before him, the safety of society itself requires that he should be recalled."

The last eleven words of this concise declaration tell the concrete and exact truth, with the greatest possible dynamic force; they are worthy of repetition: "The safety of society itself requires that he should be recalled." This is a complete answer to all of the mythical tradition, glibly voiced by the "elder statesmen," those who would hurl the Constitution at every new thought and every proposition made in behalf of the welfare of the whole people. In their mental desperate straits to preserve inviolate the strong grip of "vested interests" and privilege, they bandy words and terms, in the effort to confuse the public mind by unwarrantably inveighing the Constitution against all economic, political, and legislative reform.

That great English statesman, William Ewart Gladstone, is credited with saying that the Constitution of the United States is the greatest work ever written by the hand of man. The organized labor movement accepts this as a truism, but it suggests the thought that the Constitution, good as it is, and wonderfully comprehensive as its provisions are, was not expected nor intended by its authors to extend to the people of the United States for all time; neither was it ratified by the people of the several States after presentation to them as the last word in the progress of human government. Indeed, that this is true is evidenced by the provisions in the Constitution itself by which that instrument can be changed.

We, who are the accredited responsible representatives of the producers of our country, take issue with those who, in the language of the gambler, "stand pat," and who refuse to see or expect any thing good in the minds and hearts of the present generation.

We say that for the safety of society itself, judges who are incapable of meting out justice should be recalled. This country, this Government of ours in America, belongs to the people who for the time being live in it—while they are alive. We have had enough of government by dead men—dead issues—dead principles, and iron-clad restrictions. We must expand and progress; we can not stand still. We must have restored to the people the unrestricted power of changing their statutory or organic laws whenever they find the occasion and necessity warrant it, regardless of whether the "elder statesmen" should term it the "voice of clamor" or "the voice of the mob." As intelligent, aspiring American citizens, we resent such outrageous aspersions as are hurled at us when we urge humane social legislation, judicial restriction, and executive restraint.

The safety of society impels us to seek for ourselves the safest and sanest way to preserve our institutions. This can best be done by expanding the power of the people through direct legislation by means of the Initiative, the Referendum, and the Recall. How well this has been done, how much is being done, and what splendid service the men of Labor have given to this scientific, democratic system of government has been duly recorded in the *American Federationist* of August, September, October, November, 1912, and will probably be concluded in the December number. The story has been told either by our fellows in the States who were the pioneers in this movement, or it has been told by their closest associates, in plain, modest, unassuming terms, which are both a revelation and an inspiration. I hope that our membership generally will obtain as much gratification in reading these reports as it has afforded me to compile them. I rejoice in the fact that the people generally are accepting our advice, and that great States like California and Ohio have recently adopted the system by an overwhelming vote of the people. But we must not rest, or allow ourselves to become contented, until we have secured in all of the States uniformity of government on the same basis as Oregon, Arizona, and California have set as the standard, in which popular government versus delegated government has been made supreme and the recall has been made applicable to all officials of government, including the judiciary. When that time comes we can feel safe and secure that the government of the people is in the hands of the people themselves; it will be completely and absolutely with no one to say them "nay," with no power, executive, legislative or judicial, to thwart their desires and intents in behalf of better and wiser humane social legislation and in behalf of the full and complete reign of human rights when property rights make the conflict.

Men of America, we dare not halt! We must press forward or we will be driven back.

**LIMIT JUDGES' TENURE.**

In connection with the subject of the usurpation of power and extension of jurisdiction, as well as twisted interpretations by the courts, of law enacted in the interests of the people, the tenure of office of judges is an important factor. That the courts should remain untrammelled in independent judgment and decision in litigation and cases coming before them, no right-thinking citizen will dispute, but that such judgment and decision should be more in accord with the needs as well as the safety of our people and our country is equally true.

To accomplish this purpose the propositions of the recall of judges and the recall of decisions are receiving the consideration of our people. What I venture to suggest in addition is, that the judges of the courts created by acts of Congress (not the Supreme Court, which is created by the Constitution) shall have a time limit, say of four or six years for their terms, subject to reappointment by the President, by and with the consent of the Senate.

In the absence of the popular election of such judges it would afford the opportunity for the President and Senate not to reappoint the judge whose term has expired, who has proven by the course he has pursued that he is out of touch and out of sympathy with new legislation and the administration of the law, and yet whose conduct has not been of such a character as legally to warrant his impeachment or removal.

It has too often been demonstrated in our country that judges appointed for life, due to their trend of mind and their environment, are filled with a concept of the old; without the knowledge of the modern industrial and social condition; without the concept of present-day understanding of liberty, equality, and of social justice; have nothing but contempt for these principles or for the rights of the people. It is true that judges who pervert the law, who act arbitrarily, who deny equal justice to our people, are not necessarily corrupt or inefficient, and the course they pursue may not have carried with it moral obliquity, malfeasance, or misfeasance. Impeachment proceedings carry with them all these and are therefore cumbersome and have proven unsatisfactory to attain the ends which the people aim to secure. The limitation of the terms of office, subject to reappointment or not, at the discretion of the President and the Senate, would be materially helpful in securing more general satisfaction and the accomplishment of just results.

**POPULAR ELECTION OF UNITED STATES SENATORS.**

After many years of agitation we have finally succeeded in securing the passage of a measure through Congress providing for an amendment to the United States Constitution, making it possible for the people to cast a direct vote for their choice of men to represent them in the United States Senate.

The Secretary of State has submitted this constitutional amendment to the various States for their adoption. A number of the States have already ratified it, and it is expected, from the general sentiment prevailing among the people, that the Legislatures in practically all the States will ratify this amendment to the United States Constitution. It will be necessary for at least three-fourths of the Legislatures of the States to ratify this amendment before it can become part of the Constitution of the United States, and though the prospects are bright for its early ratification by the necessary number of States, yet I recommend that this convention urge upon all organized labor and friends to exert themselves in their various States to induce the ratification therein at the earliest possible date and thus bring the United States Senators nearer to the people, dependent upon their good will and votes to elect them to the United States Senate.

**CITIZENSHIP RIGHTS RESTORED.**

On January 25, 1906, an order was issued by President Roosevelt forbidding Government employes, directly or indirectly, individually or through associations, to solicit an increase of pay, or to influence or attempt to influence in their own interests, or through legislation before Congress or its committees, or in any way save through the heads of departments, on penalty of dismissal from the Government service.



This order arbitrarily deprived the employes in the Government service of the right of citizenship guaranteed to them under the Constitution. The departmental Government employes were gagged and their hands tied, without any means of redress. The only channel through which they could appeal for a remedy of any grievance was through their immediate superior officers, who usually were the source and cause of such grievance.

On November 26, 1910, President Taft issued a supplementary order extending and making more rigorous the order of January 25, 1906. This supplementary order provided that no bureau, office, division chief, or subordinate in any department of the Government, and no officer of the army, navy, or marine corps stationed in Washington, shall apply to either House of Congress, or to any committee of either House of Congress, or to any member of Congress for legislation or for congressional action of any kind, except with the consent and knowledge of the head of the department.

As a citizen, and as President of the American Federation of Labor, I immediately entered my protest when the executive order of 1906 was issued, and emphasized that protest upon the issuance of the supplementary executive order of 1910. The convention of the American Federation of Labor to which this matter was reported in 1906 took action denouncing and attacking the order, and demanding either a change of the executive order or legislation at the hands of Congress restoring to Government employes their rights of citizenship.

In consequence of the executive orders forbidding employes of the Post-Office Department to seek redress of grievances through direct appeal to Congress, a large number of the railway postal clerks organized and affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. This effort was made in order to enlist the assistance of the American Federation of Labor in an effort to secure remedial legislation. A number of these organizations were chartered by the American Federation of Labor. As soon as this became known, the Post-Office Department undertook to destroy them. Men employed in the service were victimized and compelled to seek other employment. Realizing the helplessness of the railway postal clerks, and desiring to render them all the assistance possible, the American Federation of Labor secured the introduction in both Houses of Congress of bills which, if adopted, would nullify the obnoxious executive orders to which reference is here made and restore to all employes of the Government their rights as American citizens.

While these bills did not reach consideration by either House, yet by an amendment to the Post-Office Appropriation bill, which is now a law, the right of petition, a right guaranteed to all citizens, was restored. Representatives of organized men in the classified civil service and in other departments of the Government, may now seek legislative relief from onerous conditions for these employes.

The effect of this amendment to the Post-Office Appropriation bill will be far-reaching and will preclude the possibility of the Post-Office Department assuming that men in the employ of the Government who organize for the protection of their interests, have no right to join the American Federation of Labor. The assumption of the officials of the Post-Office Department that they had the right to designate the organization or organizations of which the employes of the postal department should become members is at variance with the American idea of government. The American Federation of Labor is working out its destiny within the law, and will contest the assumption by Government officials of the right to dictate to the employes of the Government to which organizations they shall or shall not belong. The American people are not yet ready to take the position that because an individual accepts employment from the Government he thereby forfeits the rights guaranteed to him by the Constitution of the United States.

### SECOND-CLASS POSTAL RATES.

Other amendments to the Appropriation bill secure an eight-hour day for letter carriers in city delivery service and clerks in first and second-class post-offices, and the advantages of second-class rates for trade union publications.

The law now provides that periodicals, publications issued not less than four times a year and published by trade unions, benevolent and fraternal organizations, organized under a lodge system, and having a bona fide membership of not less than one thousand,

and other bona fide State institutions, shall have the benefit of the second-class postal rate; that is, one cent per pound.

Further features of the law are contained in this:

"Provided that the circulation through the mails of periodicals and publications issued by or under the auspices of . . . trade unions . . . as second-class mail matter, shall be limited to copies mailed to such members as pay therefor either as a part of their dues or assessment or otherwise, not less than fifty per centum of the regular subscription prices; to other bona fide subscribers; to exchanges, and ten per centum of such circulation as sample copies. Provided further, that the office and publication of any such periodical publication shall be fixed by the association or body by which it is published, or by its executive board. . . ."

The incorporation of this amendment has secured for our trade union publications, as for purely scientific and fraternal order publications, the second-class postal rates.

### CONTRACT CONVICT LABOR SYSTEM.

From the first manifestation of the evils of the contract convict labor system, the American labor movement protested against its continuance, demanded a repeal of that system, and insisted that some more humane system take its place.

The history of the labor movement is replete with the evidence and the record of that unchanged, but insistent, attitude. This is due, not alone to humanitarian consideration, but for the protection of free workmen and their employers who suffered most directly from the abomination accompanying and resulting from contract convict labor competition.

On many occasions the conventions of the American Federation of Labor have gone on record emphatically denouncing the system. It is not necessary to review here the past consistent course which the American Federation of Labor has pursued upon this subject, but it may be interesting to call attention to the following paragraph in the report I had the honor to submit to the last convention:

"Prisoners should be required to work not for private profits of contractors, nor even for the financial profit of the State, but for the benefit of their dependents and for their own reformation."

The committee to which this subject was referred then made the following declaration, which was adopted unanimously by the convention:

"We are unalterably opposed to the labor of convicts being let out to contract. We believe that the ultimate solution of the problem will come when the convicts are engaged in the widest possible diversity of industry by hand labor for the use of eleemosynary institutions. By this method both body and mind will be strengthened. Men are imprisoned supposedly for the welfare of society, and their labor which may be utilized thereby should never be so handled as to become a menace to any portion of society.

"For the accomplishment of this purpose, we recommend the endorsement of the Booher bill, H. R. 5601, requiring convict made goods to conform to the laws of the State into which they are shipped, whether received in original packages or otherwise."

To what the committee stated, might be added that the Booher bill when enacted into law will authorize the States (which have or may enact legislation) to protect their citizens from the evil effects of convict labor. It would prohibit the importation and sale of the product of convict labor of other States, because such other States would be then required either to sell or consume the product of their own convicts within their own boundaries. As a consequence, conditions would so shape themselves that humane and practical legislation, so long urged by our organizations, would be enacted by the various States.

The Booher bill, amended to include the product of convicts in coal mines, passed the House of Representatives without division, and by practically a unanimous vote. It was then referred to the Senate Committee on Judiciary, and by that committee referred to a sub-committee consisting of Senators Brown of Nebraska, Brandegee of Connecticut, and Culberson of Texas. This sub-committee has been

frequently urged to make a favorable report upon the bill. It seems that Senator Nelson of Minnesota, one of the influential members of the Senate Committee on Judiciary, is the chief opponent to this meritorious bill, the bill which is of much interest to free workers and fair-minded employers who are in competition with convict contract labor; but whether he is the sole obstacle in that committee to the favorable report upon this bill, has not been learned.

We can secure the enactment of this measure during the coming session of Congress, if the officials and members of our organizations will place the matter before their United States Senators in a direct and emphatic manner and urge prompt action. The time is most opportune. The sentiment among penologists, State officials, employers, merchants, public men in civic societies, is now sufficient to convince the general public and the United States Senate that the attitude of organized labor against the unfair competition of convict made goods upon the open market is correct. This sentiment can be made sufficiently powerful to influence the Senate to enact this measure and through its enactment induce State Legislatures to enact self-protecting laws within their own jurisdiction.

Let me use one illustration which is fairly indicative of the general sentiment in many of the States. A commission was appointed by the Governor of Iowa to investigate industrial conditions in Iowa penitentiaries. This investigation followed the complaints made by the members of our organizations in that State. The commission's report sustained in every particular the position so long maintained by us. It contained in part:

"The system of private exploitation by contractors of the convicts is the main cause of the cruelty reported and of the absolute failure of the institution as a reformatory."

The commission found that the contractors, as is always the case wherever the contract system prevails, had undertaken to control (and had managed to succeed) the Iowa prisons for their own profit. The most cruel punishments were inflicted upon those inmates who could not or did not accomplish the tasks set for them by the contractors. Good, willing workers among the convicts, who under ordinary circumstances, under more humane and just State requirements, would have been paroled, were detained in prison longer than others; their paroles were denied because they were too valuable to the contractors to be released.

These findings of the Iowa commission bear out the contentions that we have made in our protest against the abominable system of contracting convicts. Wherever the contract system has been investigated, the same results have been disclosed. All of the virtues of kindness, education, reformation, justice, maintenance of dependent ones, are lost sight of, and the penitentiaries with their inmates are ruthlessly turned over to the contractors for the purpose of grinding out profits. The contractors, of course, have no interest in the welfare of the State and no interest in the welfare, education or reformation of the prisoners—profits, more profits, actuate their every deed. We know this to be true, and we have converted the general public sentiment to our way of thinking. The Booher bill should pass and so end the unspeakable horrors committed in penitentiaries in the interest of conscienceless contractors and corrupt politicians.

The purpose of confining prisoners is for the protection of the community, and thereafter for their reform, not necessarily for punishment. It is better and cheaper for government and society that prisoners be reformed, rather than that they be turned over to unscrupulous and inhuman greed under the contract system. With the passage of the Booher bill, the States could protect the people within their borders from the unfair competition of the vicious system of contract labor.

Our movement does not contemplate keeping the inmates of prisons in idleness. They should be employed, and can be employed, in a diversity of industries for their own maintenance and the maintenance of those confined in the eleemosynary institutions of the State. They may even be employed in the much needed improvement of the public roads of our country.

The position of organized labor regarding the subject of the contract convict labor system has been confirmed and sustained by every man and organization investigating conditions and understanding our contention. Penologists and associations formed for the investigation of convict life and labor, of conditions obtaining in penal institutions, fully endorse organized labor's attitude.

Attention has already been called to the fact that this subject has been fully dealt with in reports and action of previous conventions of the American Federation of Labor. In addition, it may be interesting to call attention to the articles which were published in the April and July, 1910, and March, 1912, issues of the *American Federationist*. Due to the publication of these articles, the condition in the Maryland Penitentiary at Baltimore became the subject of a controversy between us and those who favor the continuation of the system. The beneficiaries of this system in the Baltimore Penitentiary, by pretense and device, led quite a number of well meaning people astray, among whom was no less a person than Mr. Lyman Beecher Stowe who vigorously defended the institution and the system. Later, when the truth was presented to Mr. Stowe's satisfaction, he voluntarily acknowledged the imposition that had been practiced upon him. He wrote me a letter apologizing for his previous utterances and declared that he was in full accord with Labor's contention upon the question of the evil effects of the contract convict labor system. Mr. Stowe took occasion to utilize the columns of the *Outlook*, the *Baltimore Sun* and the *American Federationist* for that purpose.

There are men and associations now in full accord and co-operating with the American labor movement for the abolition of this evil, and the time is not far distant when further publicity of the evils of the system will arouse the general enlightened conscience to more economic, safe, and humane methods which can and should be instituted for the employment of the unfortunates confined in our penal institutions. The fair-minded people of our country will be convinced of the justice of our contention and will, by law, prohibit this vicious system within the institutions intended to serve a reformatory purpose.

### BOILER INSPECTION.

Resolution 136, adopted by the Atlanta Convention, commented upon the inefficiency of the inspectors in the service of the Federal Bureau of Locomotive Boiler Inspection, and requested the Executive Council to do all in its power to have the provisions of the law providing for the selection of competent inspectors properly enforced. I investigated the situation and found that the Civil Service Commission requires applicants for district inspectors to possess the following qualifications:

Minimum age 25, maximum 50; physical qualifications, not less than three years railroad experience in the capacity of master mechanic, road foreman of engines, boilermaker, boiler inspector, round-house foreman, shop foreman, locomotive engineer, or inspector of locomotive equipment under the Government of the United States, and the two years preceding date of application must have been spent in active service in any such former capacities. The experience required must be in addition to time served in apprenticeship or spent in attending a technical school. The Civil Service examination consists of:

Spelling, 5 points; arithmetic, 5 points; report writing, 5 points; practical questions relating to construction, repair, operation, testing and inspection of locomotive boilers and their appurtenances, 30 points; training and experience in one or more branches of railroad work as before specified, 30 points; general business experience, ability to make reports, investigate accidents, etc., 25 points.

The act in question became effective July 1, 1911. It took some time for the organization of the bureau and for examinations of district inspectors to be conducted by the Civil Service Commission.

On August 3, 1911, two district inspectors were certified to the bureau by the Civil Service Commission. By September 10, twelve inspectors were appointed and in the field. On December 31, forty-one inspectors were in service, and it was not until February 14, 1912, that the full complement of fifty district inspectors was in service.

Upon examination I find that the previous occupations of the inspectors were:

Boilermakers, 19; engineers, 15; machinists, 12; round-house foremen—no previous occupation recorded, 2; safety appliance inspectors under Interstate Commerce Commission—former occupation engineers, 2; total, 50.

Mr. John F. Ensign, Chief Inspector, has extended the courtesy of furnishing an advance copy of his report to the Interstate Commerce Commission, from which I glean the following summary of inspection work performed by his office during the

first fiscal year of the service ending July 1, 1912, although, in fact the full force of inspectors had been in service less than five months:

Total number of locomotives inspected, 74,234; total number of locomotives found defective, 48,768; total number of defects found, 173,321; total number of locomotives ordered out of service, 3,377; total number of locomotives owned, 62,074.

This latter item includes only the locomotives owned by the railroads upon which inspections were made, some of them having been inspected more than once, and must not be confused with the total number of locomotives owned by all the railroads in the United States.

The following results were accomplished through the office of the Chief Inspector:

Number of locomotives on which the pressure was reduced to obtain a proper factor of safety, 699; number of locomotives which had seams re-enforced by welt plates to obtain a proper factor of safety, 327; number of locomotives "scrapped" on account of defective conditions, 698; number of locomotives on which the lowest reading of water glass was ordered raised to comply with the law, 992; number of locomotives on which lowest gauge cock was ordered raised to comply with the law, 408; number of locomotives ordered strengthened by having braces of greater sectional area applied, 351; number of locomotives on which additional support for crown sheet was required, 116.

The foregoing statement of inspections and results gives a complete list of locomotives inspected and defects found, but is not a complete record of all the work performed by the district inspectors during the year, details of which would be too tedious to enumerate.

Special tests and inspections of all boiler appurtenances are required, and it is also made the duty of the railroad company to know that all locomotives are in a safe and proper condition to operate before they allow them to be used. This places the burden of the inspection and the responsibility for the condition of all locomotives on the common carriers, which, of course, was the manifest intent of the law. District inspectors are instructed to report all defects which exist. Representatives of railroads have strenuously objected to this on the ground that certain defects which the inspectors reported did not constitute violations of the law. Investigations of these complaints made by railroad officials, usually disclosed the fact that such defects reported by the inspectors originated at points (shops and round-houses) where defective shop conditions existed and were mostly due to a desire on the part of the local officials to avoid censure due them for permitting such conditions. In practically every case where railroad officials have complained of the severity of the law and the rigid enforcement of it by the inspectors, and where hearings have been held and a proper investigation given to the complaints, it has been invariably found and so held that the inspectors were right and the railroad officials wrong. The Chief Inspector says:

"The present practice of reporting and insisting on the prompt repair of all defects before they become serious, has been so productive of good results that it will be vigorously continued, as we believe the purpose of the law can be best served by endeavoring to prevent violations rather than by waiting until violations occur and then filing suits to enforce the penalty. However, this should not be construed as meaning that suits will not be filed if necessary to enforce the provisions of the law or the lawful orders of any district inspector."

Information reaches me that occasionally the enforcement of the Locomotive Boiler Inspection law is lax in some localities. May I express the hope that when men employed by railroads can obtain evidence of such laxity or interference with the operation of the law, or against those who violate the law, they will promptly put the President of the American Federation of Labor in possession of the essential facts so that they can be presented to the Chief Inspector for his personal official attention? From the vigorous efforts which have been made and the good results secured in the brief time in which the law has been in effective operation, I feel confident that it has done much in saving life and human suffering.

The Boiler Inspector's report is now ready for free distribution. Copies can be obtained free on application to either the Boiler Inspection Department or the Interstate Commerce Commission.

**SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT.**

The subject of so-called "scientific management" has been made the hobby of many ambitious engineers and managers of corporate concerns. In my report to the Atlanta Convention this subject was presented in a general way, and critically discussed. I have given publicity to the evils of the system in special articles and editorials in the *American Federationist*. The subject I regard of such importance that our activities to thwart these schemes deserve detailed mention, so that the record may follow in proper and complete order.

On April 14, 1911, Representative Pepper of Iowa, introduced House Resolution No. 90, calling for an investigation of the Taylor system of shop management. This resolution was referred to the Committee on Labor. The committee held hearings. Several representatives of Labor joined in urging the committee to report the resolution. The committee made a favorable report to the House, in which it was recommended that the investigation be extended to other systems of so-called scientific management.

On August 21, 1911, a resolution was considered by the House, and in spite of the filibuster led by Congressman Mann, of Illinois, the House authorized the investigation to be made by a special committee, to be appointed by the Speaker. The committee appointed consisted of Representatives William B. Wilson of Pennsylvania, William C. Redfield of New York, and George P. Lawrence of Massachusetts. Before the investigation was commenced Mr. Lawrence withdrew from the committee and Representative John Q. Tilson, of Connecticut, was substituted. The committee was instructed to report to the House not later than December 10, 1911.

The committee commenced its investigation at the Watertown Arsenal in Massachusetts, in which the Taylor system had been established by the War Department. This arsenal had also gained considerable notice throughout the country because of the strike of the molders against the "stop watch" feature of the system. Hearings commenced October 4, and continued until October 11, 1911. Several representatives of Labor were present to give and hear testimony, and were permitted by the committee to ask questions of the witnesses employed at the arsenal.

On October 25 to 27, 1911, the committee took testimony from employes of the New York Navy Yard, efficiency engineers, scientific management advocates, and others. These inquiries developed the fact that the subject covered too great a sphere to be adequately investigated in the time allotted. On December 9 1911 the day before the period set for a report from the committee, chairman Wilson requested and obtained an extension of time. The committee resumed its investigation in the office of the Committee on Labor from day to day until February 12, 1912. The investigation was thorough; all persons desiring to be heard were given ample opportunity. The committee permitted representatives of Labor, officers of the War and Navy Departments and efficiency engineers to be present throughout the hearings and interrogate witnesses at their will. Several employes of the Rock Island Arsenal, where the original complaint against the Taylor system emanated, several employes of the Norfolk Navy Yard who had protested against the installation of the system, and employes of private establishments in Philadelphia, where the Taylor system was in operation, appeared before the committee and gave testimony. Officers of the War and Navy Departments were heard at length. Efficiency engineers, including Mr. Taylor himself, as well as several of their favored employes, were rigidly examined. When the hearings were concluded the committee went to Philadelphia, Pa., and Stamford, Conn., and personally investigated certain manufacturing plants in which the Taylor system is installed.

The committee made its report to the House on March 9, 1912. Its findings were against all of the features of the system to which our organizations objected, such as abnormal high speed forced upon workmen, the "stop watch" practice, the premium-bonus system, and the harsh disciplinary features of "Taylorism."

The congressional investigation was primarily instituted for the purpose of obtaining facts upon which to base legislative action, and when it became evident that department officials did not intend to abide by the findings of the investigating committee unless directed to do so by Congress, it became necessary to introduce remedial measures. Mr. Pepper, of Iowa, then introduced bill H. R. 22339, on March 27, 1912, which aimed to prohibit Government officials from making use of the "stop-watch" practice and the premium-bonus system of compensation, which Labor regards as the two chief objectionable features of the Taylor system, and which the author

of the system regards as the basis upon which the balance of his scheme rests. This bill was referred to the Committee on Labor. On April 4, 1912, Senator Poindexter, of Washington, introduced S. 6172, an identical bill, in the Senate. It was referred to the Senate Committee on Education and Labor.

The House Committee on Labor gave the bill careful consideration and directed that amendments be made to the original wording in order to strengthen it. On July 15, 1912, chairman Wilson reported the Anti-Taylor System bill with a new number, H. R. 25305 with the recommendation that it be passed. Mr. Wilson succeeded in having it given a position of advantage on the special calendar for suspension of the rules which is kept by the Speaker but, owing to the pressure of business in the House on appropriation bills, the special calendar was not reached and the bill was postponed until the next session.

The Senate Committee on Education and Labor considered it unnecessary to hold hearings on S. 6172, owing to the thoroughness with which the general subject had been considered by the special committee of the House. Chairman Borah of the Senate Committee reported the Poindexter bill on July 17, 1912, with a recommendation that it be passed, and in his report he critically analyzed the Taylor system and pointed out its evils.

In part the report says:

"The terms of this bill (S. 6172) and the practices which it is intended to prohibit, are directed against the excesses of certain systems of shop management which it is the intention of the War Department and the Navy Department to install in their manufacturing establishments and which we believe to be oppressive to workmen, as they have a tendency to reduce the employe to a mere machine, deprive him of his self-reliance, and in the long run would reduce Government employes to a condition of unresisting vassalage."

Senator Borah made several endeavors to bring the bill before the Senate for action, but, owing to the parliamentary situation on the appropriation bills, he could not get the desired action. This delay has not, however, jeopardized the bill in the Senate any more than it has in the House. We feel thoroughly assured that Chairman Borah and Chairman Wilson, of the respective committees on labor, strongly advocate this legislation, and that the prospects are bright for its passage in both Houses.

The public discussion which has ensued on these intensive production schemes since the congressional investigation and report has been very instructive, wholesome, and beneficial to all, and the protest lodged by Labor against the practice has not only been justified by the investigation but will bear fruit in legislation. Attention is called to the interesting reports of both the House and Senate committees, copies of which may be had without cost upon application.

#### **EMPLOYERS' LIABILITY AND WORKMENS' COMPENSATION.**

On January 15, 1912, the Supreme Court of the United States gave its unanimous approval to the Employers' Liability law, enacted by Congress in 1908. The court rejected all of the defenses that had been raised by attorneys for the railroads which were litigants before the courts in which strenuous efforts were made by the attorneys to retain the "fellow-servant" and "contributory negligence" defenses. The court held (and in this respect, practically reversed its former decision of February, 1908, on relation of master and servant), that Congress had the power to regulate the duties of common carriers, both in respect to the safety of their employes and the liability of the carrier as an employer, for injuries sustained by the employes (or servants) while on duty. The court also held that "since Congress had acted, the laws of the States, in so far as they covered the same field (common carriers by railroads) are superseded, for necessarily that which is not supreme must yield to that which is." This expression, coming as it did from the highest court, therefore, the highest legal authority in the land, is a most significant suggestion which I deem of sufficient moment to bring to the attention of all the members of all the organizations of labor throughout the United States. I consider this declaration equivalent to a recommendation by the Supreme Court that the Federal law should be used as a model by the States. Effective laws upon this most important subject, of vital interest to the workers, would con-

stitute an auspicious beginning in the movement to secure uniformity in State legislation.

Your attention is directed particularly to this subject, to the end that the State federations of labor may demand the enactment of laws in all the States along the same line as the Federal Employers' Liability law; and further, that all contemplated legislation in the several States for employers' liability be made applicable to all employments in the State so as to cover all of the workers in all of the industries and not be confined merely to common carriers by railroads. The importance of this is emphasized, because in some States laws for the protection of workmen in the railway service have failed to include the rights and claims of workers in other lines of industry.

A State Legislature might, with desire to attain popularity, readily and cheerfully pass an employers' liability law for supposedly intrastate commerce and in uniformity with the Federal law applicable to interstate commerce; when, in reality, such a law, if enacted by a State, would not be of much relative value, as but few of the railroads in any of the States now confine themselves strictly to commerce within the State.

Therefore, it is extremely important that efforts should be made to have the States enact workmen's compensation laws in preference to employers' liability laws and insist that the workmen's compensation laws shall contain a generous scale of awards and include all the workers of all industries in the State.

The Federal Commission which had under consideration during 1911 the subject of workmen's compensation for injuries and employers' liability, worked industriously and intelligently in behalf of a comprehensive compensation bill based on different schedule rates for specific injuries which would provide automatic compensation for employes engaged in interstate commerce. The representatives of Labor appeared before this commission, participated in the discussion and argument, and aided in the preparation of the provisions of the bill.

The Commission completed its report and drafted a tentative bill. This bill was introduced in the House and Senate on February 20, 1912, by two members of the Commission, Senator Sutherland and Representative Brantley, and was referred to the respective committees on judiciary. The Judiciary Committee of the Senate favorably reported Senate bill 5382 on April 3. It was debated at many sessions. It met with vigorous opposition, but despite that fact, it finally passed with amendments which strengthened it. The bill then went to the House Committee on Judiciary and was considered by that committee as a substitute for the H. R. 20487. That committee gave extended hearings at which representatives of Labor, including myself, made arguments and urged that the committee report the bill favorably and press its passage in the House.

There were two elements of opposition—one composed of those in the legal profession who would lose a very large portion of their business which is now so profitable to them because of litigation under employers' liability; the other which urged that an injured employe should have the alternative right of compensation or litigation. The House Judiciary Committee did not make a report upon the bill to the House. The bill, however, retains its position before the remaining session of the Sixty-second Congress.

We were all led to believe that there was unanimity of opinion and action among the representatives of the railroad brotherhoods. Later some opposition among some of the railroad men became manifest. Inasmuch as the bill would primarily affect the railroad men, I felt it incumbent upon me to refrain from further urging its enactment until practical agreement had been reached by them. I am quite confident that had the railroad brotherhoods' representatives been in accord; had they taken the bill advocated by the Federation's representatives, the House Judiciary Committee would have reported the bill favorably and it would have passed and been now enacted into law.

The Government Employes' Compensation Act was extended to include the employes in the Bureau of Mines.

In the report of the solicitor of the Department of Commerce and Labor made on October 28, 1912, it is shown that the money benefits paid under the Government Employes' Compensation for Injuries Act between the dates of August 1, 1908, when it went into effect, and December 1, 1911, amounted to \$1,117,693.

The solicitor states that over 17,000 accidents were reported under the act



during the first three years of its operation, and only about 8,000 claims were filed, due to the limited scope of the law.

From the best available data that I have been able to secure, I find that 334 of such accidents were fatal. These data are furnished in detail at this time in order to show by the official records of the Government the many hazards which workmen in the manufacturing establishments and public works of the United States Government have to face, and for the additional purpose of calling attention to observations made by officials of the Government and representatives in Congress who unhesitatingly said at the time we asked Congress for this legislation, that very few accidents happened to workmen in the Government employ, and that fatal accidents were practically unknown. This report by the solicitor discloses the fact that even when the best care is taken, and probably the best safety devices are in vogue, yet accidents to workmen are very frequent. The report also emphasizes the need of increased benefits for injured workmen and the need of having the act extended to all Government employes, in addition to those engaged in hazardous employment.

On the other hand, it is particularly gratifying to know that the efforts made and expense undertaken by the American Federation of Labor have been productive of so much benefit to the organized and unorganized employes in the United States Government who have unfortunately met with accidents.

Eight thousand persons injured, in addition to the members of the families of the injured, have been saved from legal expense and an unnecessary suspense concerning the benefits they were to receive, and when they would receive them. The two latter features, to my mind, are two of the best virtues connected with the system of automatic compensation for injuries. The Government data now at hand should be instrumental in the future in preventing human injury by the adoption of more and better safety methods.

In harmony with a resolution adopted by the Atlanta Convention, relative to increasing the benefits awarded Government employes in case of injury and for the extension of the Federal Compensation Act, a separate bill was duly urged. However, Representative Howland introduced a bill amending the act so as to make the benefits for the Government employes equivalent to the schedule of benefits and awards provided in the bill reported by the Federal Commission on Workmen's Compensation for employes in interstate commerce. The Howland bill, H. R. 20995, was also extended so as to possess the full scope of the original bill for Government employes introduced at the instance of the American Federation of Labor and urged by it—that is, including all employes of the Federal Government without regard to hazard of occupation. The House Committee on Judiciary reported the Howland bill favorably. If enacted it will simplify the problem of special legislation of this character.

While it may be admitted that the scale of benefits provided in both bills is comparatively small, yet this scale thus provided is greater than that allowed by any State laws, or by any of the laws in vogue in foreign countries, and exceeds by far the scale originally sought in the Federal act or the State acts proposed by the American Federation of Labor. If it be found that the scale of benefits works an injustice in any particular, even though the scale is not as high as we should like it to be, the establishment of the system by the enactment of the law will make a good beginning. When the system is once established and the riper judgment and more generous conception of the people have become manifest, Congress will amplify and increase the benefits to be awarded the injured employe or the dependents of the deceased worker. We should redouble our efforts at the next session of Congress to urge the passage of the Howland bill for Government employes.

Inasmuch as the political parties, in compliance with the demands of the American Federation of Labor, have declared in favor of workmen's compensation, both Federal and State, there should be no doubt of the early establishment of the system by act of Congress, as well as of the State Legislatures, providing the men in the organized labor movement are persistent and insistent upon the early enactment of such legislation.

According to the latest information, the following sixteen States have enacted compensation laws since we secured the enactment of the Federal Compensation law for Government employes in May, 1908:

Arizona, California, Illinois, Kansas, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan,

Montana, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Nevada, Ohio, Rhode Island, Washington, and Wisconsin.

The following nine States have commissions inquiring into the subject:

Delaware, Iowa, Louisiana, Minnesota, Nebraska, North Dakota, Oregon, Pennsylvania, and West Virginia.

The provinces of New Brunswick and Saskatchewan in Canada have also enacted compensation laws. Ontario and British Columbia have commissions at work.

#### OLD-AGE PENSIONS.

The attitude of the American Federation of Labor upon the subject of Old-Age Pensions is a matter of common knowledge, and also on record in the official printed proceedings of the several annual conventions. The Atlanta Convention concurred in the sentiment expressed in resolutions 2 and 57 for the passage of a law providing Old-Age Pensions to Government employes. That convention also took favorable action upon a resolution providing for a comprehensive national Old-Age Pension system of a general character.

At a conference between Congressman W. B. Wilson, of Pennsylvania, and the Executive Council, the draft of a general Old-Age Pension bill was submitted by him, discussed at the conference, and approved. Mr. Wilson introduced his bill on December 14, 1909, and again April 11, 1911.

July 31, 1911, Congressman Berger also introduced an Old-Age Pension bill. Up to this time no action has been taken by Congress on either of these bills.

#### OCCUPATIONAL DISEASES.

The bill providing for a tax upon white phosphorus matches which had been urged before Congress for several terms was passed without amendment or division, and is now law. The humanitarian purpose of this law was secured through the exercise of the taxing power of the Federal Government.

The New York Legislature in its session during 1912 added a new chapter to the factory sanitation laws, specifically aimed at the prevention of industrial poisoning, the menace of which is becoming more and more evident in the light of recent investigations. The new law requires that workers in all factories where poisonous substances are used, or harmful fumes, dust or gases are given off, must be provided with washing facilities which shall include hot water and individual towels. Employes are forbidden to take food into workrooms of such establishments, or to remain in them during meal time. Employers are required to make suitable provision for employes to take their meals elsewhere. It is also wisely provided that these regulations shall apply to mercantile establishments, commercial institutions, as well as to those workplaces where poisonous substances are used, or injurious fumes, dust or gases exist.

The Indiana Legislature made it compulsory for all contractors to lay flooring between every two floors during the construction of buildings above two stories. It is also obligatory upon the contractor to safeguard scaffolds, and surround them with a hand rail three feet high.

Wisconsin made it obligatory that builders and architects must submit plans and specifications of proposed factory buildings to the Industrial Commission for its approval and prohibits constructions without such approval. This commission is directed to obtain information to enable it to work out practical methods and safe and sanitary conditions for the prevention of occupational diseases.

The Maryland Legislature directed that physicians shall report to the State Commissioner of Labor all diseases resulting from lead, phosphorus, arsenic, mercury and other poisonous compounds, or diseases resulting from compressed air, or arising from the nature of patient's employment. Failure to send report makes physicians liable to a fine.

The States of California, Connecticut, Illinois, Michigan, New York and Wisconsin have enacted laws requiring physicians to make special reports upon all cases of sickness under their observation that are directly traceable to a disease acquired in an occupation. This information will be helpful in a way, but until such data are compiled in standardized form the best results will not be forthcoming.

The most complete occupational disease law passed by any of the States was that enacted by the State of Illinois, to which reference was made in my report to the Atlanta convention, but it is germane that I should touch upon the practical method adopted previous to the writing or enactment of that law. It was formulated by a

commission which inquired into existing conditions and sought expert information. After this valuable knowledge had been secured the commission drew up devices for the prevention of occupational diseases among people working with poisonous and injurious materials. Some of these devices required that special attire shall be furnished the employees while they are at their work, and that monthly medical examinations shall be made of the workers who are exposed to the hazard of disease. Washing and dressing rooms will be provided for them, and special precaution taken in connection with the preparation of materials upon which they work.

Legislation of this character is secured through the demands of the workers for protection.

The enactment of workmen's compensation laws by some of the States and the discussion of such legislation has aroused the employers to consideration of the subject of the health of their employes. It is hoped that improved conditions will grow out of co-operation between employers and employes for the better safe-guarding and protection of employes from diseases and accidents.

The Illinois Occupational Disease law has been approved by the Supreme Court of that State. It is not only the first law of this character which has been enacted, but it is so good and so broad in its scope that I recommend that all State federations of labor should obtain a copy of that law for study, with the purpose in view of having similar legislation enacted in their respective States.

#### **ANTI-WATERED-STOCK GAMBLING.**

Resolution 38, adopted by the Atlanta Convention, declared against wholesale robbery of the people under the cloak of lawful and legitimate business by speculators and gamblers, who exploit the masses by over-capitalizing railroad properties and other interstate enterprises. The resolution also directed that a campaign should be inaugurated against watered-stock gambling in the several State Legislatures and in the United States Congress. The subject-matter of this resolution and the best methods to adopt in behalf of the ends at which it aims, are deserving of more than casual attention. To adopt a sweeping resolution of this character in our conventions is quite different from putting its intent into practical effective, concrete form for consideration and action by the State Legislatures and the United States Congress. It is therefore recommended that more detailed consideration be given to this important subject during this convention, and that the character of legislation desired be more accurately defined.

During the last session of Congress, so many subjects occupied our time and attention that we found it was physically impossible to keep informed upon all of the many matters which we have been instructed by past conventions to advance. As a consequence, some of the new matters referred to me were held in abeyance pending the enactment of legislation affecting the very life of our organizations and humanity's best and most urgent interests.

There is no doubt but that the thinking people of the United States are commencing to look with anxiety upon the brutal gambling in necessities by financiers on the stock exchanges, and they view with alarm the tremendous amount of "water" or fictitious capital upon which the masses of the people are compelled, under our present financial system, to pay dividends. This condition increases the cost of living of which the people of our country now so justly complain.

According to one of the greatest financial authorities in the United States, sixty billion dollars of the nation's wealth is represented in stocks and bonds. These stocks and bonds are the paper titles of ownership to the nation's incorporated industries. Over fifty-five billion dollars of this sixty billion represented by stocks and bonds has come into existence during the past forty years. The actual capital employed in the nation's industries forty years ago was five billion; that was supposed to be invested capital. At the "going" rate of interest of five per cent such investments would mean an annual charge of two hundred and fifty million dollars. The sixty billion of stocks and bonds takes from the people at the same five per cent rate, three billion dollars annually in interest, instead of two hundred and fifty million as before. The author adds this:

"Over forty billion of the sixty billion of stocks and bonds capital is counterfeit. It represents nothing but a trick, and this forty billion fictitious capital is largely owned by ten thousand people, who every year receive two thousand million dollars interest for it."

Therefore, this two thousand million of dollars added to the price of the people's necessities each year has to a large degree brought about the present high cost of living. The particular agencies through which these tricks are worked are the stock exchanges. If these sharp practices are permitted to continue or to be extended, our people will be compelled to bear the burden. There is no need of my going into further details, because I am of the opinion that we are thoroughly agreed as to the existence of the suffering and the tremendous influence this evil is having upon our lives. Therefore, agreeing as to the grievance, what steps shall we take to provide a remedy, and what remedies can be most quickly and effectively secured? It would be idle for us to inaugurate a campaign to outlaw the stock exchanges. It would be almost as difficult to obtain enforceable laws to regulate them. The readiest and most practicable way by which the people can protect themselves from robbery through fictitious investments and charges, is to insist upon the enactment of a national law providing physical valuation for all railroads and all corporations doing an interstate business and prohibiting the creating or making of any watered or fictitious values in addition to the actual, physical values. State Legislatures should work in harmony with the Federal Congress to secure the same restrictions on corporations engaged in purely intrastate business.

Senator La Follette and Representative Lenroot, both of Wisconsin, have measures before the Senate and House dealing with this subject from a Federal standpoint. The time has come when we should give this feature of the remedy our close study, and if we reach the conclusion that this is the wisest course to pursue, we should bend every effort to secure the passage of strict physical valuation laws.

#### WIDER USE OF THE SCHOOLS.

From many of those in school work comes insistent protest against the abnormal ideals and conditions obtaining there, against isolation from the practical, vital affairs of life and work. To such, the present tendency in some localities to depart from these time-honored customs is a cause for satisfaction. Increasing demand for social centers has coincided with an appreciation of our failure to realize the greatest returns on the funds invested in school buildings. We Americans have prided ourselves upon the sums we have expended for school buildings, and then have usually permitted these buildings to be controlled by school directors chosen from the "representative citizens" of the town—usually men representing financial interests and the classical ideal in education, out of touch with modern social and economic thought and standards. These directors, as the custodians of the public schools, scrupulously maintained "high educational standards" that all students might have an opportunity "to prepare for the University," guarded the buildings that no "intruders" might infringe on the children's territory, and, by innumerable, well intended regulations, shut off the schools, teachers, and students from contact with life and the work-a-day world. Such directors lack in efficiency because they are out of touch with modern problems, needs, and outlook on life.

Experimentation has given a scientific basis for physical and psychological development and training, transforming the pedagogic objectives until now the modern school ideal is to teach each child how to live and work—how to live fully and completely that he may do the best work he is capable of doing, and how he may best work in order to attain the fullest life. In order to satisfy these wider ideals, school instructions must be individualized so that the needs and abilities of each pupil may be considered and met. The old order changes, and it is no longer necessary for boys or girls to be sentenced to reform schools in order to secure a type of education that appeals to their utilitarian instincts.

There is a distinct movement within the school to bring it in touch with life and life problems. There is a supplementary movement on the outside to gain contact and familiarity with school affairs. Distinct social, political, economic, and moral currents contribute to this movement. The public has become conscious that more might be realized from the investments in school buildings; that it is unbusiness-like to keep these buildings closed during so much of the time, while they hire or build other congregation places. This is but a revival of the good old American custom of the days when the school house was the place of public assembly—the social center of the community life.

Wisconsin has been one of the leaders in a movement to use school houses for political purposes. Two years ago the Wisconsin Legislature passed a law requiring

school boards to grant free use of school houses as neighborhood headquarters for political discussion. Dr. Strong, president of the Social Center Association of America, has written the chairmen of the national political party committees, recommending that the school houses be used as places for political discussion. This question has been discussed in New York City. Other cities, as Los Angeles, have found that using the school houses for polling places was a saving of public money, and not only did not interfere with school affairs but created common interests. This wider use of the school building for political purposes would constitute each building an American forum where the people could discuss public issues under the best influence and surroundings. Political education of the electorate which must precede and accompany political reforms and progress, is stimulated and kept healthy by such gatherings.

The demand for social centers gains in definiteness and intensity due to the increasing conviction that the affairs of the common life can best be managed by co-operation and mutual helpfulness. When neighborhood clubs and centers were first established in the cities, there naturally arose the question of the use of the school building as the logical place for these activities. With the movement to enrich rural life, the grange, and "the ruralization" of the country school, has come a similar wider use of the school.

The Direct Legislation League of Colorado presented to the voters for their approval in the recent election a very comprehensive amendment, proposing that playgrounds, recreation, neighborhood and social centers, public baths, public libraries and schools be placed under the same authority, and that, except during school hours, school houses shall be opened to the people for the discussion of public questions concerning their civic, social, business and political affairs. The evident purpose of the amendment is to eliminate jurisdictional conflicts and to render all these public institutions harmonious factors in a great plan for the enrichment of the life of all the people.

The policy of the New York Board of Education is very broad. Permission was granted for the holding of sixty-eight political meetings in public school buildings in the campaign just closed. These privileges have been equally accorded to the different political parties.

Recently a New York School was formally opened as a social center. In the neighborhood meeting which followed the speeches, it was decided to give dances in the building once a week, singing, societies, lecturers and moving picture shows were suggested as means of bringing the people together and fostering a neighborhood spirit. The annual public lecture courses of the New York schools arranged for by the Board of Education, in the establishment of which I was helpful, have long been famous. Some of the most noted people of the world contribute their services to this course. Any school might map out similar programs adapted to local or general needs, and so serve as a healthy stimulus to public thought and help to solve the difficult problem of wholesome recreation.

In 1910 Chicago entered upon the execution of a general plan for the maintenance of social centers at public school buildings. These are intended to serve as neighborhood amusement centers, affording opportunities for singing, gymnastic training, dramatics, orchestral organization, debating, reading, and social dancing. Nine of these centers are open two evenings in the week until the middle of April. Seventeen high school and one hundred and eighty-seven elementary school assembly halls may be used free of charge for meetings relating directly to school life. With approval of the Chicago Civic Club, its sub-committee on social centers, a division of the Public Education Committee, has united with the Committee on Parks in recommending the use of school buildings as field houses for small parks. This sub-committee had created considerable sentiment in favor of using school buildings for civic purposes and political gatherings.

The sub-committee on Vocational Guidance is preparing recommendations and plans looking towards co-operation between the schools and business organizations, in directing school children toward proper occupations and securing additional training for children in occupations. According to an agreement between the Carpenters' Union and the Carpenters and Builders' Association, apprentices may attend school for the first three months of each year. The special course arranged for them includes architectural drawing, plan reading and estimating, English, mathematics, and United States History.

It will be remembered that in my annual report for 1904, and several subsequent years, I recommended that trade unionists secure the privilege to use public school buildings as meeting places. The suggestion was favorably reported and endorsed by the conventions. The increasing liberality of public opinion presents an opportunity for making such arrangements more general, and I recommend that the members of our organizations renew their efforts to secure wider usage of public school buildings, and utilize these convenient public buildings for trade union and central body meetings. Such meeting places would ensure an environment with wholesome, moral influences.

Many have conceived of the functions which our educational institutions may be made to serve—a conception which rouses them to attain the better things. In this movement organized labor must do its part. As in the past the workmen were foremost in the movement for free public schools, free books, and the legislation that secured to all educational opportunities, so in the movement for wider usage of school buildings and humanization of education, Labor's influence has enlisted many of the forces which are striving to connect our schools more intimately with our social needs.

#### **AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR EXHIBIT AT SAN FRANCISCO, 1915.**

In 1915, the Panama Canal Exposition to be held in San Francisco will celebrate the completion of one of the most difficult engineering achievements in the world's history and the inauguration of a commercial innovation of international importance. It is just and fitting that in this celebration, credit and honor should be paid to the human labor and to science to which this tremendous construction is such a magnificent monument. Men who dig and delve, who brave industrial dangers and hardships of construction, should be accorded a just and honorable position in our appraisal of those achievements. The directing and originating mind must have the labor power for execution, and it is only just and expedient that attention should be called to the human labor element in construction and in all industrial and commercial progress.

In similar expositions the American Federation of Labor has been represented by fitting and highly creditable exhibits. Within the last twelve years, it has made exhibits at Buffalo, St. Louis, Jamestown, Paris and Turcoing. Our display of union made goods, our presentations of union working conditions, and literature explaining our history, organization, methods, aims and policies, the sociological and humanitarian aspect of the labor movement, as well as our achievements, have always attracted general interest and have been means of giving correct information and impressions invaluable to our progress. Gold medals were awarded to our exhibits at Paris, St. Louis, and Jamestown.

It is, therefore, recommended that this convention consider the advisability of directing that preparations for an ample exhibit be made to represent the workers of America at the San Francisco Exposition that the human element in production be so presented that honor may be paid where honor is due.

#### **ORGANIZERS.**

The success of every undertaking is in a large measure dependent upon those entrusted to carry out policies, instructions, and execute routine work. Their work, though often inconspicuous and seemingly less important, is that which daily tests character, loyalty, and genuineness of purpose and conviction. The master minds may conceive the ideal, devise the plans and methods, but the builders day by day erect the structure by which the ideal becomes reality. Faithful, honest, competent work, often undervalued or not duly recognized, is necessary to the ultimate success of the whole. The structure can be no stronger than its weakest part—the daily work of each builder conditions the resistance and the permanence of the whole. Such, I take it, is the nature of the function served by the organizers of the American Federation of Labor. They are the men to whom is entrusted the success and safety of plans that have been formulated. Their work has been an important element in determining the growth and power of the American Federation of Labor. Their efficient, loyal support has been unflinching. Their self-sacrifice and devotion to the cause of Labor can not be too highly commended. Our gratitude should be unstinted and expressed tangibly in the most adequate manner within our power.

Our organizers are men of unusual activity, ability, courage, and personality.

They are a select group who must cope with men of affairs, with complex industrial and social problems. As our field and problems become more complex our force of workers must be increased, or progress is impossible. As the workers lose homogeneity by the influx of those from foreign lands, we must add to our corps of organizers those who speak the languages of these new-comers, that we may teach them American standards and customs, and make of them American workmen, members of organized labor, understanding and valuing our practical methods and organization. America is sometimes referred to as the "melting pot"—if this be true, the most potent element in the assimilation of these strangers within our gates, is the American trade union movement. The organizers have performed excellent work, too, in the field of union label agitation, a duty assigned to them at our conventions. I have no doubt but that the greater increase in the already large number of union labels issued by international union officers, as shown by their reports, was materially aided by the American Federation of Labor organizers.

The total number of American Federation of Labor organizers to whom I issued commissions during the past year, is 1,662, an increase of 68 over the year 1911. The number of salaried organizers employed during the year for the entire time or for part of the year, was 63—14 more than the previous year; eight of these organizers speak more than one language. This number of organizers does not, of course, include the organizers of international unions, or business agents in many trades and localities, the services of whom are greatly in the nature of organizing.

#### LABOR PRESS.

That which constitutes the chief reading matter of Americans, and therefore the greatest influence in molding their opinions, is the newspaper. It is of great importance that information dealing with labor affairs shall be correctly reported by the press. The average paper gladly avails itself of sources that furnish reliable information. This is one of the functions so creditably performed by the labor press of the country—furnishing correct accounts of controversies between employers and employes, discussing new problems that are daily arising, informing laboring men of progress made in other sections of the country, and of the success or failure of different methods tried. As an educational force, the labor press is invaluable.

To assist these faithful agents of unionism struggling against great financial odds, for about a year and a half the American Federation of Labor has been printing and distributing a weekly news letter. The Weekly News Letter has not only been a boon to the labor press, but by furnishing information to the daily press of the country, it has been a channel through which we have secured wider publicity and circulation for accurate accounts of Labor's position, reasons for adopting such position, and course of action.

It is often of strategic importance in an industrial struggle to get before the general public a correct version of facts and conditions leading up to a difficulty, that we may derive the advantage attaching to sympathetic public opinion. Often the labor paper is the only means for accomplishing this. That union men should support a labor press financially becomes therefore a matter of self-protection in addition to the obligation devolving upon them as a matter of principle.

The report which the Executive Council will submit to this convention contains a discussion of both publications of the American Federation of Labor, its official magazine and the Weekly News Letter. The Executive Council makes recommendations for authority to act, which in my judgment ought to be given by this convention.

#### AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST.

The representatives of the American Federation of Labor have been making a notable fight for a free and untrammelled press. In line with this policy our official magazine is maintained as a free forum for the presentment of Labor's aims, policies and achievements. Since it is recognized as the official mouthpiece of organized labor of America, its utterances are copied far and wide by the press of many lands. The discussion of current industrial problems, official publications, accounts of activities and policies, makes the *American Federationist* a means of educating thoughtful readers and a source of invaluable historical data for students and public leaders.

During the past years the *American Federationist* has dealt with various current subjects related to Labor's organization, with economic, social, and political

matters affecting the welfare of the workers. In all matters the aim has been to maintain an attitude of entire fairness toward critics and opponents, and to be ever ready to defend Labor's rights from injustice and invasion. The various numbers have dealt with important crises and significant tendencies in the labor world so that students, public officials, and interested persons as well as trade unionists have eagerly sought the current issues. As the magazine deals with the whole labor field, and advises labor men of the progress made and the tendencies of the age, there is every reason to desire for it a greater number of readers for the disseminating of information and the strengthening of fraternal ties.

As befitting this year's needs, the political and legislative situation has been dealt with very fully. From time to time, reports from the Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor have been published which were of vital importance to every working man that he might keep in touch with his representatives in Congress and know how they were dealing with his interests. Legislative achievements have been duly chronicled. All of this information had a direct bearing upon the recent election, and served an educational purpose well adapted to make the trade unionist an intelligent enlightened participant in governmental affairs. The political facts were honestly and impartially laid before the reader; he was left to draw his own conclusions.

Through the *American Federationist* the feeling of identity of interest and fraternity is promoted not only in this country, but on the whole continent of America, and in many foreign countries. The files of the *American Federationist* are recognized as an important part of the historical records of organized labor. They not only officially chronicle policies and decisions, but reflect the ideals and sentiments of the organization and of the age. Labor has played no unimportant part in the affairs of this country, and that part should be appropriately recorded that future generations may interpret our history aright.

### CONCLUSION.

The past year has been one of tremendous stress, responsibility and activity—problems, duties, difficulties, opposition have presented themselves in rapid succession. Yet, with an honest and justifiable feeling of gratification, organized labor can review the progress made, for despite all hindrance and obstacles, we have made steady progress. The struggle has been hard, the strain intense, the forces arrayed against us more relentless than at any time before—and yet organized labor is stronger than ever.

We have fought a good fight, and are cheered and heartened by our progress and victories. Organize! Organize! Organize! has been our slogan, and will be our inspiration for the work of the new year and the years to come.

By the magic token of that one word, "organization," the wrongs of Labor will vanish; the rights, hopes, and aspiration of the toilers will be realized.

The hearty and sincere spirit of co-operation that has existed between my colleagues of the Executive Council and myself, has facilitated the determination of policies and the execution of our work and duty. We have been unanimous as to policies and methods for furthering the cause of organized labor on the American continent. The support and good will of the men of labor—the rank and file—so generally and so generously given me in my efforts to be helpful to them and to all our people, are appreciated far beyond my power of verbal expression. My only hope and aim is to serve our cause to the fullest limit of whatever strength and ability I may possess and thereby, in a measure, justify the respect, confidence, and co-operation of my fellow-workers.

This report is necessarily incomplete, and leaves much to be desired, but the field of organized labor is too broad to be covered by any one single account. Our field is as broad as life; our problems are the difficulties, the injustice, the sorrow, the ideals, of the toilers of our broad land. Our movement is a part of life, with all of its imperfections, aspirations, and strivings for the things we would achieve. It is only possible to deal most briefly, even with matters that have required especial attention during the year. There are many others, some just as important, that have not been brought into prominence because of new problems or changing conditions—these, though just as essential to the movement, can not be here considered. But I trust that this report will convey some adequate conception of the work I have tried to direct and accomplish, and something of my desires and yearnings for the cause to which I have been



giving all of my energy, thought, and zeal. But I count it well spent if the results bring freer, better, happier life to all the people. There was never a cause or a work more worth while than this. It is an honor to have even the smallest part in our struggle for human welfare.

Entrusted to the keeping of organized labor, are power and opportunity to fight for the right, to strike down the wrong, to secure for all the right to a free life and to work which will best express the real and better self. For the achievement of those ennobling aspirations it is an honor to enlist, not for a battle or a campaign, but for all time, so long as life lasts.

Again let me say, organize, that shoulder to shoulder we may press onward and upward.

Fraternally submitted.

*Samuel Gompers.*

*President, American Federation of Labor.*

## SECRETARY MORRISON'S REPORT.

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

FELLOW-UNIONISTS—I have the honor to submit a report to you of the receipts and expenditures for the past twelve (12) months, beginning October 1, 1911, and ending September 30, 1912.

It is with satisfaction that I report at the close of this fiscal year \$119,473.93 in the treasury. Of the amount on hand, \$85,663.27 is in the defense fund for the local trade and federal labor unions, and can be used to pay benefits only in the case of a strike or lockout of the members of these local unions. The balance, \$33,810.66, is in the general fund. Of that fund only \$11,461.34 is available for the general expenses of the American Federation of Labor. The balance, \$22,349.32, is divided as follows: In the fund created by the one-cent assessment levied in accordance with the recommendation of the Norfolk Convention, and the receipts from the appeals issued for the same purpose, i. e., to be used for the legal defense of the officers of the American Federation of Labor and officers and members of affiliated unions in the injunction suit, \$9,727.93. In the fund created by the two-cent assessment levied to take an appeal from the decision rendered against the United Hatters in favor of Loewe & Company, \$12,621.39.

The total receipts from all sources are \$207,373.60, the total expenses are \$277,479.23, which makes an excess of expenditures over receipts of \$70,105.63.

The following are the receipts and expenses for the twelve months ending September 30, 1912:

RECEIPTS.		
Balance on hand September 30, 1911.....		\$189,579 56
Per capita tax.....	\$153,433 89	
Supplies.....	9,508 51	
Interest on funds on deposit.....	4,591 32*	
<i>American Federationist</i> .....	17,240 19	
Assessment, United Hatters (2c).....	553 36	
Defense fund for local trade and federal labor unions.....	19,336 26	
Premiums on bonds of officers of affiliated unions.....	2,710 07	
	207,373 60	
Total.....		\$396,953 16

EXPENSES.		
General.....	\$183,861 53	
Defense fund for local trade and federal labor unions.....	67,455 33	
<i>American Federationist</i> .....	18,731 77	
Premiums on bonds of officers of affiliated unions.....	2,089 15	
Assessment, United Hatters (2c).....	5,841 45	
	277,479 23	
Balance on hand September 30, 1912.....		\$119,473 93

RECAPITULATION.		
In general fund.....		\$33,810 66
In defense fund for local trade and federal unions.....		85,663 27
Total.....		\$119,473 93

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

Appropriations:		
Trades and Labor Congress of Canada.....		\$500 00
National Women's Trade Union League of America.....		600 00
Union Label Trades Department.....		70 80
Rent.....		5,008 66
Refunds of premiums on bonds and supplies returned.....		85 36
Premiums:		
Bonds, local unions.....		2,068 01
Treasurer's bond.....		125 00
Secretary's bond.....		20 00
Fire insurance.....		15 00
Committee on Industrial Education.....		928 28
Expressage, freight and drayage.....		1,373 65
International Secretariat per capita tax for 12 months on 1,800,000 members.....		645 47
Legislative expenses.....		8,038 34
Newspapers, magazines, and books.....		169 02
Office fixtures.....		381 00
Postage stamps.....		4,549 60

\* Six hundred dollars of this amount was collected by Treasurer Lennon last year and included in his report, but it was not received by me in time to incorporate in my last year's report.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

Printing and binding bound proceedings of Atlanta Convention.....	\$1,867 50
Stamped envelopes.....	1,017 24
Supplies and printing.....	18,238 20
Telegrams.....	1,145 65
Expenses American Federation of Labor delegate to Atlanta Convention of the Union Label Trades Department.....	98 50
Expenses entertaining fraternal delegates from Great Britain and Canada.....	339 61
Expenses of fraternal delegates to British Trades Union Congress and Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.....	1,313 80
Atlanta Convention:	
Committee rooms.....	159 00
Expenses Secretary attending Atlanta Convention.....	154 60
Messenger, Sergeant-at-Arms, and Assistant Secretary.....	290 00
Printing and supplies.....	99 79
Printing daily proceedings.....	1,197 20
Stenographers.....	1,045 52
Telegrams, telephone, stamps, porters, baggage, stationery, reading proof, sending out daily proceedings, rent of typewriters, photographs.....	295 44
Salary:	
President.....	5,000 00
Secretary.....	4,000 00
Treasurer.....	250 00
Office employes.....	29,752 61
Addressing, folding, and enclosing circulars in envelopes.....	1,407 84
Janitor service.....	26 50
Expenses:	
Auditing and Credential Committee.....	237 00
Executive Council meetings.....	6,175 26
President.....	2,115 79
Secretary.....	361 22
Defense Fund:	
Strike benefits.....	67,455 33
Assessment:	
For United Hatters of America (2-cent).....	5,841 45
Appeal:	
Legal defense fund.....	12,702 61
Organizing expenses.....	71,060 95
Printing and publishing <i>American Federationist</i> .....	18,731 77
Securing trade-mark for American Federation of Labor.....	25 00
Expenses entertaining Carl Legien and A. Baumeister.....	194 11
Claim against International Union of Flour and Cereal Mill Employes before its charter was revoked by American Federation of Labor.....	301 55
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>\$277,479 23</b>

APPEALS FOR VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTIONS.

These appeals were issued to local unions requesting contributions, to be used for the legal defense of the officers of the American Federation of Labor and officers and members of affiliate unions in the Buck's Stove and Range Company suit and contempt case. The following is an itemized statement of the moneys paid out of that fund during the fiscal year ending September 30, 1912:

RECEIPTS.	
Balance on hand September 30, 1911.....	\$22,430 54
EXPENSES.	
On account of attorney fees and expenses:	
Ralston, Siddons & Richardson.....	\$6,837 57
Parker, Hatch & Sheehan.....	506 24
Stenographic services in the contempt proceedings against officers of the American Federation of Labor, Smith & Hulse.....	5,000 00
Premium on bonds of President Gompers, Vice-President Mitchell, and Secretary Morrison.....	255 00
Expenses incurred in attending conferences relative to the injunction and contempt proceedings:	
Frank Morrison.....	47 55
John Mitchell.....	37 85
Expenses for hauling records of the contempt case to and from Equity Court No. 2, District of Columbia, and American Federation of Labor headquarters.....	10 90
Binding three volumes of the proceedings of the contempt case.....	7 50
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>\$12,702 61</b>
RECAPITULATION.	
Receipts.....	\$22,430 54
Expenses.....	12,702 61
<b>Balance on hand September 30, 1912.....</b>	<b>\$9,727 93</b>

## REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

## TWO-CENT ASSESSMENT.

This assessment was levied on the membership of all affiliated organizations on April 22, 1910, upon the application of the officers of the United Hatters based upon the instructions of the Denver Convention of the American Federation of Labor to the Executive Council to take whatever action was necessary to carry into effect the resolution adopted by that Convention, pledging the moral and financial assistance of the American Federation of Labor to the hatters in their effort to defend themselves against the suit carried on against them by the Anti-Boycott Association in the name of Loewe & Co. The following is a statement of the receipts and expenses for this fiscal year, ending September 30, 1912:

RECEIPTS.		
Balance on hand September 30, 1911.....		\$17,909 48
Receipts.....		553 36
Total.....		\$18,462 84
EXPENSES.		
On account of attorney fees and expenses:		
Frank L. Mulholland.....		\$3,774 69
Bristol, Stoddard, Beach & Fisher.....		799 27
Stenographic services in the United Hatters' case, W. B. Kirby.....		1,231 09
Expenses Washington, D. C., to Hartford, Conn. and return, as a witness in the United Hatters' case, Frank Morrison, Secretary.....		36 40
Total.....		\$5,841 45
RECAPITULATION.		
Receipts.....		\$18,462 84
Expenses.....		5,841 45
Balance on hand September 30, 1912.....		\$12,621 39

## RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES 1881 TO 1912.

I herewith furnish a table giving the receipts and expenditures for the past 32 years:

YEAR	Receipts.	Expenditures.
1881.....	\$174 00	\$154 00
1882.....	268 20	252 25
1883.....	690 19	352 32
1884.....	357 42	543 20
1885.....	584 03	450 58
1886.....	474 11	635 08
1887.....	1,939 82	2,074 39
1888.....	4,512 55	3,933 67
1889.....	6,838 40	6,578 33
1890.....	23,849 74	21,070 57
1891.....	17,702 36	13,190 07
1892.....	17,834 51	18,324 69
1893.....	20,864 62	21,383 36
1894.....	15,346 43	17,302 08
1895.....	13,751 75	15,612 42
1896.....	16,290 18	15,452 95
1897.....	18,639 92	19,113 82
1898.....	18,894 15	19,197 17
1899.....	36,757 13	30,599 22
1900.....	71,125 82	68,373 39
1901.....	115,220 89	118,708 39
1902.....	144,498 21	119,086 74
1903.....	247,802 96	196,015 57
1904.....	220,995 97	203,991 15
1905.....	207,417 62	196,170 10
1906.....	217,815 18	218,540 04
1907.....	174,330 26	159,960 84
1908.....	207,655 23	196,937 36
1909.....	232,377 64	203,702 07
1910.....	193,470 84	177,859 34
1911.....	182,188 68	175,524 08
1912.....	207,373 60	277,479 23
Total.....	\$2,638,042 41	\$2,518,568 48

RECAPITULATION.		
Receipts.....		\$2,638,042 41
Expenses.....		2,518,568 48
Balance on hand September 30, 1912.....		\$119,473 93

CHARTERS ISSUED.

During the twelve months ending September 30, 1912, there have been issued 260 charters to National and International, Central, Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions.

Of this number, two were granted to the following Internationals:  
 Diamond Workers' Protective Union of America.  
 Brotherhood of Railway Express Messengers of America.  
 One Department: Mining Department.  
 Two State branches: North Dakota, Louisiana.  
 Trade unions, 149; Federal Labor unions, 49.  
 Fifty-seven Central bodies, as follows:

Alabama:	Anniston.	Idaho:	Boise.	Nebraska:	Grand Island.
Arkansas:	Paragould.	Kansas:	Emporia.	Oklahoma:	Ardmore.
Canada:	St. Catharines, Ont. St. Thomas, Ont.	Louisiana:	Baton Rouge. Lake Charles. Shreveport.	Ohio:	Findlay.
Colorado:	Cripple Creek.	Maine:	Bangor. Woodland.	Porto Rico:	Caguas.
Connecticut:	Wallingford. Willimantic.	Michigan:	Pontiac.	Pennsylvania:	Harrisburg. Shenandoah.
Florida:	West Palm Beach.	Massachusetts:	Greenfield. Marlboro. Millers Falls. Northampton. Westfield.	South Carolina:	Charleston.
Illinois:	Beardstown. Beckemeyer. Benton. Christopher. Pana. West Frankfort.	Montana:	Kalspel.	Texas:	Gainesville. Waco.
Indiana:	Anderson. Clinton. Linton. Peru.	Minnesota:	Little Falls. Red Wing.	West Virginia:	Parkersburg.
Iowa:	Creston. Keokuk. Sioux City.	Maryland:	Hagerstown.	Washington:	Ellensburg. Centralia. Everett. Pasco.
		New York:	Gloversville. New Rochelle. Plattsburg.	Wisconsin:	Neenah.
				Wyoming:	Cheyenne.

CHARTERS ISSUED 1897-1912.

YEAR.	International	Department.	State.	Central.	Trade Unions.	Federal Unions.	Total.
1897.....	8		2	18	154	35	217
1898.....	9		0	12	129	53	203
1899.....	9		1	35	303	101	449
1900.....	14		5	96	484	250	849
1901.....	7		4	123	575	207	916
1902 (eleven months).....	14		6	127	598	279	1,024
1903.....	20		3	171	743	396	1,333
1904.....	11		5	99	179	149	443
1905.....	3		1	67	143	73	287
1906.....	6		4	53	167	87	317
1907.....	3		1	72	204	93	373
1908.....	0	2	4	73	100	55	234
1909.....	3	2	2	40	77	52	176
1910.....	2	0	1	83	152	96	334
1911.....	3	0	0	61	207	55	326
1912.....	2	1	2	57	149	49	260

International.....	2
Departments.....	1
States.....	2
Central.....	57
Federal Labor Union.....	49
Local Trade Union.....	149
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>260</b>

## VOTING STRENGTH.

The following table shows the voting strength of the affiliated unions of the American Federation of Labor for the years 1904 up to and including 1912. This table is based upon the average membership reported or paid upon to the American Federation of Labor by affiliated organizations:

ORGANIZATIONS.	1904.	1905.	1906.	1907.	1908.	1909.	1910.	1911.	1912.
Allied Metal Mech. Intl.	70	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a
Bakery & Confectionery Wkrs. Intl. U. of A.	162	120	106	110	105	107	127	138	146
Barbers' International Union, Jour.	236	227	231	241	255	255	265	285	299
Bill Posters	13	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	14
Blacksmiths, Intl. Brotherhood of	105	100	82	93	100	100	100	100	93
Boilermakers and Iron Shipbuilders	190	134	128	157	152	126	161	199	167
Boot and Shoe Workers' Union	320	320	321	320	320	320	325	327	333
Bookbinders, Intl. Brotherhood of	65	66	68	89	79	71	78	79	85
Bottle Blowers' Ass. of U. S. and Canada	66	70	78	80	88	93	100	100	100
Brewery Workmen, International Union	305	340	360	*	400	400	400	450	450
Brick, Tile, and Terra Cotta Workers	73	41	64	43	28	25	38	34	34
Broom and Whisk Makers' Union, Intl.	11	10	10	9	8	8	6	7	7
Brushmakers' International Union	7	7	5	5	4	2	2	2	2
Building Employes of Amer., Intl. Union of	50	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Carpenters and Joiners, Amalgamated	8	48	43	58	81	73	71	78	*
Carpenters and Joiners, United Bro. of	1554	1432	1637	1929	1796	1640	1904	1946	1923
Carriage, Wagon, & Automobile Workers	55	32	31	31	15	15	11	20	27
Carvers' Union, International Wood	21	16	16	16	13	13	12	12	10
Car Workers, International Association of	102	50	49	50	44	50	50	46	**
Cement Workers	44	36	42	58	73	90	90	90	90
Chainmakers' National Union	6	6	6	6	6	3	2	c	c
Cigarmakers' International Union	405	414	391	399	409	398	432	436	415
Clerks, Bro. of Railway						56	50	50	50
Clerks, Intl. Protective Assn., Retail	500	500	500	500	500	150	150	150	150
Clerks' National Post-office					9	12	13	14	15
Cloth Hat and Cap Makers, United	29	26	21	23	13	15	21	22	28
Commercial Telegraphers	20	20	20	35	19	10	10	10	10
Compressed Air and Foundation Workers	12	12	13	13	13	8	6	6	6
Coopers' International Union	71	56	55	53	49	41	41	43	45
Coremakers' International Union	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b
Cutting Die and Cuttermakers, Intl. Union		3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Diamond Workers Prot. Union of A.									3
Electrical Workers, International Bro.	210	210	210	302	321	138	160	189	196
Elevator Constructors	22	22	22	22	25	20	21	21	23
Engineers, International Union of Steam	176	175	175	175	168	161	160	160	177
Express Messengers of A., Bro. of Railway									2
Firemen, International Bro. of Stationary	180	122	123	125	173	107	81	80	114
Fishermen's National Prot. Assn., Lobster				6	6	+	+	+	+
Freight Handlers, Bro. of Railroad	33	34	32	63	78	46	47	40	25
Flour and Cereal Mill Employes	21	9	7	7	8	8	3	*	*
Foundry Employes, International Bro. of	10	10	10	10	7	5	7	5	c
Fur Workers, International Association of	3	4	4	4	4	2	2	+	+
Furnace Workers and Smelters of America	15	15	++	++	++	++	++	++	++
Garment Workers of America, United	457	319	240	334	459	534	542	525	464
Glass Workers' International Assn., Amal.	17	17	16	14	12	11	12	12	11
Glass Workers of America, Amal., Window			58	61	**	**	**	**	**
Glass House Employes' International Assn.	6	2	2	++	++	++	++	++	++
Glass Snappers, Window	11	12	10	6	*	*	*	*	*
Glove Workers	20	11	8	8	8	8	8	9	11
Gold Beaters' Protective Union, National	3	3	3	5	5	4	4	+	+
Grinders' National Union, Table Knife	3	3	3	3	3	2	2	+	+
Grinders and Finishers, Pocket Knife Blade		2	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Granite Cutters' International Assn. of A.	99	103	113	126	130	131	134	135	135
Hatters of North America, United	85	85	85	85	85	85	85	85	85
Heat Frost, Genl. Insulators, and Asbestos	7	3	5	5	8	6	5	8	8
Hodcarriers and Common Laborers	85	47	50	97	112	88	114	127	125
Horseshoers of United States and Canada	42	42	41	44	61	72	72	49	52
Hotel and Restaurant Employes, etc.	494	387	345	363	386	368	370	430	476
Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers' Amal. Assn.	135	100	100	100	100	60	80	45	45
Iron Workers, Bridge and Struc. Intl. Assn.	115	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Jewelry Workers' International	24	7	4	6	4	3	4	3	2
Lace Operatives, Amal.	6	7	8	8	8	8	8	9	10
Ladies' Garment Workers, International	22	18	13	23	16	18	187	668	584
Lathers, Intl. Union of W. W. and Metal	59	43	40	40	58	50	50	50	50
Laundry Workers, International Union	65	46	55	31	40	35	29	26	26
Leather Workers on Horse Goods	46	40	40	40	40	40	37	26	20
Leather Workers of America, Amal.	25	10	10	8	8	8	8	6	6
Lithographers' Intl. P. and B. Assn.			30	23	11	13	17	21	24
Lithographic Pressfeeders						10	9	9	9
Longshoremen's Association, International	500	478	340	320	315	213	208	250	235
Machinists, International Association of	557	485	500	560	621	484	569	671	598
Machine Printers and Color Mixers	4	4	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
Maintenance of Way Employes, Intl. Bro. of	123	120	120	132	135	100	87	100	91
Marble Workers, Intl. Association of	6	19	17	20	22	24	27	28	28

## AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

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## VOTING STRENGTH—Continued.

ORGANIZATIONS.	1904.	1905.	1906.	1907.	1908.	1909.	1910.	1911.	1912.
Mattress, Spring, and Bedding Workers.....	15	15	++	++	++	++	++	++	++
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen.....	344	62	50	53	63	63	54	31	40
Metal Workers' Intl. Alliance, Amal. Sheet.....	153	130	129	153	161	160	162	172	166
Metal Polishers, Buffers, and Platers, etc.....	128	103	109	100	100	100	100	100	100
Metal Workers' Intl. Union, United.....	96	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Mine Workers of America, United.....	2577	2619	2379	2549	2525	2670	2337	2504	2670
Miners, Western Federation of.....								513	506
Mine Managers and Assnts. Mutual Aid Assn.....	4	4	4	+	+	+	+	+	+
Molders' Union of North America, Intl.....	300	300	450	500	500	500	500	500	500
Musicians, American Federation of.....	220	308	354	375	375	394	400	500	500
Oil and Gas Well Workers' Union, Intl.....	4	4	++	++	++	++	++	++	++
Painters of America, Brotherhood of.....	607	542	555	624	648	596	635	676	685
Paper Box Workers, International Union of.....	12	9	7	7	7	7	7	7	7
Papermakers, United Brotherhood of.....	88	50	35	31	43	10	16	24	28
Patternmakers' League of N. A.....	37	36	40	50	55	50	52	56	60
Pavers and Rammers, Intl. Union of.....	10	12	15	15	15	15	15	15	15
Paving Cutters' Union of U. S. of A. & Can.....	12	13	15	18	20	26	32	32	35
Photo-Engravers' Union of N. A., Intl.....	17	22	22	28	29	32	35	37	40
Piano and Organ Workers' Union of A., Intl.....	99	90	80	50	50	40	40	40	20
Pilots' Association of the Great Lakes, Lake.....			10	+	+	+	+	+	+
Plasterers' Intl. Assn. of U. S. & Can. Oper.....					145	152	147	157	
Plumbers, Gasfitters, Steamfitters, etc.....	165	150	150	160	180	184	200	237	260
Powder and High Explosive Workers.....	7	5	6	5	5	2	2	2	2
Potters, National Brotherhood of Operative.....	58	56	56	58	59	59	58	59	65
Printing Pressmen, International.....	160	170	166	166	172	178	186	190	190
Printers, Plate, of U. S. A., Intl. S. and C.....	10	11	12	12	12	12	13	13	12
Print Cutters' Assn. of A., Natl.....	3	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Printers, Machine Textile.....	4	4	4	**	**				
Pulp, Sulphite, and Paper Mill Workers.....						10	7	28	35
Quarry Workers, International.....	26	36	38	41	45	45	50	35	40
Railway Carmen of A., Bro.....							228	269	287
Railway Clerks.....	6	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++
Railway Employes' Amal. Assn., St. & Elec.....	300	300	300	320	320	333	367	393	402
Railway Expressmen.....	3	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++
Roofers, Comp. Damp & Waterproof Wkrs.....				10	10	10	11	12	12
Rubber Workers.....	2	1	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Sawsmiths' National Union.....	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Seamens' Union of America, Intl.....	201	195	194	248	255	168	160	160	160
Shingle Weavers.....	14	16	17	18	17	18	18	15	15
Shipwrights, Joiners and Calkers.....	34	24	20	19	16	16	9	+	+
Slate and Tile Roofers.....	7	6	5	6	6	5	5	5	5
Slate Workers.....	8	9	18	30	27	21	14	7	4
Spinners' Intl. Union.....	25	22	22	22	22	22	22	22	22
Steam and Hot Water Fitters and Helpers.....	*	*	54	55	56	56	56	56	d
Steel Plate Transferrers' Assn. of America.....			1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Stenotypers & Electrotypers' Union of N. A.....	24	28	28	29	31	35	40	42	43
Stonemasons' Association, Journeymen.....			85	83	89	80	86	89	
Stove Mounters' International Union.....	17	15	15	15	14	10	9	11	11
Switchmen's Union of North America.....			81	92	93	80	80	87	87
Tackmakers.....	2	2	++	++	++	++	++	++	++
Tailors' Union of America, Journeymen.....	159	160	166	167	161	132	117	120	120
Teamsters, Chauffeurs, etc., Intl. Bro. of.....	840	783	402	366	377	320	358	382	415
Telegraphers, Order of Railroad.....	150	150	150	150	150	150	200	250	250
Textile Workers of America, United.....	105	100	100	114	129	100	100	100	109
Theatrical Stage Employes, Intl. Alliance.....	50	55	60	60	62	80	91	98	110
Tile Layers and Helpers, Intl. Union.....	17	14	19	21	19	17	19	21	24
Tin Plate Workers, Intl. Protective.....	16	14	14	14	14	15	8	3	3
Tip Printers.....	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Tobacco Workers' Intl. Union of America.....	56	54	55	51	46	43	41	40	37
Travelers' Goods & Leather Novelty, Intl.....	15	13	9	7	5	5	6	8	9
Tube Workers of United States & Canada.....	15	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++
Tunnel & Subway Constructors, Intl. Union.....							13	17	18
Typographical Union, International.....	467	467	438	428	440	455	491	518	547
Upholsterers, International Union of.....	30	28	26	28	28	28	28	28	28
Watch-case Engravers, International.....	3	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	c
Weavers, Elastic Goring.....	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
White Rats Actors' Union of A.....	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	80	110
Wire Weavers' Protective, American.....	3	3	3	3	3	3	4	4	3
Woodsmen and Saw Mill Workers.....			11	12	10	3	7	6	+
Wood Workers, Amalgamated.....	283	200	150	93	40	41	32	31	e
Centrals.....	569	601	538	574	606	594	632	631	560
Locals.....	553	1046	759	713	616	608	647	680	590
State Branches.....	32	34	36	37	38	39	39	38	41
Total vote of Unions.....	17355	16338	15639	16425	16892	15880	16737	18693	18499

\* Charter rev. ked. † Suspended for non-payment of per capita tax. ++ Disbanded.  
a Merged with Machinists. b Merged with Molders. c Surrendered charter. d Not recog-  
nized. e Merged with Carpenters. \*\* Withdraw.

## REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

**CHARTERS**—Reports from the Secretaries of 78 of our National and International organizations furnish us with the information that 2,388 charters have been issued during the past year and 1,422 surrendered—2,190 of the charters issued were locals of the National and International unions, and 198 affiliated direct with the American Federation of Labor.

**GAIN IN MEMBERSHIP**—The gain in membership reported by the Secretaries of 51 International organizations over the membership on the first of September was 216,012.

**STRIKES**—Reports from 64 National and International organizations and from local unions directly affiliated with the American Federation of Labor show that there were 716 strikes, in which there were 73,049 involved. Of that number 200,248 were benefited and 6,177 not benefited. The total cost of the strikes reported on was \$1,928,380.50. Adding to that amount \$156,889.72, donations made by local unions to other unions, we have a total of \$2,085,270.22 expended to sustain members on strike during the past year.

ORGANIZATIONS.	Charters issued.	Charters surrendered.	Gain in membership.	No. of strikes.	Strikes won.	Strikes compromised.	Strikes pending.	Strikes lost.	Number involved.	Number benefited.	Number not benefited.	Reduction in hours per day.	Gain in wages.	Cost of strikes.	Other unions.
A. F. of L. locals	198	205	1706	8	2	16	3	2,038	1,232	377	470,825	33	\$4,219 20		
Asbestos Workers	5	2	300	5	3	1	1	2,002	1,893	109	22,133	00	2,849 65		
Bakers	30	5	2,185	2	2	5	8	21	21	1	343	00	8,041 90		
Barbers	198	22	1,160	1	1	1	1	16	16	1	55,000	00	147,819 58		723 30
Bill Posters	14	15	1	1	1	1	1	3,800	3,400	400	12c per day	10%	2,082 51		15,000 00
Bookbinders	33	35	4	95	4	90	5	6,020	2,953	2,953	10%	25c	14,157 57		2,732 90
Boot and Shoe Workers	10	2	1,167	4	2	1	1	439	1,902	19	25c		2,000 00		3,000 00
Brewery Workmen	446	43c	40	31	3	3	3	2,026	1,902	124			15,000 00		15,000 00
Brick, Tile, and Terra Cotta Workers	12	5	47	47	1	2	5	700	635	65			8,210 00		2,000 00
Brooklyn Structural Iron Workers	17	4	1,000	3	3	1	2	2,000	2,000	2,000			3,000 00		3,000 00
Brushmakers	1	1	11	1	1	1	1	14	14	14	4 hrs. p. wk.	\$2.00 p. wk.	134 00		10 00
Carpenters, Brotherhood	153	162	4,000	15	10	4	1	1,000	1,000	1,000	1 per day	25c per hr.	16,406 00		10 00
Carriage and Wagon Workers	7	2	2	1	1	1	1	200	200	200	2 1/2 hrs. p. wk.	25c per hr.	600 00		600 00
Carvers, Wood	32	5	5	1	1	1	1	3	98	98	6 hrs. p. wk.	2 1/2c p. hr.	89 83		78 00
Cement Workers	12	5	55	35	1	15	4	2,873	2,831	42			47,671 20		2,000 00
Clocks, Retail	1	1	19	19	15	2	2	188	188	188			13,353 00		2,487 00
Cloth, Hat and Cap Makers	3	1	579	3	3	2	2	188	188	188			300 00		300 00
Commercial Telegraphers	5	5	14	3	2	1	2	422	334	88			8,114 60		8,000 00
Compressed Air Workers	1	1	13	5	6	1	2	170	100	100	10 2 hrs. p. wk.	10% p. wk.	9,420 00		9,420 00
Coopers, Dig and Cutter Makers	5	5	3	2	1	1	2	20	20	20			12,000 00		12,000 00
Cutting and Sewing Machine Workers	78	10	4,800	1	4	1	4	340	340	340			3,243 00		1,000 00
Electrical Workers	4	2	163	1	1	1	1	50	70	70			1,240 00		1,000 00
Elevator Constructors	46	20	3,500	23	9	2	3	116	116	116			107 40		107 40
Engineers, Steam	28	1	8,000	5	4	1	1	148	128	12			5,442 25		5,442 25
Firemen, Stationary	2	1	27	27	1	1	1	1	1	1			1,000 00		1,000 00
Foundry Employees	2	1	27	27	1	1	1	1	1	1			1,000 00		1,000 00
Freight Handlers, Railroad	9	6	150	11	2	1	5	3	2,800	2,800			5,442 25		5,442 25
Garment Workers, Ladies	2	2	150	11	2	1	5	3	2,800	2,800			5,442 25		5,442 25
Glass Bottle Blowers	2	2	150	11	2	1	5	3	2,800	2,800			5,442 25		5,442 25



CHARTERS, GAIN IN MEMBERSHIP, AND STRIKES—CONTINUED.

ORGANIZATIONS.	Charters issued.	Charters surrendered.	Gain in membership.	No. of strikes.	Strikes won.	Strikes compromised.	Strikes pending.	Strikes lost.	Number involved.	Number benefited.	Number not benefited.	Reduction in hours per day.	Gain in wages.	Cost of strikes.	Donations to other unions.
Glass Workers, Amal.	6	1	110						380	365	265		10c per day	\$27,367 00	\$5,860 00
Gloss, W.	2		275	6	3	2	1		1,800	1,800	1,800			8,378 27	41 50
Granite Cutters	5	27		14	12		2		36						4,425 00
Grinders, Pocket Knife Blade				1			1								1,162 85
Hatters									5,000	300	300			8,000 00	1,310 00
Hodcarriers	52	57		11	9	2	1		300	300	300	1 hr.	25to50cp.dy.	12,710 73	19,226 02
Horseshoers	11	5	200	4k	3				744	534	210		7%		300 00
Hotel and Restaurant Employees	70	33	3,745	43	30	7	4	2							300 00
Hotel and Restaurant Workers	5	4													700 00
Jewelry Workers									100						
Lace Operatives				1	1										
Lathers	11	13													
Laundry Workers	14	12	500	1				1	300					1,456 95	1,000 00
Leather Workers on Horse Goods															600 00
Leather Workers, Amal.		1													
Lithographers	2		416												
Lithographic Pressfeeders									800						
Longshor-men	33	19		4	4										
Machine Printers and Color Mixers									800						
Machinists	76	28	7,000	28	5	3	5		2,691					527,104 00	
Maintenance of Way Employees	51	15													
Meat Packers	4	1	100	9	6	1	1	1	2,065	1,100	965		20c p. day	9,000 00	4,000 00
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen	9	8	800										35c p. day		
Metal Polishers	11	16	1,000	30	20	5	4	1	800	800	800	2&3 p. day	25c p. day	4,470 00	3,000 00
Metal Workers, Sheet	52	20		5	3		2		2,200	125		1/2 hr.	15c p. day	23,565 00	1,800 00
Mine Workers, United	170	122	153,309	6	2		5		7,500	165,000			40c p. day		5,000 00
Miners, Western Federation of	23	20		6	2		2	2	3,000	500			10%	108,126 95	10,156 11
Molders	42	13	1,000	h			38		1,425				0	292,968 28	
Molders, Amal.	42	13	1,000	h			38		1,425				10%	5,000 00	5,000 00
Painters	93	85		33											
Papermakers	20	4	2,000	3	1		1	1	800	180	180	3hrs. p. day	10%	17,000 00	
Patternmakers	20	4	500	11	6		4	1	238	238		1 hr. /	10%	19,074 03	
Pavers and Rammersmen															
Plating Carriers	14	6	200												532 00
Plasterers	4		271	2			2		20					985 00	800 00
Piano and Organ Workers															
Plate Printers	1		14												
Plasterers															
Plumbers	72	18		60	45	2	10	3						82,295 00	
Post-office Clerks	10	1	300												
Potters, Operative	3	2	46	1			1		14					2,714 98	
Printers, High Explosive Workers		2											u 12 1/2 c p. d.	70 00	

## CHARTERS, GAIN IN MEMBERSHIP, AND STRIKES—CONTINUED.

ORGANIZATIONS.	Charters issued.	Charters surrendered.	Gain in membership.	No. of strikes.	Strikes won.	Strikes compromised.	Strikes pending.	Strikes lost.	Number involved.	Number benefited.	Number not benefited.	Reduction in hours per day.	Gain in wages.	Cost of strikes.	Donations to other unions.
Print Cutters	28	11	1,000	11	5	3	1	2	650	400		25c p. day	25c p. day	\$41,000 00	
Printing Union	5	1	800	2			2		150			15c day	15c day	500 00	\$1,000 00
Pulley & Subbitic Workers	10	3	1,000	11	8	2	1		800	800		7 1 to 3c p. hr.	7 1 to 3c p. hr.	11,724 50	385 45
Quarry Workers	5		3,000	3			3					995,850 00 q		67,897 27	1,200 00
Railroad Telegraphers	71	58													
Railway Clerks															
Railway Employes, Street	27	8	1,000	9	5		4		7,000	6,550	450	1/2 to 5c p. hr.	1/2 to 5c p. hr.	80,264 94	13,378 80
Railway Employes, Passengers															
Railway Telegraphers	3	3	50	2	1		1		72	36	36	1 hr.	25c p. day	1,000 00	600 00
Seamstresses															
Sawmills															
Seamens	1														
Shingle Weavers	3	2	150	4	1		2	1	100	40		12c p. day	12c p. day	4,000 00	
Shoe and Tile Roofers	1	2		3	2							2 1/2c p. hr.			
Shoe Workers	1			63	3		1		400	1,000		10c		35,000 00	
Shoemakers	40	1	1,000	10	8		2		750	3,250		\$1.00 p. day		25,000 00	
Shoemakers, Theatrical															
Steel Plate Transferers															
Steel Plate Transferers	3	1	90	6			6		21					5,400 80	
Stereotypers and Electrotypers															
Stencillers															
Stonecutters															
Stove Mounters	8	4	316	2	2				94					4,110 38	25 00
Switchmen	18	8		21	6		5		504	28	164		5c	52,134 10	835 30
Telegraphers	26	175	1,000	12	11		10		2,200				35c	20,000 00	
Textile Workers	206	10	2,000	12	9		1		1,000					16,000 00	
Textile Workers	50	10	2,000	12	9		1		1,000						
Tile Layers	12	1	216	3	2	1									350 00
Tin Plate Workers															
Tin Plate Workers															
Tip Printers															
Tip Printers															
Tobacco Workers															
Tobacco Workers and Leather															
Tobacco Workers and Leather	2	1	175	5	2		3		428	380		4 1/2c p. day	3 to 5c	1,700 00	58 00
Tobacco Workers and Leather															
Tunnel and Subway Constructors	1		140	12	5		6		161	67	38p	2 hrs. day	29c	300 00	15,819 08
Typographical Union	16	23	3,518	12										11,447 80	
Upholsterers															
Weavers, Elastic Goring															
Weavers, American Wife															
White Hats Accors															
Totals	2,388	1,422	216,012	716	378	58	275	61	73,069	200,268	6,177			\$1,928,380,506	156,889.72

a many benefited not involved in strikes; b 16 local, 28 branches; c 15 local, 28 branches; d 2 strikes; e for 1,000; f due to jobs being completed; g 14,000 men 25 cents per day, 7,000 50 cents per day secured without strike; h lockout involving 20,000 won by organization; i for 2,000 members; j for 100 members; k one lockout; l Saturday half-holiday for 3 branches; m including lockouts; n 40 cents for tile layers and 25 cents for helpers; o secured without strikes; p 56 involved in pending strikes; q aggregate for the year; r for 75; s for 50; t 850 received 50 cents per day increase; 3,700 received 25 cents per day; u for 48 members.

\* For fiscal year ending May 31, 1912. † Including \$2,462 refunded by local unions for benefits that were not distributed.

From time to time some well-meaning people, as well as our enemies, go to a great deal of trouble to point out to the trade unions what they consider the mistakes in their methods. One of the chief objects of attack and criticism is the strike, and arguments and figures are arrayed to prove that strikes are failures and a very bad investment for organized labor. Articles of this character are rarely given serious consideration by members of organized labor, for the reason that, as a rule, the writers arrive at their conclusions by theoretical study and deductions, and not by any sound or practical knowledge of the needs or circumstances surrounding the workings of the labor movement. These writers sometimes assert that in their calculations they have used the statistics supplied by the officers of international trade unions and the United States Labor Bureau, and present the arithmetical results reached by adding, multiplying, subtracting and dividing these figures, to prove that the strikes engaged in by labor organizations have been failures, and that the money spent to support them was wasted. They appear to reason that the only motive for a strike is to secure an increase in wages, and count a strike a failure when they can not figure an increase in wages in the result, or that members, upon returning to work, made up by their earnings all the money spent in supporting the strike, including their losses in wages. Such persons lose sight of the fact that in a very large measure, strikes are inaugurated in defense of principle alone—for the recognition of unions, to resist reductions in wages, for reductions in the hours of labor, for the reinstatement of members who have been discriminated against on account of loyalty to their union, and for other causes, which do not involve the question of increasing the earnings of the members. When members of organized labor are fighting for a principle or for justice, they do not count the cost—they do not consider the cost; they wage the fight as long as they have a cent to put into it, and as much longer, at great sacrifice and hardship, as may be necessary, and they regard the issue at stake as well worth the struggle.

The strike is never pictured as a boon by trade unions. It is not a boon, except in the sense that the right to strike is the difference between free labor and slave labor. When we point to what the strike has done in the march of progress of labor, we do not hold it up as a boon; when we cite that in the history of labor the strike has been the most formidable and powerful weapon in achieving its successes, we are not holding it up as something to be desired, but merely stating a fact. Organized labor does not proclaim the strike as a boon. Strikes are hardships; at times they are very great hardships, but labor has had to endure them to secure recognition and improved conditions. Even though strikes fail to bring about all the desired reforms this year, or next year, or the year after, this would not convince wage-workers that the strike is without force, and should be abandoned as a means of protest. Organized labor will, I am sure, reserve to itself the privilege of exercising its own discretion as to the wisdom of a strike when employers of labor refuse to consider any other argument upon the justice of their demands.

It must be borne in mind that few of our national and international unions have means of keeping complete statistical information in regard to local strikes, either for improved conditions or of a defensive nature. Local unions fail to report in detail, in many cases, as to actual results of such movements, and international officers can only furnish figures of which they have actual record. In few cases are these reports complete. Our conventions have urged that better attention be given to such statistics, because they furnish to those requiring arithmetical evidence, valuable proof of the benefit trade unions are reaping for their members and in the cause of humanity. However, the funds of our organizations are needed for more urgent and important work than the keeping of statistics, and therefore the international officers can not be blamed for not being able to supply complete data. The reports from national and international unions compiled in my annual reports deal mostly with strikes, and they contain scarcely any statistics in dollars and cents, showing the advances that have been made in the way of gains in wages and reductions in the hours of labor secured as a result of agreement, which the organizations, because of the strength behind them, have been able to carry through. Nothing creates respect or commands consideration for a trade union among employers who are reluctant to recognize organized labor, so much as the knowledge that the organization has a substantial defense fund, and that the members are determined to enforce the recognition of every just demand.

With a view to securing figures showing exactly how much more the members of trade unions earned this year as wages, through the assistance of their unions, over and above the earnings before their last increase in wages, international officers were requested to take the latest gains in wages of which they have actual knowledge, the number of members securing them, and the reductions in the hours of labor, and to state how much these gains in wages and reductions in hours total in dollars and cents for one year. This data could not be furnished by all of the international unions, for the reasons that in many cases local unions do not report, or if reported the information was not in such form as would enable the international officers to compile it in time for this report. However, forty-nine

national and international organizations were able to furnish reports and they are herewith submitted for your information:

ORGANIZATIONS.	Total increase in wages for one year.	Total number of hours reduced for one year.	Total amount which reduction in hours represents for one year.
Boot and Shoe Workers.....	\$2,200,000 00	400,000	\$120,000 00
Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers.....	40,000 00		
Bridge and Structural Iron Workers.....	669,735 00	8,961	4,673 62
Brushmakers.....	11,124 00	3,744	936 00
Carvers, Wood.....	6,838 00	33,280	16,640 00
Cloth Hat and Cap Makers.....		429,624	171,849 60
Commercial Telegraphers.....	60,000 00		
Compressed Air Workers.....	92,700 00		
Diamond Workers.....	62,400 00	93,600	93,600 00
<i>a</i> Electrical Workers.....	417,150 00		
Elevator Constructors.....	20,798 24	54,080	21,632 00
<i>b</i> Foundry Employees.....	1,390 50		
<i>c</i> Freight Handlers.....	370,800 00		
<i>d</i> Garment Workers, United.....		3,000,000	300,000 00
<i>e</i> Garment Workers, Ladies.....	1,092,000 00	1,040,000	
Granite Cutters.....	1,012,500 00	4,050,000	2,025,000 00
Hodcarriers.....	786,083 64	618,000	179,220 00
Horseshoers.....	76,250 00	610,000	183,000 00
Lathers.....	50,000 00		
Laundry Workers.....	900 00	185,400	39,080 00
<i>f</i> Leather Workers Amalgamated.....	23,400 00	92,400	
Machine Printers and Color Mixers.....	16,000 00		
Machinists.....	247,209 00	218,000	86,300 00
Maintenance of Way Employees.....	2,000,000 00	195,650	
<i>g</i> Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen.....	780,000 00	3,708,000	927,000 00
Mine Workers, United.....	8,000,000 00		
Miners, Western Federation of.....	3,244,500 00	3,090,000	772,500 00
Painters.....	1,750,000 00		
<i>h</i> Pattern Makers.....	120,686 00	171,070	
<i>i</i> Pavers and Rammermen.....	67,860 00		
<i>j</i> Potters, Operative.....	97,335 00		
<i>k</i> Powder and High Explosive Workers.....	1,736 58	1,236	
<i>l</i> Print Cutters.....		30,900	11,742 00
<i>m</i> Railroad Telegraphers.....	983,622 03		
Railway Employees, Street and Electric.....	1,777,370 00	2,190,000	547,500 00
Seamen.....	1,030,000 00		
Shingle Weavers.....	24,333 85		
Spinners.....	205,920 00	228,800	463,500 00
Stage Employees, Theatrical.....	3,000 00		
Stereotypers and Electrotypers.....	14,881 44		
<i>n</i> Stone Cutters.....	1,000,000 00		
<i>o</i> Switchmen.....	972,000 00		
Tailors.....	374,400 00	419,328	223,532 00
Teamsters.....	280,000 00		
Tile Layers.....	77,850 00		
<i>p</i> Tin Plate Workers.....	10,800 00		
Travelers' Goods and Leather Novelty Workers.....	37,295 40	117,420	26,419 50
<i>q</i> Tunnel and Subway Constructors.....	77,250 00	123,600	56,856 00
Typographical Union.....	3,608,234 00	109,824	43,929 60
Totals.....	\$33,796,322 08	21,222,917	\$6,314,910 32

*a* For 4,550 members. *b* For 300 members. *c* For 6,000 members. *d* For 10,000 members. *e* For 10,000 members. *f* For 300 members. *g* For 8,000 members. *h* For 12 cities. *i* For 810 members (220 working days for the year). *j* For 12,000 members. *k* For 45 members. *l* For 400 members. *m* For 18,623 members. *n* For 6 months working season. *o* For 9,000 members. *p* For 300 members. *q* For 1,200 members.

I believe we are safe in saying without endeavoring to claim for our organizations greater benefits than they are realizing, that the above reports average what the majority of our other organizations, whose officers were not in a position to furnish actual figures, are doing for their members.

**BENEFITS PAID TO MEMBERS BY INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS DURING THE PAST YEAR.**

ORGANIZATIONS.	Death benefits.	Death benefits members' wives.	Sick benefits.	Traveling benefits.	Tool insurance.	Unemployed benefits.
A. F. of L. locals.....	\$5,267 50		\$5,090 21	\$802 55	\$219 00	\$1,369 05
Asbestos Workers.....	500 00					
Bakers.....	3,226 40	\$800 00	29,169 45			
Barbers.....	24,750 00		46,311 77			
Boilermakers.....	2,100 00					
Bookbinders.....	5,475 00					
Boot and Shoe Workers.....	15,675 00		76,986 96			
Brick, Tile, and Terra Cotta Workers.....	150 00					
Bridge and Structural Iron Workers.....	12,400 00					
Brushmakers.....				25 00		
Carpenters, Brotherhood.....	258,074 30	36,225 00				
Carriage and Wagon Workers.....	1,050 00					
Carvers, Wood.....	2,850 00				141 75	
Cigarmakers.....	251,677 41		201,296 03	38,543 47		36,942 50
Cloth Hat and Cap Makers.....			720 00			
Coopers.....	2,950 00					
Cutting Die and Cutter Makers.....	500 00					
Diamond Workers.....						1,068 00
Electrical Workers.....	8,250 00		8,000 00			
Firmen, Stationary.....	3,700 00	800 00	1,200 00			
Foundry Employes.....	400 00		390 00			
Glass Bottle Blowers.....	63,881 31					164,747 25
Glass Workers, Amal.....	600 00					
Glove Workers.....	100 00					
Grinders, Pocket Knife Blade.....			36 00			
Hatters.....	49,889 25					
Hodcarriers.....	2,500 00					
Hotel and Restaurant Employes.....	26,450 00		34,345 75			
Iron and Steel Workers.....	4,150 00	600 00	8,955 00			
Lace Operatives.....	1,300 00		350 00			
Lathers.....		5,300 00				
Leather Workers on Horse Goods.....	1,400 00		2,125 00			
Leather Workers, Amal.....						300 00
Machinists.....	56,231 25					
Maintenance of Way Employes.....	14,000 00					
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen.....	1,400 00		4,000 00			
Metal Polishers.....	3,150 00					
Metal Workers, Sheet.....	96,000 00					
Miners, Western Federation of.....	27,069 47		115,277 32			
Molders.....	61,900 00		152,456 20			10,971 80
Painters.....	99,525 00	12,375 00				
Papermakers.....	600 00					
Patternmakers.....	1,700 00		5,596 14		1,842 61	
Paving Cutters.....	2,200 00					
Photo-Engravers.....	1,885 00		6,265 17			
Plate Printers.....	1,381 75					
Plumbers.....	14,300 00		43,055 00			
Potters, Operative.....	5,975 00					
Printing Pressmen.....	16,700 00					
Quarry Workers.....	1,450 00					
Railroad Telegraphers.....	86,700 00					
Railway Employes, Street.....	125,453 45		18,708 66			
Roofers, Composition.....	2,300 00		1,500 00			
Shingle Weavers.....			2,036 00			
Slate and Tile Roofers.....	1,200 00					
Slate Workers.....	300 00	100 00				
Shinners.....	1,000 00					
Stage Employes, Theatrical.....	10,000 00					
Stereotypers and Electrotypers.....	4,900 00					
Stove Mounters.....	1,000 00					
Switchmen.....	168,957 50					
Tailors.....	12,765 59		23,366 95			
Textile Workers.....	1,100 00					
Tobacco Workers.....	1,350 00		5,114 00			
Travelers' Goods and Leather Novelty Workers.....	125 00		300 00			
Tunnel and Subway Constructors.....	1,800 00		340 00	1,200 00		
*Typographical Union.....	74,698 85					
Weavers, Elastic Goring.....	300 00					
Weavers, American Wire.....	200 00		614 00			
<b>Totals.....</b>	<b>1,649,184 03</b>	<b>56,550 00</b>	<b>793,255 61</b>	<b>40,571 02</b>	<b>2,203 36</b>	<b>215,398 60</b>

\*(Fiscal year ending May 31, 1912.) Old-age pension \$169,657.

Your attention is called to the fact that the amounts herein reported as having been expended by the international unions on account of various benefits in the past year, are those paid directly by the internationals, and therefore the totals represent but a small proportion of the aggregate sum paid by trade unions in the way of benefits. A number of international unions have not as yet established benefit features, and others pay only partial benefits. It must be borne in mind that in every trade, local unions have existed independently prior to the formation of the international union, and almost without exception, they provide death, sick out-of-work, etc., benefits for their members. In these instances benefit features have thus become identified and recognized as belonging to the jurisdiction of a local union. This system has retarded international unions in establishing and extending benefit features, for the reason that it is difficult to bring locals that have to support their own benefit funds to consent to increase the tax to such an amount as would enable the internationals to secure the means for such purpose. In most instances, benefits paid by internationals are supplemental relief, paid to members in addition to the benefits provided by their local unions.

#### INTERNATIONAL UNIONS.

- Asbestos Workers.**—Charters issued, 5; surrendered, 2. Gain in membership, 300. Number of strikes, 5; won, 3; compromised, 1; pending, 1. Number of persons involved, 200; benefited, 200. Wages increased 50 cents per day for 75 men; hours of labor reduced 1 per day for 50 men. Death benefits, \$500.
- Bakery and Confectionery Workers.**—Charters issued, 20; surrendered, 6. Gain in membership, 2,185. Number of strikes, 25; won, 15; compromised, 2; pending, 8. Number of persons involved, 2,002; benefited, 1,893; not benefited, 109. An average gain in wages of ten per cent. Hours of labor reduced 1 per day. Also secured a 10 per cent increase in some instances without strike. Gains in other respects: sanitary conditions in shops. Death benefits, \$3,226.40; death benefits, members' wives, \$800; sick benefits, \$29,169.45. Donations to other unions, \$2,859.66. Cost of strikes, \$22,133.
- Barbers.**—Charters issued, 34; surrendered, 22. Gain in membership, 1,160. Number of strikes, 2; won, 2. Number of persons involved, 21; benefited, 21. 20 cents gain in wages per member per day. Hours of labor reduced one-half hour per day. In some instances, attempts were made to reduce wages, but were successfully resisted. Death benefits, \$24,750; sick benefits, \$46,311.77. Donations to other unions, \$8,041.90. Cost of strikes, \$343.
- Bill Posters.**—Strike pending; number involved, 16.
- Blacksmiths.**—Charters issued, 14; surrendered, 15. Number of strikes, 1; pending, 1. Number of persons involved, 3,800; benefited, 3,400; not benefited, 400. Gain in wages of 12 cents per member per day, with better working conditions. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. Cost of strikes, \$55,000. As a result of organization, wages have been increased, hours of labor reduced, and better sanitary conditions have been enforced, particularly proper toilet and wash rooms, and ventilation of shops.
- Boilermakers.**—Charters issued, 33; surrendered, 35. Number of strikes, 95; pending, 90; lost, 5. Number of persons involved, 6,020; not benefited, 2,953. In some cities, hours of labor were reduced from 9 to 8 per day, and in others local lodges had contracts signed without strike. Cost of strikes, \$147,819.58. Death benefits, \$2,100. Donations to other unions, \$723.30. As a result of organization, wages and conditions are constantly improving, and there is a more wholesome respect for working contracts on the part of employers.
- Bookbinders.**—Charters issued, 10; surrendered, 2. Number of strikes, 4—inaugurated principally against introduction of open shop. Advance in wages of 10 per cent secured without strike. Death benefits, \$5,475. Cost of strikes, \$3,082.51.
- Boot and Shoe Workers.**—Charters issued, 15; surrendered, 13. Gain in membership, 1,167. Number of strikes, 4; won, 2; pending, 1; lost, 1; places filled by hostile independent union. Number of persons involved, 439. Impossible to estimate number benefited, as many were benefited who were not involved in the strikes. Number involved not benefited, 19. Where attempts were made to reduce wages, they were successfully resisted. Death benefits, \$15,675; sick benefits, \$76,986.96; disability benefits, \$3,350. Donations to other unions, \$15,000. Cost of strikes, \$17,157.57. As a result of organization, there has been a substantial reduction in the hours of labor in the factories where members are employed. Increases in wages secured for members during the past year, at a conservative estimate, total \$2,200,000 for the year.
- Brewery Workmen.**—Charters issued, 16 local, 28 branches; surrendered, 15 local and 28 branches. Number of strikes, 40; won, 31; compromised, 3; pending, 3; lost, 4. One strike was partly won and is also in progress, as 2 firms have not yet made settlement. Number of persons

- involved, 2,026; benefited, 1,902; not benefited, 124. Secured a gain of 25 cents per member per day. The 8-hour day was inaugurated wherever not already in force. Improved sanitary conditions and employment of men in place of boys, were other gains secured. Increases in wages and reduction in working hours were secured in some cities without strike. Attempts were made to reduce wages in some plants, but were successfully resisted. Donations to other unions, \$2,752.90. Cost of strikes, \$8,210.
- Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers.**—Charters issued, 12; surrendered, 5. Number of strikes: 3 strikes and 2 lockouts; won, 1; compromised, 1; pending, 2; lost, 1. Number of persons involved, 700. Number benefited, 450 at Canton, Ohio, wages increased 15 per cent; 400 at New Lexington, Ohio, wages increased 15 per cent; 85 at East Peoria, secured increases of from 15 cents to 65 cents per day. Secured 3 union shop agreements without strike. No reductions in wages in the past year. Death benefits, \$150. Cost of strikes, \$2,000.
- Bridge and Structural Iron Workers.**—Charters issued, 7; surrendered, 4. Gain in membership, 1,000. Number of strikes, 4; won, 3; pending, 1. Number of persons involved, 2,000; benefited, 2,000. Secured a gain in wages of from 5 to 10 cents per hour. Attempts were made to reduce wages, in some instances, but these were successfully resisted. Death benefits, \$12,400. Donations to other unions, \$3,000. One of the advantages of organization has been reducing the hours of labor from 10 and 9 to 8 per day.
- Broommakers.**—No report.
- Brushmakers.**—Charters issued, 1. Gain in membership, 11. Number of strikes, 2; won, 1; compromised, 1. Number of persons involved, 14; benefited, 14. An advance in wages of \$2 per member per week. Hours of labor reduced from 59 to 55 per week. Traveling benefits, \$25. Donations to other unions, \$10. Cost of strikes, \$134.
- Carpenters, Brotherhood.**—Charters issued, 153; surrendered, 162. Gain in membership, 4,000. Number of strikes, 15; won, 10; compromised, 4; lost, 1. Number of persons involved, 1,000; benefited, 1,000. Wages advanced  $2\frac{1}{2}$  to 5 cents per hour. Hours of labor reduced one per day. Attempts were made to reduce wages, which were successfully resisted in most cases; in a few cases, wages were adjusted on a compromise basis. Death benefits, \$258,074.30; death benefits, members' wives, \$36,225. Cost of strikes, \$16,446.
- Carriage and Wagon Workers.**—Charters issued, 7; surrendered, 2. Number of strikes, 2; won, 2. Number of persons involved, 200; benefited, 200. Wages advanced 25 cents per member per day, 20 cents per day advance in wages was secured for members without strike. There were attempts to reduce wages, but these were successfully resisted. Death benefits, \$1,050. Cost of strikes, \$600.
- Carvers, Wood.**—Number of strikes, 1; won, 1. Number of persons involved, 3; benefited, 98.  $2\frac{1}{2}$  cents per hour per member advance in wages. Hours of labor reduced from 50 to 44 per week. Death benefits, \$2,852; tool insurance, \$141.75. Cost of strikes, \$89.33. As a result of organization, working hours in custom shops in Philadelphia, Pa., and Rochester, N. Y., have been reduced from 50 to 44 per week, and in Detroit, Mich., and Syracuse, N. Y., wages have been raised  $2\frac{1}{2}$  cents per hour.
- Cement Workers.**—Charters issued, 23 (new locals), 9 (re-organized); surrendered, 5. Several localities report securing increases in wages.
- Cigarmakers.**—Charters issued, 12; surrendered, 5. Number of strikes, 55; won, 35; compromised, 1; pending, 15; lost, 4. Number of persons involved, 2,873; benefited, 2,831; not benefited, 42. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted, except in one case.
- Clerks, Retail.**—No report.
- Cloth, Hat and Cap Makers.**—Charters issued, 1; surrendered, 1. Gain in membership, 579. Number of strikes, 19; won, 15; pending, 2; lost, 2. Number of persons involved, 188; benefited, 188. Hours of labor reduced one-half hour per day. Free sewing machines and Saturday half-holiday were secured for some of the members without strike. Sick benefits, \$720. Donations to other unions, \$2,487. Cost of strikes, \$13,353. As a result of organization, the following benefits have been realized: From 1902 to 1907 hours of labor reduced from unlimited number to 56 per week, 8 holidays, and increase of 50 per cent in wages. From 1907 to 1912, free thread, free electric power, free sewing machines, reduction in hours of labor from 56 to 50 per week and 10 per cent increase in wages.
- Commercial Telegraphers.**—Charters issued, 3; surrendered, 1. Average wage of 1,000 members increased from \$60 to \$66 per month. Typewriters furnished by Western Union Company, saving in rental to operators an average of \$2 per month for 10,000 men, amounting to \$240,000 per year. This was one of the demands made in the strike of 1907. Donations to other unions, \$300.
- Compressed Air Workers.**—No report.

- Coopers.**—Charters issued, 8; surrendered, 5. Number of strikes, 14; won, 5; compromised, 6; pending, 1; lost, 2. Number of persons involved, 422; benefited, 334; not benefited, 88. 35 cents per member per day advance in wages. Hours of labor reduced one hour per day. Numerous contracts were secured without strike. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted, and in some cases settlement was made on the basis of an increase. Death benefits, \$2,950. Cost of strikes, \$8,114.
- Cutting Die and Cutter Makers.**—Number of strikes, 3; won, 2; pending, 1. Number of persons involved, 170; benefited, 160; not benefited, 10. Secured 10 per cent per week advance in wages, and reduced hours 2 per week. No reduction in wages in the past year. Death benefits, \$500. Cost of strikes, \$8,000. As a result of organization, hours of labor have been reduced from 60 to 48 per week.
- Diamond Workers.**—Number of strikes, 1; compromised. Number of persons involved, 20; benefited 20. Secured the union shop. Slight increases in wages were secured without strike. Unemployed benefits, \$1,068. Cost of strikes, \$9,420. As a result of organization, 48-hour week has been established, with sliding scale of wages of from \$28 to \$75 per week.
- Electrical Workers.**—Charters issued, 78 (including returning seceding unions); surrendered, 10. Number of strikes, 4; won, 4. Number of persons involved, 340; benefited, 340. 850 members received an advance in wages of 50 cents per day; 3,700 secured an advance of 25 cents per day. Attempts to reduce wages were resisted successfully. Death benefits, \$8,250. Donations to other unions, \$12,000. Sick benefits, \$8,000.
- Elevator Constructors.**—Charters issued, 4; surrendered, 2. Gain in membership, 163. Number of strikes, 1; compromised, 1. Number of persons involved, 50; benefited, 70. Advance in wages of 40 cents per member per day; hours of labor reduced one per day; recognition of the union.
- Steam Engineers.**—Charters issued, 46; surrendered, 20. Gain in membership, 3,500. Number of strikes, 23; won, 9; compromised, 2; pending, 9; lost, 3. Number of persons involved, 116; benefited, 89; not benefited, 12. Secured increase in wages and established 8-hour day in many localities. A large number of agreements secured without strike. Cost of strikes, \$3,243.
- Firemen, Stationary.**—Charters issued, 28; surrendered, 1. Gain in membership, 8,000. Number of strikes, 5; won, 4; pending, 1 (20 men). Number of persons involved, 148; benefited, 128. Attempts to reduce wages were resisted successfully, and in one instance secured an increase in the settlement. Death benefits, \$3,700; death benefits, members' wives, \$800; sick benefits, \$1,200. Donations to other trade unions, \$1,000. Cost of strikes, \$1,240. As a result of organization, wages have been advanced 20 per cent; 1,400 reduced working hours from 12 to 8 per day; 2,174 secured 6-day working week instead of 7; 4,028 gained a week's vacation with pay for each year.
- Foundry Employees.**—Charters issued, 2. Gain in membership, 27. Advance in wages secured in one city without strike. Death benefits, \$400; sick benefits, \$390. Donations to other unions, \$167.40.
- Freight Handlers.**—No report.
- Garment Workers, United.**—No report.
- Garment Workers, Ladies.**—Charters issued, 9; surrendered, 6. Number of strikes, 11; won, 2; compromised, 1; pending, 5; lost, 3. Number of persons involved, 2,800. Hours of labor reduced one per day. Attempts to reduce wages resisted successfully. As a result of organization hours of labor have been reduced from 54 to 50 per week, and legal holidays are observed.
- Glass Bottle Blowers.**—Number of charters issued, 4; surrendered, 2. Death benefits, \$63,881.31; unemployed benefits, \$164,747.25. Donations to other unions, \$5,442.25.
- Glass Workers, Amalgamated.**—Charters issued, 2; surrendered, 1. Gain in membership, 100. Agreements secured in six cities without strike. Attempts to reduce wages were resisted successfully. New York conditions cited as an instance of the benefit secured from organization—wages there were formerly \$14 for 56-hour week, minimum wage now being \$20 for 48-hour week. Death benefits, \$600.
- Glove Workers.**—Charters issued, 6; surrendered, 2. Gain in membership, 275. Number of strikes, 6; won, 3; compromised, 2; pending, 1. Number of persons involved, 280; benefited, 265. Agreements were secured with 10 firms with advance in wages of from 5 to 10 per cent, without strike. Attempts to reduce wages were resisted successfully except in a few shops; in one instance the settlement secured an increase in prices on long gloves, and the local union increased in membership from 77 to 250. Death benefits, \$100. As a result of organization, wages for block cutters have been increased 40 per cent, established uniform



- prices for work, abolished the system of paying for machine rent and use of power, established weekly pay-day in New York City, 54-hour week and Saturday half-holiday.
- Granite Cutters.**—Charters issued, 5; surrendered, 2 (due to jobs being completed). Number of strikes, 14; won, 12; pending, 2. Number of persons involved, 1,800; benefited, 1,800. Secured an advance in wages of about 16 cents per member per day. Gains in other respects: elimination of unhealthy machine; improved sanitation. Donations to other unions, \$5,860. Cost of strikes, \$27,367. As a result of organization, arrangements made for general recognition of a \$4 per day minimum wage rate, with a 44-hour work week; heating sheds and ventilation in winter.
- Grinders, Pocket Knife Blade.**—Number of strikes, 1; pending, 1. Number of persons involved, 36. Sick benefits, \$36. Donations to other unions, \$41.50. Cost of strikes, \$3,378.27.
- Hatters.**—Attempts to reduce wages resisted successfully. Death benefits, \$49,889.25. Donations to other unions, \$4,425.
- Hodcarriers.**—Charters issued, 52; surrendered, 57. Number of strikes, 11; won, 9; compromised, 2. Death benefits, \$2,800. Donations to other unions, \$1,162.85.
- Horseshoers.**—Charters issued, 11; surrendered, 5. Gain in membership, 200. Number of strikes, 3; 1 lockout; won, 3; pending, 1. Number of persons involved, 300; benefited, 300. Gains in wages secured of from 25 to 50 cents per day. Gains in other respects: recognition of labor and regulation of apprentices. Increased wages and shorter hours were secured in some cases without strike. Donations to other unions, \$1,310. Cost of strikes, \$8,000. As a result of organization hours of labor have been reduced from 10 and 11 to 9 per day; wages formerly \$2.50 and \$3, now from \$3 to \$5, and Saturday half-holiday in summer months in a number of cities.
- Hotel and Restaurant Employees.**—Charters issued, 70; surrendered, 33. Gain in membership, 3,745. Number of strikes, 43; won, 29; compromised, 7; pending, 4; lost, 2. Number of persons involved, 744; benefited, 534; not benefited, 210. Advance in wages of about 7 per cent per member per day. Death benefits, \$26,450; sick benefits, \$34,345.75. Donations to other unions, \$19,226.02. Cost of strikes, \$12,710.73. As a result of organization employees are treated more reasonably by employers, with shorter hours and less irksome conditions of labor.
- Iron and Steel Workers.**—Charters issued, 5; surrendered, 4. Members in boiling department secured an advance in wages of 8 per cent per member per day. Death benefits, \$4,150; death benefits, members' wives, \$600; sick benefits, \$8,955. Donations to other unions, \$300.
- Jewelry Workers.**—No report.
- Lace Operatives.**—Number of strikes, 1; won 1. Number of persons involved, 100. Secured reinstatement of member who had been discriminated against. Death benefits, \$1,300; death benefits, members wives, \$350. Donations to other unions, \$700. Cost of strikes, \$500.
- Lathers.**—Charters issued, 11; surrendered, 13. Death benefits, \$5,300. Wages have advanced 100 per cent as a result of organization.
- Laundry Workers.**—Charters issued, 14; surrendered, 12. Gain in membership, 500. Number of strikes, 1; lost; number of persons involved, 300. Increases in wages and reduction in working hours were secured in a number of instances without strike. Attempt to reduce wages were resisted successfully. As a result of organization, members are enjoying 8 and 9 hour day, with pay for overtime. Unorganized workers are working unlimited hours with less pay.
- Leather Workers on Horse Goods.**—Death benefits, \$1,400; sick benefits, \$2,125. Donations to other unions, \$1,000.
- Leather Workers, Amal.**—Unemployed benefits, \$300. Donations to other unions, \$600. As a result of organization, hours have been shortened from 10 to 9 per day, and 400 men have secured an advance of 20 per cent in wages. In all districts where there are locals, prices paid on the different classes of work are far superior to those paid in unorganized districts, and the hours per day or week much shorter.
- Lithographers.**—Charters issued, 2. Gain in membership, 416. The 48-hour week prevails as a result of organization.
- Lithographic Press Feeders.**—No report.
- Longshoremen.**—Charters issued, 33; surrendered, 19. Number of strikes, 4; won, 4. No reductions in wages in the past year.
- Machine Printers.**—No report.
- Machinists.**—Charters issued, 76; surrendered, 28. Gain in membership, 7,000. Number of strikes, 13; won, 5; compromised, 3; pending, 5. Number of persons involved, 2,691. Advance

- in wages of 20 cents per member per day. 25 agreements were secured without strike. Death benefits, \$56,231.25. Cost of strikes, \$527,104.
- Maintenance of Way Employees.**—Charters issued, 51; surrendered, 15. An average increase in wages of 5 per cent per member per day. Death benefits, \$14,000.
- Marble Workers.**—Charters issued, 4; surrendered, 1. Gain in membership, 100. Number of strikes, 9; won, 6; compromised, 1; pending, 1; lost, 1. Number of persons involved, 2,065; benefited, 1,100; not benefited, 965. Advance in wages of 35 cents per day. Donations to other trade unions, \$4,000. Cost of strikes, \$9,000. Of the 965 reported as not benefited, negotiations are under way for an agreement, which it is expected will carry an increase in wages when signed.
- Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen.**—Charters issued, 9; surrendered, 8. Gain in membership, 800. Advances of 25 cents per day have been secured, and hours of labor reduced 2 and 3 per day. Death benefits, \$1,400; sick benefits, \$4,000. Donations to other unions, \$3,000. Results of organization: former wages from \$9 to \$12, minimum is now \$15 and many receive more; former hours, 13 to 16 per day, now 10 hours straight.
- Metal Polishers.**—Charters issued, 11; surrendered, 16. Gain in membership, 1,000. Number of strikes, 29; won, 20; compromised, 4; pending, 4; lost, 1. Number involved, 800; benefited, 800. An average advance in wages of 15 per cent per member per day, and hours of labor reduced one-half hour per day. Attempts to reduce wages were resisted successfully, except in a few cases, which were settled on the basis of a compromise. Death benefits, \$3,150. Donations to other unions, \$1,800. Cost of strikes, \$4,470. As a result of organization, there has been a gradual increase in wages to a uniform standard, with gradual shortening of hours, with better sanitary conditions, and better consideration of grievances by employers.
- Metal Workers, Sheet.**—Charters issued, 52; surrendered, 20. Number of strikes, 5; won, 3; pending, 2. Number of persons involved, 2,200; benefited, 125. An average advance in wages of 40 cents per member per day. Past year has seen a general improvement in wage-scale and hours of labor. Death benefits, \$96,000. Donations to other unions, \$5,000. Cost of strikes, \$23,565.
- Mine Workers, United.**—Charters issued, 170; surrendered, 122. Gain in membership, 153,309. Number of strikes, 8; won, 3; pending, 5. Number of persons involved, 7,500; benefited, 165,000. An average increase in wages of 10 per cent per member per day.
- Miners, Western Federation of.**—Charters issued, 23; surrendered, 20. Number of strikes, 6; won, 2; pending, 2; lost, 2. Number of persons involved, 3,000; benefited, 500. 7,000 miners at Butte, Montana, have secured an increase of 50 cents per day; 14,000 men in various districts received an increase of 25 cents per day. A slight increase in three districts affecting about 700 men. Attempted reduction at Blair and Silver Peak, Nevada, is now being resisted by strike. An 8-hour law has been secured in Arizona, governing mines, mills, and smelters. Death benefits, \$27,069.47; sick benefits, \$115,277.32. Donations to other unions, \$10,156.11. Cost of strikes, \$108,126.95.
- Molders.**—Charters issued, 9; surrendered, 19. Strikes pending, 38. Number of persons involved, 1,425. Death benefits, \$61,900; sick benefits, \$152,456.20. Unemployed benefits, 10,971.80. Cost of strikes, \$262,968.28.
- Musicians.**—Charters issued, 42; surrendered, 12. Gain in membership, 1,000. 20,000 members were involved in a lockout by the Theatrical Syndicate. Ended in victory for the Musicians. Advance in wages averaging 10 per cent per day. Members have secured recognition of union in many instances without strike. Attempts to reduce wages were resisted successfully. Donations to other unions, \$5,000. Cost of strikes, \$5,000. As a result of organization, members have secured advance in wages, and enforcement of union shop.
- Painters.**—Charters issued, 93; surrendered, 85. Gain in membership, 33. Death benefits, \$99,525; death benefits, members' wives, \$12,375; disability benefits, \$20,250.
- Papermakers.**—Charters issued, 20; surrendered, 4. Gain in membership, 2,000. Number of strikes, 3; won, 1; pending, 1; lost, 1. Number of persons involved, 800; not benefited, 180. An advance in wages averaging 5 per cent per day. Hours of labor were reduced from 11 to 8 per day for 2,000. Gains in other respects: better sanitary conditions. Locals secured advances in wages in some instances without strike. Death benefits, \$600. Cost of strikes, \$17,000. Through the efforts of the organization, hours of labor have been reduced from 11 hours per day and 13 hours per night to an 8-hour day in 42 mills. Increases in wages and reduction in hours have been granted by a number of non-union mills, after these improvements had been secured in union mills.
- Patternmakers.**—Charters issued, 4; surrendered, 1. Gain in membership, 500. Number of strikes, 11; won, 6; pending, 4; lost, 1. Number of persons involved, 238; benefited, 238. An

- advance in wages of 10 per cent per day. Hours of labor were reduced from 9 to 8 per day for 100 members. Most of the gains made were secured without strike. Death benefits, \$1,700; sick benefits, \$5,596.14; tool insurance, \$1,842.61. Cost of strikes, \$19,074.03.
- Pavers and Rammers.**—Attempts to reduce wages were resisted successfully.
- Paving Cutters.**—Charters issued, 14; surrendered, 6. Gain in membership, 200. Death benefits, \$2,200. Donations to other trade unions, \$800. Cost of strikes, \$532.
- Photo-Engravers.**—Charters issued, 4. Gain in membership, 271. Number of strikes, 2; pending, 2. Number of persons involved, 20. Death benefits, \$1,885; sick benefits, \$6,265.17 (tuberculosis benefits). Cost of strikes, \$986.
- Piano and Organ Workers.**—No report.
- Plasterers.**—No report.
- Plate Printers.**—Charters issued, 1. Gain in membership, 14. No reductions in wages in the past year. Death benefits, \$1,381.75.
- Plumbers.**—Charters issued, 72; surrendered, 18. Number of strikes, 60; won, 45; compromised, 2; pending, 10; lost, 3. Wages were increased and shorter hours secured in a number of instances without strike. Attempts to reduce wages were resisted successfully. Death benefits, \$14,300; sick benefits, \$43,055. Cost of strikes, \$82,295.
- Post-office Clerks.**—Charters issued, 10; surrendered, 1. Gain in membership, 300.
- Potters, Operative.**—Charters issued, 3; surrendered, 2. Gain in membership, 46. Number of strikes, 1, pending. Number of persons involved, 14. Death benefits, \$5,975. Cost of strikes, \$2,714.98.
- Powder and High Explosive Workers.**—Charters surrendered, 2. Wages were advanced 12½ per cent and hours reduced from 10 to 9 per day at one point as a result of a strike. 48 members secured 12½ cents per day advance in wages, without strike. Cost of strikes, \$70.
- Print Cutters.**—No report.
- Printing Pressmen.**—Charters issued, 28; surrendered, 11. Gain in membership, 1,000. Number of strikes, 11; won, 5; compromised, 3; pending, 1; lost, 2. Number of persons involved, 650; benefited, 400. Advance in wages of 25 cents per day. Advantages gained in 78 cities without strike. Death benefits, \$16,700. Cost of strikes, \$41,000.
- Pulp and Sulphite Workers.**—Charters issued, 5; surrendered, 1. Gain in membership, 800. Number of strikes, 2; pending. Number of persons involved, 150. Advance in wages, averaging 5 per cent per member per day was secured. 8-hour day secured in union mills. Donations to other unions, \$1,000. Cost of strikes, \$500.
- Quarry Workers.**—Charters issued, 10; surrendered, 3. Gain in membership, 1,000. Number of strikes, 11; won, 8; compromised, 2; pending, 1. Number of persons involved, 800; benefited, 800. Advances in wages of from 1 to 3 cents per hour. 3 branches secured Saturday half-holiday. Shorter hours and better pay for 500 members were secured without strike. Attempts to reduce wages were resisted successfully. Death benefits, \$1,450. Donations to other unions, \$385.45. Cost of strikes, \$11,724.50.
- Railroad Telegraphers.**—Charters issued, 5. Gain in membership, 3,000. Death benefits, \$86,700. Donations to other unions, \$1,200. Advances in wages aggregating \$995,850 were secured without strike.
- Railway Carmen.**—Charters issued, 71; surrendered, 58. Number of strikes, 3, pending. Improved working conditions and advances in wages were secured on many railroads without strike. Cost of strikes, \$67,897.27.
- Railway Clerks.**—No report.
- Railway Employes, Street.**—Charters issued, 27; surrendered, 8. Gain in membership, 1,000. Number of strikes, 9; won, 5; lost, 4. Number of persons involved, 7,000; benefited, 6,550; not benefited, 450. Advances in wages of from ½ to 5 cents per hour. Wages were increased in many cities without strike. Death benefits, \$125,453.45; sick benefits, \$18,708.66 (local divisions). Donations to other unions \$13,378.80. Cost of strikes, \$80,264.94.
- Railway Express Messengers.**—No report.
- Roofers, Composition.**—Charters issued, 3; surrendered, 3. Gain in membership, 50. Number of strikes, 2; won, 1; lost, 1. Number of persons involved, 72; benefited, 36; not benefited, 36. Wages advanced 25 cents per day. Hours of labor reduced 1 per day. Death benefits, \$2,300; sick benefits, \$1,500. Donations to other unions, \$600. Cost of strikes, \$1,000. As a result of organization, wages have been raised from \$1.75, \$2 and \$2.50 to an average of \$4.50 per day; formerly the workday was 9 and 10 hours per day, at present the 8-hour workday prevails.
- Sawsmiths.**—No report.
- Seamen.**—Charters surrendered, 1. Attempts to reduce wages were resisted successfully. Through

- the efforts of the organization, wages have about doubled and working hours in some localities have been reduced 2 per day.
- Shingle Weavers.**—Charters issued, 3; surrendered, 2. Number of strikes, 4; won, 1; pending, 2; lost, 1. Number of persons involved, 100; benefited, 40. Wages advanced 12 per cent per day. Increases in wages were secured from a number of companies without strike. Sick and accident benefits, \$2,036. Cost of strikes, \$4,000.
- Slate and Tile Roofers.**—Charters issued, 1; surrendered, 2. Gain in membership, 150. Number of strikes, 2; won, 2. Wages advanced 2½ cents per hour. Death benefits, \$1,200.
- Slate Workers.**—Charters surrendered, 2. Number of strikes, 3; won, 2; lost, 1. Number of persons involved, 400; benefited, 1,000. Death benefits, \$300. Death benefits, members' wives, \$100.
- Spinners.**—Number of strikes, 6 (including lockouts); won, 3; compromised, 1; pending, 2. Number of persons involved, 1,000. A 10 per cent advance in wages was secured without strike. Death benefits, \$1,000; unemployed benefits, \$5,000. Cost of strikes, \$35,000.
- Stage Employes.**—Charters issued, 40; surrendered, 1. Gain in membership, 1,000. Number of strikes, 10; won, 8; pending, 2. Number of persons involved, 750; benefited, 3,250. Advance in wages of \$1 per day. Attempts to reduce wages were resisted successfully. Death benefits, \$10,000. Cost of strikes, \$25,000. Through the efforts of the organization, wages have been increased for stage employes from 25 to 50 per cent all over the United States and Canada.
- Steel Plate Transferrers.**—Have secured many advantages as a result of organization.
- Stereotypers and Electrotypers.**—Charters issued, 3; surrendered, 1 (revoked). Gain in membership, 90. Number of strikes, 6; lost, 6. Increases in wages aggregating \$12,076.20 annually, have been secured without strike. Death benefits, \$4,900. Cost of strikes, \$5,400.80. Through the efforts of the organization, wages have been increased and better conditions generally inaugurated.
- Stonecutters.**—No report.
- Stove Mounters.**—Charters issued, 8; surrendered, 4. Number of strikes, 2; compromised, 2. Number of persons involved, 94. Death benefits, \$1,000. Donations to other unions, \$25. Cost of strikes, \$4,110.38.
- Switchmen.**—Charters issued, 15; surrendered, 4. Gain in membership, 316. Death benefits \$168,957.50.
- Tailors.**—Charters issued, 26; surrendered, 8. Number of strikes, 21; won, 6; pending, 10; lost, 5. Number of persons involved, 504; benefited, 28; not benefited, 164. Advance in wages of 5 per cent per day. 700 members secured the 8-hour day. Wages increased in 61 establishments without strike. Death benefits, \$12,765.59; sick benefits, \$23,366.95. Donations to other unions, \$935.30. Cost of strikes, \$52,134.10.
- Teamsters.**—Charters issued, 206; surrendered, 175. Gain in membership, 1,000. Number of strikes, 12; won, 11; pending, 1. Number of persons involved, 2,200; benefited, 2,200. Advance in wages of 35 cents per day. Attempts to reduce wages were resisted successfully. Cost of strikes, \$20,000.
- Textile Workers.**—Charters issued, 50; surrendered, 10. Gain in membership, 2,000. Number of strikes, 12; won, 9; compromised, 1; pending, 1; lost, 1. Number of persons involved, 1,000. Death benefits, \$1,100. Cost of strikes, \$16,000. The victory of the Textile Workers in Lawrence in their strike against a reduction in wages, when the 54-hour week law went into effect, which reduced the hours of labor two per week, served as an impetus to the Textile Workers in other centers in their efforts for improved conditions. In Fall River and New Bedford, a full 10 per cent increase in wages was secured without strike. A strike in Lowell, Mass., was won after 5 weeks. The dyers of Philadelphia went on strike to establish a minimum wage of 25 cents per hour, and in about 40 shops the demand was granted. The Silk Workers and Thread Workers of Willimantic, Conn., struck for a 10 per cent advance in wages. The Thread Workers secured the advance after four days, but the Silk Workers had to remain out 13 weeks, when a compromise was effected, granting a 7½ per cent advance to all the operatives. The strike at Rifton, N. Y., which has been on for 14 months, was against a reduction in wages; the Textile Workers there are as firm in their attitude as they were on the first day of the strike. In New York State a law was passed, reducing the hours of labor of the Textile Workers from 60 to 54 per week.
- Tile Layers.**—Charters issued, 12; surrendered, 1. Gain in membership, 216. Number of strikes, 3; won, 2; compromised, 1. Advance in wages of 40 cents per day for tile layers, and 25 cents per day for helpers. Several locals received increases, without strike. Average wage is

- \$4.50 for tile layers and \$2.50 for helpers. Hours of employment with but two exceptions (Canadian locals) are 8 hours. Donations to other unions, \$350.
- Tin Plate Workers.**—3 per cent advance in wages secured without strike.
- Tip Printers.**—No report.
- Tobacco Workers.**—Improvements have been light this year, although such changes as were made were in our favor, reducing hours slightly and small increases in wages. Death benefits, \$1,350; sick benefits, \$5,114. Donations to other unions, \$300.00.
- Travelers' Goods and Leather Novelty Workers.**—Charters issued, 2; surrendered, 1. Gain in membership, 175. Number of strikes, 5; won, 2; pending, 3. Number of persons involved, 428; benefited, 380; not benefited, 48. Wages advanced 10 per cent. Hours of labor reduced from 10 and 9½ to 9 per day. Reduction in hours and slight increases in wages secured in some localities without strike. Death benefits, \$125; sick benefits (locals), \$300. Donations to other unions, \$58. Cost of strikes, \$1,700. As a result of organization wages have been advanced from \$13.50 to \$15 per week, and in some localities still more.
- Tunnel and Subway Constructors.**—Charters issued, 1. Gain in membership, 140. Number of strikes compromised, 15. Wages advanced 25 cents per day. Hours of labor reduced from 10 to 8 per day. Death benefits, \$1,800; sick benefits, \$340; traveling benefits, \$1,200. Donations to other unions, \$300.
- Typographical Union (for fiscal year ending May 31, 1912).**—Charters issued, 16; surrendered, 23. Gain in membership, 3,518. Number of strikes, 12; won, 5; pending, 6; lost, 1. Number of persons involved, 161; benefited, 67; not benefited, 38; involved in pending strikes, 56. 101 local unions, under their new agreements, secured substantial increases in wages, and in addition to these gains 21 offices were unionized. Total yearly wages received by members \$53,378,902. Death benefits, \$74,698.85; old age pension, \$169,657.00. Donations to other unions, \$15,819.08. Expenditures from defense fund, \$69,330.79.
- Upholsterers.**—No report.
- Weavers, Elastic Goring.**—Death benefits, \$300. Donations to other unions, \$25.
- Weavers, Wire.**—Death benefits, \$200; sick benefits, \$614.
- White Rats Actors.**—Donations to other unions \$50.

**UNION LABELS.**

There are now 56 labels and 10 cards issued by the following organizations, which have been indorsed by the American Federation of Labor:

ORGANIZATIONS USING LABELS.

- |                                |                                |                              |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|------------------------------|
| American Federation of Labor.  | Glass Workers.                 | Papermakers.                 |
| Bakers and Confectioners.      | Glove Workers.                 | Photo-Engravers.             |
| Bill Posters and Billers.      | Grinders and Finishers, Pocket | Piano and Organ Workers.     |
| Boilermakers.                  | Knife Blade.                   | Plate Printers.              |
| Blacksmiths.                   | Hatters.                       | Powder Workers.              |
| Bookbinders.                   | Horseshoers.                   | Pressmen, Printing.          |
| Boot and Shoe Workers.         | Jewelry Workers.               | Print Cutters.               |
| Brewery Workmen.               | Lathers.                       | Sawsmiths.                   |
| Brickmakers.                   | Laundry Workers.               | Shingle Weavers.             |
| Broommakers.                   | Leather Workers.               | Slate Workers.               |
| Brushmakers.                   | Leather Workers on Horse       | Stove Mounters.              |
| Carpenters and Joiners, Broth- | Goods.                         | Tailors.                     |
| erhood.                        | Lithographers.                 | Textile Workers.             |
| Carriage and Wagon Workers.    | Machine Printers and Color     | Tip Printers.                |
| Carvers, Wood.                 | Mixers.                        | Tobacco Workers.             |
| Cigarmakers.                   | Machinists.                    | Travelers' Goods and Leather |
| Cloth Hat and Cap Makers.      | Marble Workers.                | Novelty Workers.             |
| Coopers.                       | Metal Polishers.               | Typographical.               |
| Garment Workers, United.       | Metal Workers, Sheet.          | Upholsterers.                |
| Garment Workers, Ladies.       | Molders.                       | Weavers, Wire.               |
|                                | Painters.                      |                              |

ORGANIZATIONS USING CARDS.

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

The following crafts and callings are using the American Federation of Labor label: Badge, Banner, Regalia, Button, Novelty and Lodge Paraphernalia Workers, Bottlers (Soda and Mineral Water), Coffee, Spice, and Baking Powder Workers, Nail (Horseshoe) Workers, Neckwear Cutters and Makers, Paper Box Makers, Suspendermakers, Garter, Arm Band, and Hose Supporter Makers, Flour and Cereal Mill Employes, Soapmakers, Turpentine Workers, Vacuum Bottle and Apparatus Glass Blowers, Clam Diggers, Tent, Awning and Canvas Workers, Cleaners and Dyers, Creamery Workers, Lead, Paint, and Varnish Makers and Mixers, Milk Manufacturing Employes, Shoe Polish and Dressing Workers.

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

**INTERNATIONAL UNIONS.** Revoked 1; Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners, membership 7,878. Surrendered 1; International Association of Car Workers, membership 7,500. Merged 1; Amalgamated Wood Workers' International Union, membership 2,919; joined United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners. Per capita tax refused after August 1, 1912; Steamfitters and Helpers, membership 6,500.

**CENTRAL BODIES.** Revoked, 2; disbanded, 24; suspended for non-payment of per capita tax, 98; charters restored, 2.

**LOCAL TRADE UNIONS.** Disbanded, 39; suspended, 116; joined international, 28; merged with other unions, 3; revoked, 3.

**FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS.** Disbanded, 20; suspended, 89; revoked, 1.

**VOTING STRENGTH OF FEDERATION, 1897 TO 1912.**

Year.	No. Votes.
1897.....	2,747
1898.....	2,881
1899.....	3,632
1900.....	5,737
1901.....	8,240
1902.....	10,705
1903.....	15,238
1904.....	17,363
1905.....	16,338
1906.....	15,621
1907.....	16,425
1908.....	16,892
1909.....	15,880
1910.....	16,737
1911.....	18,693
1912.....	18,499

**MEMBERSHIP.**

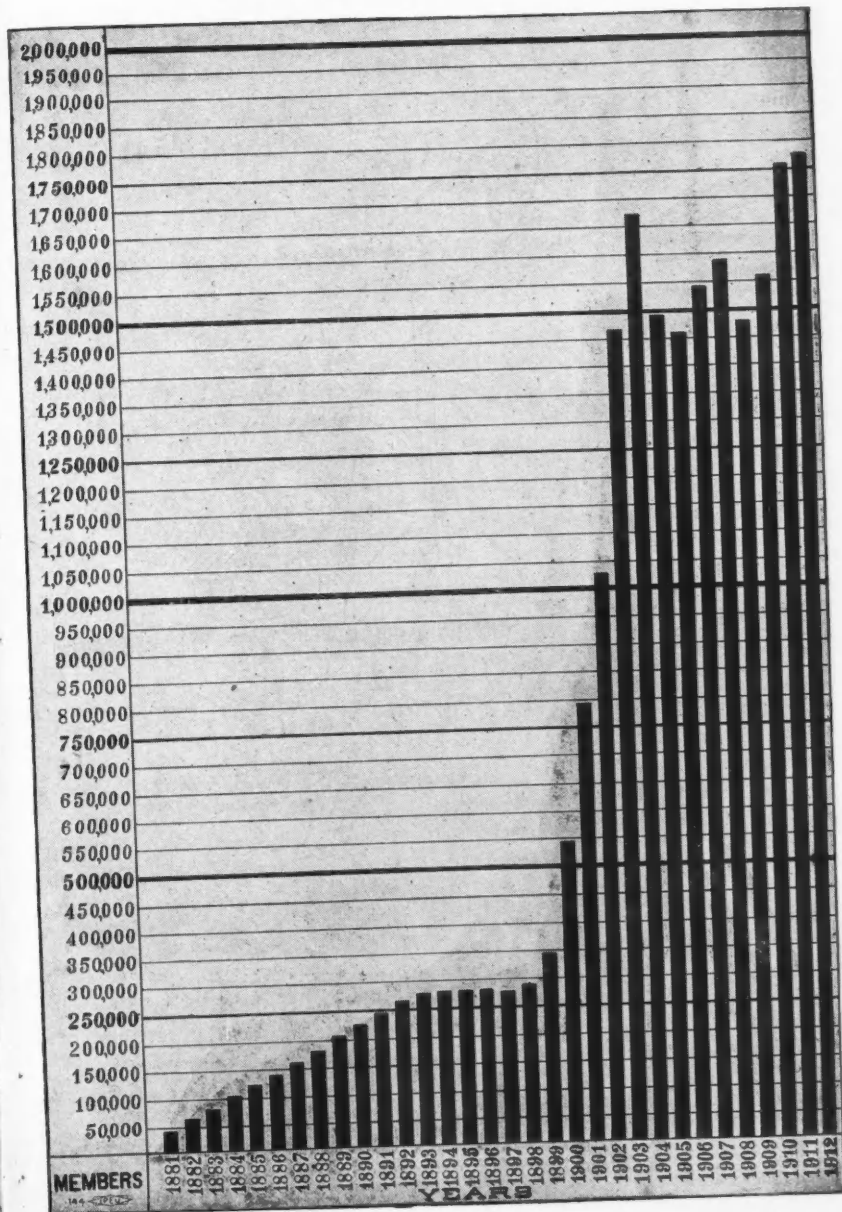
The average paid-up and reported membership for the year is 1,770,145, an increase of 8,310 members over last year. National and international organizations are required to pay only the per capita tax upon their full paid-up membership, and, therefore, the membership reported does not include the large numbers of members involved in strikes during the fiscal year, for whom tax was not paid, otherwise the average membership would have exceeded the 1,800,000 mark.

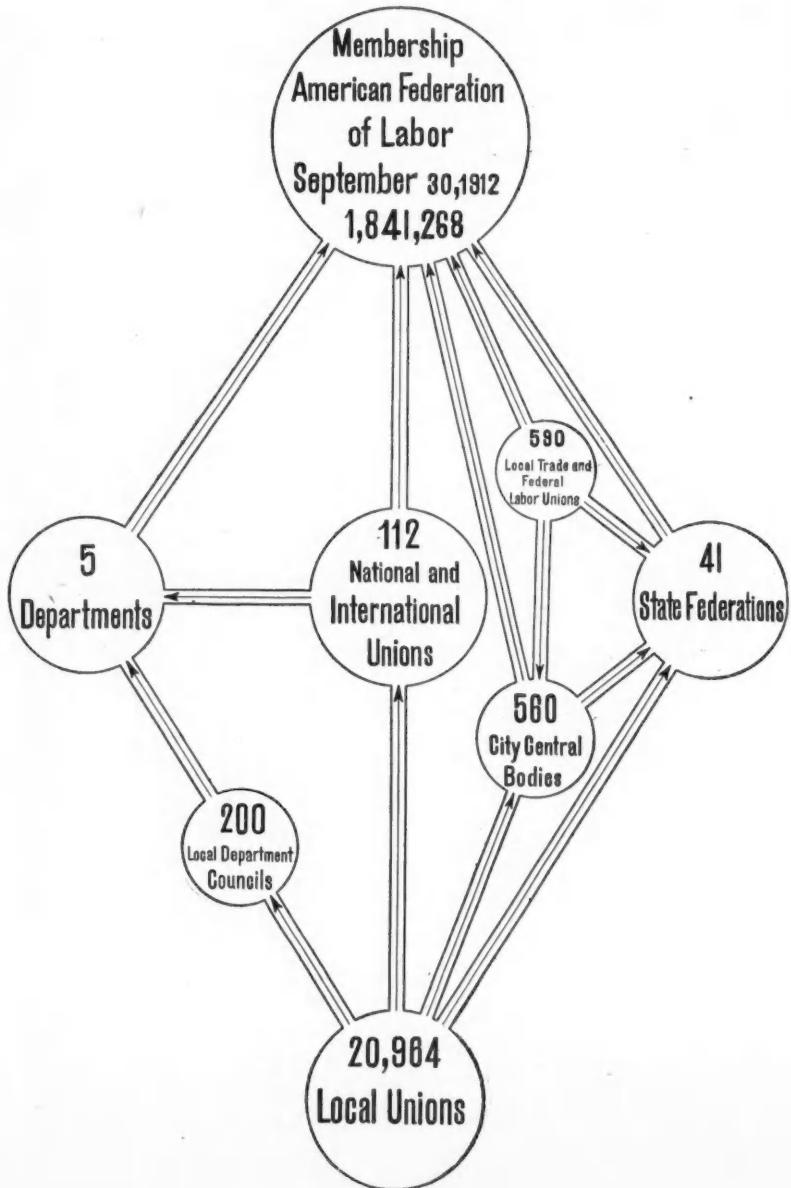
That the membership of affiliated organizations is steadily on the increase is indicated by the fact that the paid-up and reported membership of affiliated organizations for the month of September of this year is 1,841,268, an increase of 72,654 over the September membership of last year, and 79,433 over the average membership of last year.

The following is the average membership reported or paid upon for the past sixteen years:

Year.	Membership.
1897.....	264,825
1898.....	278,016
1899.....	349,422
1900.....	548,321
1901.....	787,537
1902.....	1,024,399
1903.....	1,465,800
1904.....	1,676,200
1905.....	1,494,300
1906.....	1,454,200
1907.....	1,538,970
1908.....	1,586,885
1909.....	1,482,872
1910.....	1,562,112
1911.....	1,781,835
1912.....	1,770,145

So that the delegates and membership at large can at a glance note the steady increase in membership of the American Federation of Labor, a chart will follow on the next page, indicating the membership for each year since 1881, up to and including 1912—thirty-two years. In addition, another chart has been prepared showing clearly the manner in which the American Federation of Labor is organized, commencing with the local unions of the international organizations as the source from which all funds are secured to carry on every activity in the labor movement. Local unions of the national and international organizations and the local unions affiliated direct with the American Federation of Labor, constitute the State and city central bodies, as well as department councils. The chart will show that there are 20,964 local unions in the 112 national and international unions and 590 local trade and federal labor unions directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, with a paid-up and reported membership of 1,841,268 for the month of September.







AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

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AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST.

The receipts on account of the *American Federationist* for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1912, are \$17,240.19, which is \$1,491.58 less than the expenses. Notwithstanding that fact, the receipts from the *American Federationist* for the past eight years has come within \$2,436.83 of paying expenses, or a little over \$300 per year.

The following is a statement of the receipts and expenses for the twelve months ending September 30, 1912:

RECEIPTS.	
Receipts.....	\$17,240 19
EXPENSES.	
Attorney fees.....	\$3 00
Commissions on advertising contracts.....	7,889 92
Contributions.....	52 00
Cuts.....	5 00
R. G. Dun & Company.....	75 00
Hauling.....	32 00
Postage Stamps.....	40 90
Postage pound rate.....	317 34
Printing <i>American Federationist</i> .....	8,310 87
Printing and supplies.....	42 00
Refunds.....	60
Salaries.....	1,963 14
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>\$18,731 77</b>
RECAPITULATION.	
Receipts.....	\$17,240 19
Expenses.....	18,731 77
Excess of expenses over receipts.....	\$1,491 58

The following are the receipts and expenses of the *American Federationist* since it was first issued:

YEAR.	Receipts.	Expenses.	Receipts Exceed Expenses.	Expenses Exceed Receipts.
1893-94.....	\$2,418 30	\$2,684 66		\$266 36
1894-95.....	3,184 21	2,675 98	\$508 23	
1895-96.....	1,917 61	2,100 08		182 47
1896-97.....	3,408 39	3,094 87	313 52	
1897-98.....	2,287 83	2,541 75		253 92
1898-99.....	3,171 00	4,033 19		862 19
1899-00.....	4,162 03	4,466 91		304 88
1900-01.....	10,498 22	10,900 54		402 32
1901-02.....	17,170 70	25,406 46		8,235 76
1902-03.....	27,718 43	42,883 68		15,165 25
1903-04.....	32,639 89	30,699 92	1,939 97	
1904-05.....	25,726 57	24,929 86	796 71	
1905-06.....	25,912 87	26,868 12		955 25
1906-07.....	25,310 56	23,560 70	1,749 86	
1907-08.....	20,722 41	20,649 84	72 57	
1908-09.....	20,148 73	22,703 57		2,554 84
1909-10.....	21,326 50	20,621 19	705 31	
1910-11.....	18,213 98	20,913 56		2,699 58
1911-12.....	17,240 19	18,731 77		1,491 58

HEADQUARTERS.

The following statement shows that during the twelve months ending September 30, 1912, there has been issued from headquarters an average of 1,597 letters, circular letters, and packages per day, as follows:

Packages of supplies forwarded by express and post.....	3,419
Packages of literature and miscellaneous supplies for organizers and others.....	236,993
Official and circular letters in two-cent envelopes.....	65,164
Circulars and circular letters in one-cent envelopes.....	183,036
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>488,612</b>

## REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

## ORGANIZING EXPENSES.

The following list of organizers, who were engaged in various States under salaries from the American Federation of Labor, shows that there has been expended for organizing work during the past twelve months \$71,060.95. Of this amount \$2,280.06 was paid to district or volunteer organizers, in sums ranging from \$5 to \$50, for organizing central bodies and local trade or federal labor unions, and adjusting strikes and grievances of local unions affiliated directly or indirectly with the American Federation of Labor:

NAME OF ORGANIZER.	STATE WHEREIN WORK WAS DONE.	Amount Received.
1. Cal. Wyatt.....	Ohio, Pennsylvania, Maine, Vermont, West Virginia, New York	\$3,558 19
2.*William Bork.....	New York, Pennsylvania, West Virginia	3,071 82
3. T. H. Flynn.....	Pennsylvania, New York, Ohio	3,045 88
4. Hugh Frayne.....	New York	3,045 02
5. E. T. Flood.....	Iowa, Illinois, New York	3,018 83
6. C. O. Young.....	Vancouver, B. C., Washington, Oregon	2,909 00
7. J. L. Lewis.....	Pennsylvania, Illinois, West Virginia, Ohio, Indiana, Louisiana, Georgia, New Mexico	2,857 70
8. W. E. Terry.....	Florida	2,691 70
9. H. L. Eichlberger.....	Pennsylvania, Maryland, Delaware	2,662 21
10. J. A. Flett.....	Ontario, Quebec, New York	2,600 01
11. H. T. Keating.....	New York	2,514 00
12. J. D. Pierce.....	Pennsylvania, Massachusetts	2,453 33
13. J. D. Chubbuck.....	Minnesota, North Dakota	2,340 08
14. F. H. McCarthy.....	Massachusetts	2,294 85
15. J. J. Fitzpatrick.....	Illinois, Mississippi, Missouri	2,293 90
16. P. F. Duffy.....	Rhode Island	2,104 65
17. C. E. Finnegan.....	Iowa	2,096 45
18.*Joseph Tyikoff.....	New Jersey, New York, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Rhode Island	1,992 40
19. J. J. Cunningham.....	Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut	1,835 45
20. S. A. Bramlette.....	Kansas, Missouri	1,805 92
21.*Santiago Iglesias.....	Porto Rico	1,714 50
22. C. A. Miles.....	Massachusetts, New York, Vermont, Virginia, New Jersey	1,607 69
23. J. J. Keegan.....	Indiana	1,587 86
24. Henry Streifler.....	New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Rhode Island	1,486 14
25. C. P. Taylor.....	Idaho, Washington, Oregon	1,184 55
26. Jacob Tazelaar.....	New York	1,128 81
27. Israel Solon.....	New York, Illinois	983 88
28. Joseph Sorensen.....	Washington, California, British Columbia	695 05
29.*A. J. Kwaterski.....	Pennsylvania	559 34
30. J. B. Dale.....	California	510 00
31. C. W. Woodman.....	Texas, Louisiana	488 30
32.*Placido Comunale.....	New York, New Jersey	426 50
33.*Joseph Minszewski.....	Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Hampshire	425 00
34. T. J. Reagan.....	Connecticut, Massachusetts, Rhode Island	420 00
35.*Pasquale DiNeri.....	New York, New Jersey	376 20
36. G. E. Neesham.....	Pennsylvania	376 05
37.*Guisepee Cardinale.....	New York, New Jersey	269 46
38. J. B. Lennon.....	Illinois, Ohio, Indiana, Wisconsin, Tennessee	256 80
39. L. A. Tanquary.....	New Mexico	226 40
40. A. E. Holder.....	Missouri, Illinois, Iowa, Pennsylvania, Ohio	224 04
41. R. P. Rubin.....	New Mexico	211 95
42. J. W. Kline.....	Illinois	209 38
43. George Heatherton.....	Vancouver, B. C.	209 00
44. M. Grant Hamilton.....	Colorado	194 65
45. D. F. Manning.....	Iowa	190 45
46. Jerome Jones.....	Georgia	169 81
47. B. F. Shearod.....	Texas	140 00
48. P. J. Flannery.....	Massachusetts	135 00
49. Stuart Reid.....	District of Columbia	127 20
50. Daniel Harris.....	New York	122 92
51. H. G. Kelly.....	Pennsylvania	118 10
52. M. M. Donoghue.....	Montana, Canada	105 10
53. J. A. Franklin.....	Kansas	85 32
54. H. T. Hillers.....	New Jersey	77 25
55. F. L. Rist.....	Ohio	78 00
56. Cornelius Ford.....	New Jersey	74 45
57. Fred Reilly.....	Pennsylvania	74 00
58. David Kreyling.....	Missouri, Illinois	63 75
59. Pasqual Jordan.....	Porto Rico	60 00
60. J. E. Galligan.....	Pennsylvania	53 50
61. J. A. Moffitt.....	New Jersey	52 10
62. E. N. Nockels.....	Illinois	50 00
63. F. A. Fitzgerald.....	Louisiana	50 00
	Paid to District Organizers in amounts less than \$50.....	2,280 06
	Total.....	\$71,060 95

\* Speak more than one language.

LOCAL TRADE AND FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS.

On September 30th of this year we had 590 local trade and federal labor unions with a membership of 27,945 in good standing, and a defense fund of \$85,663.27 to protect the members of these unions in case of strike or lockout, many strikes that would have cost the American Federation of Labor a large sum were averted during the past year through the assistance of organizers of the American Federation of Labor in adjusting the differences with employers and securing conditions desired by the unions.

DEFENSE FUND.

The following is an itemized statement of the amounts received from and paid to our Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions, giving average membership, number of weeks benefit, and the amount received by each organization during the fiscal year ending September 30, 1912

RECEIPTS.

Receipts from Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions for Defense Fund..... \$19,336 26

EXPENSES.

	Average membership.	Weeks.	Amount.
*Button Workers' Protective Union, No. 12854, Muscatine, Iowa.....	188+	32	\$24,132 00
Federal Labor Union, No. 10829, Chicago, Ill.....	68+	40	11,021 33
*Federal Labor Union, No. 9993, Centralia, Ill.....	44+	48	8,608 00
Federal Labor Union, No. 9626, Waterloo, Iowa.....	32+	43	6,252 00
*Machinists Helpers, No. 12345, Paducah, Ky.....	25+	45	4,576 00
Machinists Helpers and Laborers, No. 12952, Pocatello, Idaho.....	24+	30	2,948 00
Mechanics' Helpers, No. 12864, Sparks, Nev.....	14+	48	2,790 00
Machinists Helpers, No. 12561, Clinton, Ill.....	10+	46	1,952 00
*Machinists Helpers, No. 13042, Los Angeles, California.....	12+	35	1,760 00
Federal Labor Union, No. 9985, Uhrichsville, Ohio.....	37+	6	904 00
Suspenders Workers, No. 11294, Aurora, Ill.....	35+	5	708 00
Machinists' Helpers, No. 12764, Denver, Colorado.....	5+	30	688 00
Federal Labor Union, No. 14073, Monaca, Pa.....	16+	6	404 00
Tobacco Strippers, No. 12690, Utuado, P. R.....	14+	6	344 00
Fur Dressers, No. 13185, Brooklyn, N. Y.....	12	6	288 00
Tobacco Strippers, No. 10422, Denver, Colorado.....	8+	2	68 00
Agricultural Workers, No. 11827, Juncos, P. R.....	1	3	12 00
Total.....			\$67,455 33

Returned, receipted for, and redeposited in

Defense Fund.....	
Button Workers' Protective, No. 12854.....	\$2,410 00
Federal Labor Union, No. 9993.....	32 00
Machinists' Helpers, No. 13042.....	12 00
Machinists' Helpers, No. 12345.....	4 00
Ladies' Felt and Straw Hat Workers, No. 12815.....	4 00
Total.....	\$2,462 00

RECAPITULATION.

Balance on hand in Defense Fund, September 30, 1911.....	\$133,782 34
Received in Defense Fund (including the \$2,462 refunded by local unions enumerated above for benefits that were not distributed).....	19,336 26
Paid out of Defense Fund.....	\$153,118 60
	67,455 33
Balance in Defense Fund for Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions September 30, 1912.....	\$85,663 27

Strike benefits to the amount of \$67,455.33 were paid to the members of seventeen local unions who were qualified to receive them, under the requirements of the constitution of the American Federation of Labor. The periods for which these benefits were paid ranged from two weeks to forty-eight weeks. Five local unions refunded benefits to the amount of \$2,462. A regular official receipt was issued to each local for benefits so refunded and this total amount was redeposited and credited in the receipts for the defense fund. Deducting this refund of \$2,462 from the \$67,455.33, which was drawn from the defense fund to cover the strike rolls as they were received, reduces the actual expenditure from the defense fund to \$64,993.33. The total of \$67,455.33 is carried as expenses drawn from the defense fund, as this amount was actually drawn out, and to save confusing the accounts, when the refunds were made they were recorded and carried through our books as receipts and entered in this form to the credit of the fund.

## REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

The following table will show that since the time the fund was inaugurated in 1902 up to and including this fiscal year there has been received into the fund \$227,102.96 and paid out \$141,439.69.

	Receipts.	Expenses.	Balance on hand.
1902.....	\$20,423 00		\$20,423 00
1903.....	49,663 40	\$6,690 00	63,396 40
1904.....	33,722 55	15,972 00	81,146 95
1905.....	16,966 63	3,197 18	94,916 40
1906.....	15,556 02	13,643 40	96,829 02
1907.....	17,143 65	10,893 78	103,078 89
1908.....	14,327 20	12,124 00	105,282 09
1909.....	11,383 05	788 00	115,877 14
1910.....	12,570 45	6,484 00	121,963 59
1911.....	16,010 75	4,192 00	133,782 34
1912.....	19,336 26	67,455 33	85,663 27
	\$227,102 96	\$141,439 69	

## CONCLUSION.

In conclusion, I desire to express, through the delegates present, my appreciation of the splendid efforts put forth by the organizers, and the assistance and encouragement received from the officers of the international organizations, and from my colleagues of the Executive Council. Respectfully submitted.

*Frank Morrison*

Secretary, American Federation of Labor.

## TREASURER'S REPORT.

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

At the close of this, my twenty-third consecutive year as Treasurer of the Federation, I submit this report with my best wishes and kind regards to every officer, delegate, and member of the affiliated unions.

The fiscal year just ended, to me seems more full of justification for conviction in the minds of trade unionists that we are nearing the day when real industrial justice shall be realized by the toilers of our country. Evidences of the effective educational work of the Federation are to be seen and heard on every hand. The national political campaign just closed has been unprecedented in agitation for social and industrial reform, and human uplift. I have heard many candidates and speakers of the Democratic, Republican, Progressive, Socialist, and Prohibition parties, and the paramount themes of their talks were on social and industrial issues, so much so in many cases that I imagined that I must be at a trade union meeting, rather than a partisan political gathering. The themes were the improper use of injunctions in labor disputes, the eight-hour workday, seamen's measures, child labor, women labor, a living wage, human rights above property rights, etc., etc.

This agitation is the child of the trade union movement. We were the pioneers that blazed the trail that leads to industrial justice.

The agitation of these subjects on so great a scale, has awakened the interest of the masses of our citizens, and even though the politicians may be in many instances insincere, and without any real interest to bring about the reforms advocated, the people have been aroused and they will see to it that promises are fulfilled. I am personally confident that the near future will see much valuable fruit harvested as the result of the work done in past years by our trade union movement. We can not, however, afford to depend entirely, or even partly, on the promises we have heard so often repeated, but must continue to do our work ourselves, welcoming, however, the assistance of all who are willing to travel with us toward the goal of industrial justice. He who would be free himself must strike the blow.

You will note that the funds in the hands of the Treasurer are in round numbers \$70,000 less than they were one year ago. This decrease was principally caused by the strike of the Button

Workers, and our Machinists' Helpers on the Illinois Central and the Harriman lines. This large sum expended in benefits in two contests has clearly demonstrated the practicability of our defense fund, and therefore has been expended to good purpose. The unions receiving this benefit have not been destroyed, but, on the contrary, are ready to again defend themselves from injustice and wrong.

By direction of the Executive Council, I secured from the bank in which our money is deposited (at the bank's expense) a bond from the American Surety Company guaranteeing the safety of the deposit, thus adding security for the safety of our funds.

Below you will find my financial statement for the year:

INCOME.		EXPENSES.	
Received of Secretary Morrison:		Warrants paid:	
1911.		1911.	
October 31.....	\$14,481 32	October 31.....	\$16,686 20
November 30.....	11,269 27	November 30.....	20,419 48
December 31.....	16,884 31	December 31.....	20,922 91
1912.		1912.	
January 31.....	12,482 81	January 31.....	20,900 10
February 29.....	15,602 58	February 29.....	22,499 15
March 31.....	18,550 55	March 31.....	44,353 88
April 30.....	17,434 95	April 30.....	24,533 48
May 31.....	16,559 94	May 31.....	25,208 45
June 30.....	15,924 54	June 30.....	20,079 06
July 31.....	16,945 37	July 31.....	23,865 76
August 31.....	17,321 50	August 31.....	18,781 68
September 30.....	33,916 46	September 30.....	19,229 08
Total income for year.....	\$207,373 60	Total expenses for year.....	\$277,479 23
Add balance on hand Oct. 1, 1911.....	187,579 56		
Makes total funds.....	\$394,953 16		

RECAPITULATION.

Total funds (balance and income).....	\$394,953 16
Deduct total expenses (warrants paid).....	277,479 23
Balance in hands of Treasurer, October 1, 1912.....	\$117,473 93
Balance in hands of Secretary, October 1, 1912.....	2,000 00
Total funds September 30, 1912.....	\$119,473 93
Where deposited—Treasurer's balance:	
McLean County Bank, Bloomington, Ill., subject to check.....	\$17,473 93
McLean County Bank, Bloomington, Ill., interest bearing certificates.....	100,000 00
Total in hands of Treasurer.....	\$117,473 93
Interest collected and paid to Secretary Morrison during year.....	\$3,991 32
Amount of funds handled during twenty-three years I have been Treasurer.....	\$2,598,353 95

Trusting that my performance of the duties as Treasurer has been satisfactory, I remain,  
Fraternally yours,

JOHN B. LENNON,  
Treasurer, American Federation of Labor.

BLOOMINGTON, ILL., October 1, 1912.

## Second Day—Tuesday Morning Session

The convention was called to order at 9 a. m. Tuesday, November 12th, President Gompers in the chair.

**Absentees**—Noschang, Strelle, Genzenback, Tracy (T. F.), Barnes, Zuckerman, Russell, Ford, Hannahan, Dolan, Rickert, Larger, Dyche, Flore, Patberg, O'Neal, McSorley, Taggart, Bryan, Healey, O'Connor, Johnston, Price, Call, Leary, Crane, Walsh (Thos.), White, Hayes (F. J.), Holland, Young (Wm.), Weber, Winkler, Wilson (James) Hannah, Murphy, Nelson, Whitehead, Miller (J. F.), Mahon, Taber, Huddleston, Welch (M. E.), Starr, Williams (P. J.), Carolan, Donnelly, Behrens, Young (Edwin), Swick, Darling, Laurentz, Campbell, Glidden, Tracy (M. F.), Burke, Hicks, Kane, Mead, Doherty, Welch, Berry (H. C.), Ferguson, Pace, Morgan, Stokes, Morris (J. F.), O'Rourke, Lawler, McAndrews, Cunningham, Waldron, Beckman, Plasterer, Weiss, Labbee, Gold.

### Report of Committee on Rules and Order of Business.

Delegate Fischer (J.), Secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

#### Greetings:

We, your committee on rules and order of business, beg leave to submit the following report:

We recommend the adoption of the following rules for the government of the Convention:

**Rule 1**—The Convention shall be called to order at 9:30 a. m., and remain in session until 12:30. Convene at 2 p. m. and remain in session until 5:30 p. m., except on Saturday, on which day the session shall be from 9:30 a. m. to 12:30.

**Rule 2**—If a delegate, while speaking, be called to order, he shall, at the request of the chair, take his seat until the question of order is decided.

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

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

**Rule 5**—A delegate shall not speak more than twice upon a question until all who wish to speak shall have had an opportunity to do so.

**Rule 6**—A delegate shall not speak more than twice on the same question without permission from the Convention.

**Rule 7**—Speeches shall be limited to ten minutes, but the time of speaking may be extended by vote of the Convention.

**Rule 8**—A motion shall not be open for discussion until it has been seconded and stated from the chair.

**Rule 9**—At the request of five members, the mover of a motion shall be required to reduce it to writing.

**Rule 10**—When a question is pending before the Convention, no motion shall be in order, except to adjourn, to refer, for the previous question, to postpone indefinitely, to postpone for a certain time, to divide or amend, which motions shall have precedence in the order named.

**Rule 11**—Motions to lay on the table shall not be debatable, except as limited by Roberts' Rules of Order.

**Rule 12**—A motion to reconsider shall not be entertained unless made by a delegate who voted in the majority, and shall receive a majority vote.

**Rule 13**—That the reports of committees shall be subject to amendments and substitutes from the floor of the Convention, the same as other motions and resolutions.

**Rule 14**—Any delegate failing to present his card within 30 minutes after the convention is called to order shall be marked absent, but in the event of unavoidable absence he may so report to the Secretary and be marked present.

**Rule 15**—It shall require at least 30 members to move the previous question.

**Rule 16**—All resolutions shall bear the signature of the introducer and the title of the organization he represents and shall be submitted in duplicate.

**Rule 17**—No motion or resolution shall be voted upon until the mover or introducer has had a chance to speak, if he or she so desires.

**Rule 18**—No resolutions shall be received after Thursday's session, November 14th, without unanimous consent of the Convention.

**Rule 19**—When a roll-call vote has been taken, and all delegates or delegations present have had the opportunity to record their votes, the ballot shall be declared closed.

**Rule 20**—When a roll-call ballot has been ordered, no adjournment shall take place until the result has been announced.

**Rule 21**—Roberts' Rules shall be the guide on all matters not herein provided.

**Rule 22**—The main body of the hall shall be reserved for delegates.

### Order of Business.

1—Reading Minutes of previous session, which will be dispensed with unless called for.

- 3—Report of Committee on Credentials.
- 3—Report of Officers.
- 4—Report of Regular Committees.
- 5—Report of Special Committees.
- 6—Unfinished Business.
- 7—New Business.
- 8—Election of Officers.
- 9—Selection of next meeting place.
- 10—Good of the Federation.
- 11—Adjournment.

Respectfully submitted,

T. A. RICKERT,  
Chairman.  
JACOB FISCHER,  
Secretary.

W. J. PFLEGER,  
JOHN SULLIVAN,  
E. T. WALLS,  
C. F. BAILEY,  
C. C. SHAY,  
M. M. DONOGHUE,  
J. T. CAREY,  
D. G. BIGGS,  
M. M. GREEN,  
M. F. TRACY,  
H. P. CORCORAN,  
T. J. CAROLAN,  
H. M. DONNELLY.

Delegate Fischer moved the adoption of the report. (Seconded.)

Delegate Furuseth—I move to amend by inserting after the word "delegates," "and ex-delegates," in the rule that provides that the floor of the convention be occupied by nobody but delegates. (Seconded by Delegate Sullivan, J. L.)

President Gompers stated that if the amendment were adopted the rule as amended would probably be repeated in future conventions, and the time might come when the ex-delegates would occupy the main floor and the regular delegates would be on the outskirts. He stated further that no rule would be so rigidly enforced by him as to refuse an honored ex-delegate a seat on the main floor.

The amendment was withdrawn and the motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

President Gompers announced that the report of the Executive Council would be read by First Vice-President Duncan, and called attention to the comprehensiveness and importance of the report. He stated that he would bespeak undivided attention for the report, as it dealt with matters of interest to every delegate and affecting nearly every affiliated organization.

First Vice-President Duncan, for the Executive Council, read the attached report:

The report not being completed at 12:30 reading was suspended until 2 p. m.

President Gompers announced that ten minutes would be given to introduce resolutions, and the following resolutions were presented and referred to the proper committees:

Resolution No. 1—By Delegate Wm. D. Huber, Frank Duffy, Fred Wheeler, A. M. Swartz, Dan Featherston, William J. Kelly, W. E. Hemsell, of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America:

At the Seventeenth Biennial Convention of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, held in Washington, D. C., from September 16th to 28th, 1912, the Special Committee on Injunctions submitted the following report, which was concurred in by the convention:

"We, your special committee appointed by this convention to consider the court injunction in labor matters, and in special regard to the resolution from the New York State Council of the United Brotherhood, report as follows:

"That the reckless and unwarranted use of court injunctions has resolved itself into mere judicial anarchy. The frightful usurpation of unwarranted power has caused hundreds of thousands of the workers and toilers of our land to be lead like sheep to the shambles. Of the hundreds of injunctions issued scarce one has been issued for the protection of the lives or fortunes of the laborer, but on the contrary, they have been issued upon the slightest pretext to harass and annoy those who are engaged in a desperate struggle for existence. We agree with Thomas Jefferson, who with prophetic vision said: 'I regard the courts as a subtle corps of sappers and miners, who if left unrestrained, taking a little here and gaining a little there, will eventually undermine the liberties of the American people.'

"We believe the time has long passed when we, as representatives of the working class of America, should arouse the people to these facts, and do here and now protest against our judiciary taking unto itself such powers as were never contemplated by the founders of this republic and which if allowed to continue will result in a judicial oligarchy that would shame a Russian Czar.

"Solemnly believing this to be true, we submit to this convention this declaration; therefore, be it

"RESOLVED, that this Seventeenth General Convention of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America do declare as being in favor of the right of recall of judges and judicial decisions and that we use every lawful means at our command to secure its adoption; and, be it further

"RESOLVED, that a copy of this resolution be sent to the American Bar Association and to the Bar Association of New York State, and that our delegates to the

A. F. of L. Convention at Rochester be instructed to present a copy of the same to that convention and to work for its passage."

Referred to committee on President's Report.

Resolution No. 2.—By Flour and Cereal Mill Employees Union No. 14,039 of Lethbridge, Alta.:

WHEREAS, The paper sticker issued by the American Federation of Labor to locals of the flour and cereal mill workers does not fulfil the object in view; and

WHEREAS, The said sticker is expensive in that it entails upon the local unions the cost of labels and the labor of affixing the same to the bags; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor be asked to issue cuts of the label, and the label be printed upon the sacks when the same are made; and that, in the event of any firm or company not living up to an agreement, the local union shall have the right to cancel the label by a cancellation stamp placed over the original label on the sack to show purchasers that the product is unfair; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the object to be attained is that the union shall remain in control of the label without being at unnecessary expense, but shall take direct action when the contract appears to be broken.

Referred to Committee on Labels.

Resolution No. 3.—By Central Labor Union of Elkhart, Ind.:

WHEREAS, There are a number of locals not affiliated with central bodies but affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, We believe that all locals affiliated with the American Federation of Labor should be affiliated with central bodies; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in session at Rochester, N. Y., change Article XI, Sec. 2, by striking out the word "shall" and inserting the word "must."

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 4.—By Delegate C. F. Bailey, of the Laundry Workers' International Union:

WHEREAS, The laundry workers of the country are still poorly organized notwithstanding the efforts of our organization and of many of the organizers of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, the Laundry Workers International Union, is composed of only 47 locals, 15 of which are in the states of Montana and California, thus showing an extremely large field for organization; and

WHEREAS, On account of the small number of members our funds for organization purposes are necessarily limited; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be authorized and instructed by this convention to issue a special letter to organizers

under their jurisdiction to give particular attention to the organizing of the workers of this craft.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 5.—By Theatrical Tailors and Dressers Union No. 12,719:

WHEREAS, Theatrical companies are playing on the road in different cities of the United States of America and Canada in which members of local 12,719 are employed; and

WHEREAS, In all theaters in these cities in which Hebrew companies are playing men are employed on the stage as stage hands, electricians, etc., who are members of the Theatrical Stage Employees International Alliance; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor request the Theatrical Stage Employees International Alliance to demand that every Hebrew company playing in the cities of the United States and Canada have a costume dresser who is a member in good standing of the Theatrical Tailors and Dressers Union No. 12,719.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 6.—By Amalgamated Leather Workers' Union of America:

WHEREAS, The labor employed in the production of leather in the United States aggregates, approximately, 80,000 persons; and

WHEREAS, The Amalgamated Leather Workers Union of America, under whose jurisdiction this class of labor comes, is not at present in a condition financially to prosecute a campaign of organization; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the president of the American Federation of Labor be empowered to appoint an organizer who shall specially devote at least six months to organizing that class of labor, and that the expense of said organizer be defrayed by the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 7.—By Delegate J. H. Collins, of Brocton (Mass.) Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, The President of the United States has submitted to the meeting of the Governors of the states to be held in December a proposition for the creation of additional banks for the benefit of the farmers as wealth producers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled endorses the proposition with the following conditions:

First, that if any system for more adequate money and banking facilities is to be created it should include provisions whereby the wage workers of the nation also may obtain credit at cost. The only source now available is a monopoly enforcing its excessive high prices for the use of the private credit by the power of the defects of our present financial system—wealth producers are thus forced to become and remain renters of farms and homes when they should own them.



Second, that the credit used by any banks established for the benefit of the common people should be the credit of all the people coined into legal tender and circulating as a medium of exchange for the wealth production of the country, thus replacing the vicious system that uses the credit of all the people as an endorser of the private credit of a few of the people, who under the special privileges now given to them circulate their credit as bank credit, enabling these few people to draw interest on what they owe and thus continue to concentrate, as the system already has concentrated the wealth of the country in the hands of the few. We declare that this financial system which uses an evidence of its debt as the tool of exchange for labor's products, this system that is drawing interest on what it owes, has been denounced in all conventions of labor men which have preceded this convention, and that their prophecies that it would develop the economic and social ills that now afflict the country have been fulfilled.

Resolved, That we reiterate labor's long continued demand for a reform in banking and currency that will stop the abuses that yield monopolistic profits to large institutions and combinations, which profits are taken from the annual wealth production of the country, without rendering an adequate equivalent, thus creating a useless burden that is a prolific source of disease, poverty and crime.

We declare that the voice of the representatives of organized labor is as much entitled to be heard on this problem as that of representative bankers, or representative business men, for in the end all fixed charges, all annual costs of national housekeeping must be paid out of the annual wealth production of the nation's wealth producers, thereby lessening the returns to labor if these annual costs are excessive or unnecessary. When selfish interest is given any special privilege to encroach upon the natural rights of the individual its greed will know no limit. Labor declares that the natural rights of every individual include christian living wages and conditions that will bring universal peace and prosperity. No system has any moral right and therefore it should have no legal right to call upon labor to surrender any of its product unless the system renders in return a full equivalent.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.  
Resolution No. 8—By Delegate H. L. Vanderveld, of the New Jersey State Federation of Labor:

Whereas, But a very small percentage of the jewelry workers of Newark, N. J., are members of the local of their craft in that city; and

Whereas, the Executive Board of the New Jersey State Federation of Labor, after a careful investigation into the conditions of the jewelry workers of Newark, N. J., from a union standpoint, have come to the conclusion that an organizer of the American Federation of Labor should be placed in that city; therefore, be it

Resolved, That this convention authorize the placing of an organizer in Newark, N. J., to assist in unionizing the jewelry workers of that city.

Referred to Committee on Organization.  
Resolution No. 9—By Hair Spinners Union, No. 12353:

WHEREAS, We, Hair Spinners Protective Union 12353, A. F. of L., do consider the strike benefits paid by the American Federation of Labor too small compared with the high cost of living, high prices for wearing apparel and so on, and we think we can get better results in case of trouble if a higher benefit is paid, for we find when the money runs down some of the persons on strike or lockout become indifferent to their obligations and duty; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That Section 5 of Article XIII of the constitution of the American Federation of Labor be amended by striking out four (\$4.00) dollars per week for each member and inserting six (\$6.00) dollars per week for each member.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 10—By Delegate Edw. E. Shilling of the Travelers' Goods and Leather Novelty Workers International Union:

WHEREAS, A large number of trades and crafts affiliated with the American Federation of Labor have a union label of their own, its use being that of affording a mark of distinction to the purchaser to be used as a guide to the purchasing of union made products; and

WHEREAS, It becomes the duty of each and every union man to use his purchasing power to advance the interests of fair products by purchasing only such products as bear the union label; and

WHEREAS, The Travelers' Goods and Leather Novelty Workers International Union has a paper label for trunks and a stamp label for leather goods, which it advertises as a mark of distinction between the union and non-union trunks, bags, suit-cases and leather novelties; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates representing the international, state, central and federated unions, in convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Rochester, November, 1912, will use our utmost endeavor in creating a greater demand for the goods, bearing the label of the Travelers' Goods and Leather Novelty Workers International Union; be it further

RESOLVED, That we earnestly request the members of our respective local unions to observe carefully when making purchases of trunks, bags, suit-cases, pocketbooks, belts or other leather novelties, that the purchases made have the union label of the Travelers' Goods and Leather Novelty Workers International Union, as none are genuine union made unless the label is there to be seen.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts.

**Resolution No. 11—By Delegate Edw. E. Shilling of the Travelers' Goods and Leather Novelty Workers International Union:**

WHEREAS, Comparatively a small per cent of the workers of our craft are organized in the United States and Canada, and the larger portion of them have to work long hours and under bad conditions for the lack of being organized; and

WHEREAS, This vast number of leather workers is by far the largest contingent of unorganized labor embraced in a single class now in existence; and

WHEREAS, The Travelers' Goods and Leather Novelty Workers International Union has organized a certain per cent of this class and increased their wages and shortened their hours to nine hours per day through such organization; and

WHEREAS, The Travelers' Goods and Leather Novelty Workers International Union had to withdraw their International President from the pay roll on account of no funds being in the treasury, and as the General President has been acting as the organizer for our craft, and without an organizer being in the field the Travelers' Goods and Leather Novelty Workers Union will soon be on the decline; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be authorized by this convention to give to our organization assistance in the way of appointing a special organizer for a certain period of time or by giving financial aid for that period.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

**Resolution No. 12—By Delegate Emmet T. Walls of the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor:**

RESOLVED, That we favor embodying the initiative and referendum in the Federal Constitution; we favor a small tax on land values to replace some of the more burdensome tariff taxes on the necessities of life; we urge that the government loan the deposits coming into the Postal Savings Banks to individuals in small sums, in the communities where the deposits are made, preferably to working people seeking to acquire homes; and we request our delegate to the American Federation of Labor to introduce and support resolutions on these subjects at the annual national convention.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**Resolution No. 13—By Delegate George L. Berry, of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union:**

RESOLVED, By the Thirty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that the Executive Council of this Federation be instructed to arrange conferences between the representatives of the various International

Unions where there is more than one international membership employed in any given industry, and that every effort by the Executive Council be extended to bring about a federation of such unions to the end that joint action may be assured in all disputes between organized labor and the employing classes.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

**Resolution No. 14—By Delegation of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America:**

WHEREAS, In the lock-out instituted against the members of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union by William Randolph Hearst, in the City of Chicago, and joined later by all members of the Publishers' Association of that City; and,

WHEREAS, It became necessary for the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union to bear the expense of financing the controversy for other organizations that joined in sympathy; and

WHEREAS, The Executive Board of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union requested financial assistance from the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and an endorsement of their position, and same having been given through the authorization of the issuance of an appeal to organized labor and its sympathizers for financial assistance; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this resolution of thanks submitted by the representatives of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union to organized labor and its sympathizers throughout the North American continent, be adopted.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

**Resolution No. 15—By M. M. Donoghue, Resident Montana State Federation of Labor:**

WHEREAS, In the western portion of the state of Montana, there are many thousands of men employed in the lumber industry; and,

WHEREAS, These men were formerly organized under various heads and forms; and,

WHEREAS, They now are thoroughly disorganized, there not being a local union of any kind, connected with this industry in the state of Montana; and,

WHEREAS, We believe that the time is now opportune for the organization of the employes engaged in this industry, under the banner of the A. F. of L.; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. fully consider and grant the request of the Montana State Federation of Labor, and its affiliated locals, that an organizer be specially sent into this district, said organizer to be un-

der the direction of the President of The Montana State Federation of Labor and under salary from the A. F. of L. for a period of not less than four months in each year, not exceeding two years.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

**Resolution No. 16—By Delegate Milton Snellings of the Washington (D. C.) Central Labor Union:**

WHEREAS, The people of the District of Columbia have been deprived of the right of local self-government, and a form of government under which an immense majority have neither voice nor influence has been forced upon them by Congress without their consent; and,

WHEREAS, The present form of government in the capital of the republic—the political heart of the nation—is contrary to the fundamental principles of American liberty, to establish which our revolutionary forefathers pledged their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor; and,

WHEREAS, The ballot is the workers' most effective weapon, deprived of which they are powerless to redress many of their grievances or to prevent the few from despoiling the many; and,

WHEREAS, The Central Labor Union of Washington, D. C. has repeatedly petitioned the Congress of the United States for the restoration of a republican form of government in the national capital, and has presented a plan for such a form of government; and,

WHEREAS, The people in no other city in this country are deprived of the right and opportunity to express their views and register their will through the ballot box; and,

WHEREAS, Opportunity having been afforded the people of the Federal District on the recent general election day, to express themselves by a "straw ballot," nearly ninety-three per cent of those availing themselves of this opportunity thereby declared that "The people of the District of Columbia should be allowed to vote"; therefore be it,

**RESOLVED,** That it is the sense of the American Federation of Labor that, while maintaining Federal control of Federal affairs, the Congress should at once re-establish in the District of Columbia a government of the people, by the people and for the people;

**RESOLVED,** That organized labor throughout the United States, and especially in the District of Columbia, should exert itself to the utmost to promote the enactment of such legislation; and be it further

**RESOLVED,** That the Executive Council is hereby directed to lend such aid as they may deem wise and helpful to secure for the citizens of Washington such a change in the form of government.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**Resolution No. 17—By Delegates Kline, Kramer and Glover, of the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths:**

WHEREAS, The St. Louis Convention of the American Federation of Labor acting upon the report of the committee on Adjustment in reference to Resolution 22-81 and which subject matter was referred to the Executive Council and the said Executive Council directed President Gompers and Secretary Morrison to act for them in the matter; and,

WHEREAS, The deputized officers of the Executive Council succeeded in bringing the International officers of the several organizations mentioned in the resolutions together; and,

WHEREAS, The result of this meeting was, that an agreement between all parties concerned was signed on the 19th day of April, 1911, for the purpose of organizing the carriage, wagon and automobile industry, according to the several clauses specified in said agreement; and,

WHEREAS, The agreement entered into has been willfully and grossly violated by the Carriage and Wagon Workers International Union and are guilty of disrupting Unions formerly existing under a charter issued by the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and Helpers; and,

WHEREAS, The Carriage and Wagon Workers International Union has repeatedly issued "shop cards" to firms whose plants were not unionized or connected with the Carriage and Wagon Workers Union except probably by one branch of the wagon and automobile industry, namely the woodworker or painter, thus permitting the blacksmith and blacksmith helper to remain at work and outside of any legitimate labor union; and,

WHEREAS, The Carriage and Wagon Workers International Union have taken persons into their ranks for less than one-third the amount specified in Rule 4 of the agreement; and,

WHEREAS, The Carriage and Wagon Workers International Union are not using their best efforts in trying to organize the carriage, wagon and automobile industry, but try to get members already in our organization; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** That we, the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and Helpers, protest against the methods adopted by the Carriage and Wagon Workers, which is in direct violation of the agreement entered into; and, be it further

**RESOLVED,** That we, the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and Helpers, cease to recognize the further existence of said agreement entered into with the Carriage and Wagon Workers International Union, April 19th, 1911, and purpose to organize the carriage, wagon and automobile industry regardless, but will deal justly with organizations who recognize the value of an agreement and respect jurisdictional lines.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 18—By W. J. Kelly, U. B. of C. and J. of A.:

WHEREAS, The City Firemen's Protective Association of the City of Pittsburgh has been actively engaged in organizing the city firemen, that they may be better enabled to demand better conditions, a more humane mode of living, and that they got the proper recognition for the services they render to their fellow men; and

WHEREAS, We believe that the American Federation of Labor can, by the use of its good offices in this movement, be the means of bettering the conditions of firemen throughout the whole of the United States and thereby disenfranchise thousands of families from the present unnatural mode of living, and give these families an opportunity now denied, of becoming acquainted with their husbands and fathers; and,

WHEREAS, The firemen of the City of Pittsburgh have been organized since 1903 and affiliated with this A. F. of L. and thereby have been enabled (in the face of strenuous opposition on the part of their superiors in the fire department) to better their conditions wonderfully in the past nine years; and

WHEREAS, The fight to organize the city firemen has been and still is an uphill fight and while we have not organized all the members of the Pittsburgh department, but are slowly and steadily winning them to seeing the value of organization because they cannot shut their eyes to the fact that we are from time to time achieving something to better their conditions; and

WHEREAS, The firemen of the City of Pittsburgh lay dormant for twenty years until the rank and file of the department awoke to the fact that there should be something more than serfdom for their lot in life, even though they were servants of the public, therefore, some of the most aggressive and progressive jumped into the fray at the time of an upheaval in this city's politics, and at a, I may say, dangerous time and organized and since have attained more real, good, permanent results than were ever dreamed of by the oldest members of the department; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers and organizers of the A. F. of L. be instructed and that they are hereby instructed to take up the question of organizing the fire departments throughout the United States, and lend every assistance towards obtaining better conditions of employment than these firemen have at the present time; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers and organizers be instructed also to submit a report of their progress along these lines to the next annual convention of the A. F. of L.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 19—By Delegate J. R. Crozier:

WHEREAS, The Carriage, Wagon and Automobile Workers' International Union are making a determined effort to organize this industry throughout the country;

WHEREAS, The finances of this organization will not permit them to put organizers in the field where most needed; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor appoint a special organizer to assist this craft in their struggle against great odds.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 20—By Delegate Henry Prinz:

WHEREAS, The trade union movement is on record for bettering and uplifting the conditions of women wage workers; and

WHEREAS, A great majority of the women wage earners of the state of New York receive far less than living wages; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention place itself on record for a statute establishing a minimum wage for women and that the Legislative Committee be instructed to draft a minimum wage bill and have same introduced in the 1913 session of the Legislature.

Our committee reported that the subject matter be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, for such consideration as they deem best on this subject.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 21—By Delegate John Sinclair, Fish Splitters and Handlers Union No. 14,270:

WHEREAS, The spirit of unionism requires stimulation in Gloucester and vicinity; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates in convention assembled take such action as will result in sending a member of the Executive Council to the City of Gloucester, Mass., sometime during the months of March or April of 1913, to strengthen and stimulate unionism.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 22—By John Hanley, Upholsters' International Union of North America:

WHEREAS, The Carpet Mechanics' Union of San Francisco, Cal., is affiliated with the Building Trades Council of San Francisco, Cal.; and

WHEREAS, The Carpet Mechanics' Union referred to is a dual union and not affiliated with the Upholsters' International Union of North America, whose jurisdiction covers the carpet layers, cutters, measurers and estimators; and

WHEREAS, Resolutions have been introduced at several conventions of the A. F. of L. by the representative of the Upholsterers' International Union of North America requesting that the Carpet Mechanics of San Francisco affiliate with the Upholsterers' International Union of North America or to be denied affiliation with central bodies affiliated with the A. F. of L.; and

WHEREAS, No action has been taken by the Building Trades Council of San Francisco indicating the compliance with the action requested by the Convention of the A. F. of L. in the case of the union referred to; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to appoint a representative who shall, in conjunction with the repre-

sentative of the Upholsterers' International Union, confer with the Carpet Mechanics of San Francisco, Cal., for the purpose of inducing them to affiliate with the Upholsterers' International Union; and, be it further

RESOLVED, Should the Carpet Mechanics of San Francisco fail to apply for a charter to the Upholsterers' International Union before February 1, 1913, the officers of the American Federation of Labor shall instruct one of their organizers to organize a union of Carpet Mechanics of San Francisco, under the jurisdiction of the Upholsterers' International Union of North America.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

At 12:45 the convention was adjourned, to be reconvened at 2 p. m.

## Second Day—Tuesday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2 p. m., Tuesday, November 12th, President Gompers in the chair.

**Absentees**—Gengenback, Barnes, Fitzgerald (W. H.), Zuckerman, McNulty, Yount, Ford, Feeney, Rickert, Largent, Daley (Margaret), Dyche, Pattberg, Taggart, Bryan, Healey (Dennis), Price, Leary, Crane, Holland, Curran, Weber, Winkler, Rodriguez, Hannah, Murphy, Whitehead, Halpine, Miller (J. F.), Gallagher (T. J.), Paquin, Huddleston, Welch, Tobin, Starr, Young (Wm.), Swick, Brockhausen, Darling, Fitzgerald, Laurentz, Campbell, Sause, Glidden, Landers, Burke, Hicks, Kane, Ferguson, Drackert, Pace, Morgan, Stokes, Simpson, Bates, Cunningham, O'Rourke, Bohm, Waldron, Beckman, Plasterer.

Vice-President Duncan continued reading the report of the Executive Council until it was completed. (See Executive Council's report. Pages 104-179.)

President Gompers—The report of the Executive Council will be printed with today's proceedings and distributed to-morrow morning, at which time reference will be made of the various subjects to the appropriate committees. The Secretary will now read the reference of the various matters in the President's report.

Secretary Morrison read the following list of references:

References of sections of the President's report:

That section under the caption "Citizenship for Porto Ricans" referred to Committee on Resolutions.

That section under the caption "Union Label Trades Department" referred to Committee on Labels.

That section under the caption "Carl Legien's Visit" referred to Committee on President's Report.

Those sections under the captions "Labor Forward Movement," "Organizing Steel Workers," "Migratory Workers" referred to Committee on Organization.

That section under the caption "Arbitration, Mediation and Conciliation (The Erdman Act—Extension of)" referred to Committee on President's Report.

That section under the caption "Labor Day and Labor Sunday" referred to the Committee on Education.

Those sections under the captions "American Federation of Labor Political Campaign—Its Result," "Extension of Eight Hour Law," "The New Eight Hour Law," "Construction by the Government," "Injunction Limitation Bill," "Jury Trial in Contempt Cases," "Seamen's Rights," "Immigration and Chinese Exclusion," "Child Labor and Children's Bureau," "Initiative, Referendum and Recall," "Limit Judges' Tenure," "Popular Election of United States Senators," "Citizenship Rights Restored," "Second Class Postal Rates," "Contract Convict Labor System," "Boiler Inspection," "Scientific Management," "Employers' Liability and Workmen's Compensation," "Old Age Pensions," "Occupational Diseases," "Anti-Watered Stock Gambling" referred to Committee on President's Report.

That section under the caption "Wider Use of the Schools" referred to the Committee on Education.

That section under the caption "American Federation of Labor Exhibit at San Francisco, 1915" referred to the Committee on Labels.

That section under the caption "Organizers" referred to the Committee on Organization.

Those sections under the captions "Labor Press," "American Federationist" referred to the Committee on Education.

Delegate Gallagher (A. J.)—I may be out of order at this time, but the Executive Council in its report mentions the revocation of the charter of the Alameda County body and makes reference to committees of dual organizations on the Pa-

cific Coast. The decision of the Executive Council will be appealed from. I now rise to ask that the proof your Executive Council has brought here, if it is not here now. It will be called for, I believe, when the discussion comes on the appeal that will be made.

**Supplemental Report of Committee on Credentials.**

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

During the day some credentials have been presented that the committee has not had time to act on. They will be taken up later and another report made. Following is the partial report we now desire to submit:

Rochester, N. Y., Nov. 12, 1912.

To the Officers and Members of the Thirty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Your Committee on Credentials desires to make a further partial report:

We recommend the seating of John H. Malin, representing the International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers, with 35 votes.

On the request of the United Association of Plumbers, Gas and Steam Fitters, we recommend that E. W. Leonard be seated as delegate from the United Association in the place of James Malley.

On the request of the Order of Railroad Telegraphers, we recommend the seating of W. T. Brown as delegate from the Railroad Telegraphers, in the place of C. A. Mulhall.

On the matter of the protest filed by the International Association of Machinists against the seating of the delegates from the American Flint Glass Workers Union, your committee gave both parties in interest a hearing, and after listening to the arguments presented, have decided that under Section 6, Article 4 of the constitution of the A. F. of L., they could not be seated. Said article provides as follows:

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

Owing to the fact that the charter to the American Flint Glass Workers Union was granted on October 21, 1912, the organization has not been affiliated one month, and your committee recommends that they be not seated.

Credentials have been presented to the committee from John Mangan and J. T. Kinsella, representing the International Association of Steam and Hot Water Fitters and Helpers of America. The

seats of the above named delegates have been contested by John R. Alpine, President of the United Association of Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters and Steam Fitters Helpers. Your committee gave both sides a full hearing. President Alpine, in presenting his protest, cited the action of the Atlanta Convention, which instructed the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. to bring about an amalgamation of the two organizations, and the subsequent action of the Executive Council on this matter. The representatives of the International Association of Steam, Hot Water and Power Pipe Fitters claimed that Section 12, Article 9 of the Constitution of the A. F. of L., which provides as follows, had not been complied with:

Sec. 12. The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall only have power to revoke the charters of an affiliated national or international union when the revocation has been ordered by a two-thirds majority of a regular Convention of the American Federation of Labor by a roll call vote.

The representatives of the International Association of Steam and Hot Water Fitters also claimed that they had not been notified to turn in their charter. Both sides presented able arguments before the committee. On account of the complications in connection with this matter, and believing that the matter will in all probability be discussed on the floor of the convention, no matter what action the committee should take, we refer the matter of seating John Mangan and Thomas Kinsella as delegates from the International Association of Steam and Hot Water Fitters and Helpers, to the convention, without recommendation, with the hope that this long drawn out controversy will be settled in this Convention for all time.

In the case of the protest of the United Association of Plumbers, Gas and Steam Fitters against the seating of Edward H. Mead, representing the Hudson County, N. J., Central Labor Union, your committee is of the opinion that the action of the convention on the protest entered against the credentials of the International Association of Steam and Hot Water Fitters and Helpers by the United Association of Plumbers, Gas and Steam Fitters, will decide the case of the representative of the Hudson County, N. J., Central Labor Union, he being a member of the International Association of Steam and Hot Water Fitters, for which reason the protest was entered, and your committee recommends that whatever decision applies in the case of the credentials presented by the International Association of Steam and Hot Water Fitters and Helpers, shall apply in the case of Edward H. Mead, representing the Hudson County Central Labor Union.

Respectfully submitted,

EDW. J. MARX, Chairman.  
W. A. NEER,  
DUNCAN McDONALD, Secretary.

Delegate Bonner (W. J.)—I move you that the report of the committee be received and the delegates seated. (Seconded.)

Treasurer Lennor—I offer as a substitute for the motion that the report of the committee, so far as no contests appear, be approved and the remainder be taken up seriatim. (Seconded.)

The substitute was accepted by the mover of the original motion, and was carried by a unanimous vote.

Delegate McDonald, Secretary of the Committee, read the report on the protest of the International Association of Machinists against the seating of the delegates of the American Flint Glass Workers' Union.

Delegate Van Lear moved concurrence in the report of the committee. (Seconded.)

Delegate Williams (J.)—I move that the report of the committee be received, that we suspend Section 6 of Article 4 of the Constitution, and seat the representatives of the American Flint Glass Workers' Union. (Seconded.)

Vice-President Duncan, in discussing the question, said in part: The constitution provides how it shall be changed, but there is nothing in the constitution that authorizes the convention to suspend any part of it. It is true the American Federation of Labor is greater than its constitution, because it may change it; but except when the American Federation of Labor is changing its constitution the constitution is greater than the American Federation of Labor. If the American Federation of Labor cannot conform to the provisions of its own constitution it has no right to expect any affiliated body will be respectful towards the provisions of the constitution.

The information I desire from the committee is this: As I understand it, the protest of the Machinists against seating the Flint Glass Workers is not because a month has not elapsed since they got their charter, but on jurisdiction lines. There is a clear way out of the difficulty if the committee is satisfied and can report to this convention that, inasmuch as the jurisdiction question is concerned, there may be no objection to the seating of the delegates of the Flint Glass Workers. It is true a month will not have

elapsed until about the 21st of November. After that time they will be entitled to a seat. If, therefore, the report of the committee means there is nothing against the seating of the Flint Glass Workers but the fact that a month has not elapsed since the issuing of the charter, the matter might remain in abeyance until the 21st of this month when the delegates can be seated. That is not a new policy; it has been followed out in two or three instances.

Delegate McDonald—The committee took into consideration only constitutional points. If there is any constitutional matter connected with the granting of the charter it is outside the work of this committee. Whether the Executive Council erred in granting the charter was not our affair. Our affair was to decide on the constitution as laid down, and it distinctly says, "No organization shall be entitled to representation unless such organization has applied for and obtained certificate of affiliation at least one month prior to the convention." It may be a precedent has been established, but the constitution does not provide for that.

The committee considered this provision of the constitution. It does not say they can come in late in the convention and be seated. The committee did everything possible to get the parties together, because we wanted the Flint Glass Workers seated. Under the terms of the constitution, however, we could take no position other than the one we have taken.

Delegate Johnston, in discussing the question, said in part: Our grounds for protesting the credentials of the Flint Glass Workers were for the reason that they had not been affiliated with this organization the time required by the constitution, and for the further reason that, in our judgment, the Executive Council erred in granting the charter, which is, of course, not a subject to be discussed here. If the constitution means anything it means everything and it should not be suspended at the suggestion of any man. There may be established precedents in this matter, but I hope you will not be guided by precedents. We are not following dead men; we are living in a progressive age; and if the convention has erred in the past it is no reason, in my judgment, why we should continue to

err. If the constitution is not right then let us change it in the proper manner.

Delegate McCullough (T. W.) called attention to the fact that the section read "unless such organization has applied for and obtained a certificate of affiliation," and asked if the matter dated back to the time of the application or from the time of the issuance of the charter. He referred to the fact that the charter of the Flint Glass Workers' Union had been held up through no fault of the applicants, and stated that he did not think any delegate would desire to exclude them from representation in the convention on a mere technicality, and that a reasonable construction of the constitution would give the organization the benefit of the time that had elapsed after the application for a charter had been made.

Treasurer Lennon in discussing the question said: They made application in ample time and the Council was restrained from issuing the charter because we were directed by the Minneapolis convention that a certain thing must be done before the charter was issued. And when that thing was done, when that agreement was reached with the Glass Bottle Blowers, it then became the duty of the Executive Council to issue the charter, and I say that the law, so far as it applies to this case, is governed by the matter of the application of the Flints for the charter, not the mere issuance of the document, and the law does not apply in this case as it would apply had the application come in within thirty days.

Delegate Hayes (D. A.), in discussing the question, said in part: Treasurer Lennon covered the point I desired to make. Our convention last August telegraphed the Executive Council while in session in Atlantic City that the terms of the agreement made last April at Pittsburgh with the Flint Glass Workers Union had been carried out and we therefore withdrew our protest against their affiliation. Then the Machinists put in a protest. Their protest came in after the Flint Union had made its application. I approve of the sentiments expressed by former speakers in regard to the applicants being seated in this convention. The principle at issue between the Flint Glass Workers and the Glass Bottle Blowers was vital; it meant the preser-

vation of our union. The danger has been overcome, the cause removed and the dispute settled.

Delegate Barnes (J. M.)—I do not believe there is time to amend the constitution as the motion provides, but since hearing Delegate Hayes' and Delegate Lennon's opinion on the subject, I rise to amend that the Flint Glass Workers' delegates be seated. (Seconded.)

Delegate Woll raised a point of order on the amendment offered by Delegate Williams and the amendment offered by Delegate Barnes. He stated that the provisions of the constitution did not provide for its suspension.

President Gompers stated that two points of order could not be considered at one time, and ruled that the point raised on the amendment of Delegate Williams was well taken.

Delegate Walker (J. H.) stated that under ordinary circumstances he would favor the report of the committee, but, inasmuch as the law was enacted to cover entirely different cases, he would favor the seating of the delegates of the Flint Glass Workers' Union. He stated that under the circumstances he felt no law would be violated by seating them, and the best interests, not only of the Flint Glass Workers, but of the two organizations that had disputes with them would be served by that course.

Delegate Lynch (J. M.)—In order that the precedent, if established, may be established clearly, I move that the section of the constitution referred to in the report of the committee be interpreted to mean the time of application, and that the Flint Glass Workers be seated.

President Gompers made an extended statement, and said in part: The American Flint Glass Workers' Union had its representatives at the birth of the Federation in 1881 at Pittsburgh and remained in affiliation until seven or eight years ago. A dispute arose between them and the Glass Bottle Blowers Union. Because a decision was rendered unsatisfactory to the Flints they withdrew from the Federation. Six years ago at the Minneapolis Convention the Flints made application for affiliation. The Executive Council decided that provided certain provisions were complied with, in accordance with the decision of the council, a charter would be issued. A promise was made by the Flint Glass Workers' representatives that they would comply. The matter was reported to the Convention later



and the Convention endorsed the position of the Council. The Council believed it better to have compliance prior to the issuance of the charter. The application has been pending all these years. Several conferences were held by the representatives of both the contending organizations and the representatives of the American Federation of Labor. The contention was not settled until early in this year.

At the convention of the Glass Bottle Blowers, an agreement having been reached between that organization and the Flint Glass Workers, satisfactory to both, in which the questions at issue were settled to the satisfaction of both, the Convention instructed the President of the Glass Bottle Blowers to immediately telegraph the Executive Council of the American Federation that, inasmuch as an agreement had been reached and the decision of the Executive Council complied with by the Flint Glass Workers Union, therefore the Glass Bottle Blowers Union withdrew its protest against the issuance of the charter. The Executive Council would have immediately ordered the issuance of that charter but objection was interposed on the part of the International Association of Machinists. The Executive Council feels it would have been justified in issuing that charter there and then, by reason of the fact that the Convention instructed the Executive Council to issue the charter whenever the Flint Glass Workers Union complied with the decision; but the Council believed an effort ought to be made to bring the Machinists and the Flint Glass Workers representatives together to see whether those differences could not be adjusted. A conference was called, but they failed to agree. In view of the fact that nothing could be done to effect an adjustment of their differences, the Executive Council felt it had no alternative but to comply with the decision of the Convention and issue the charter.

As to the question of their representation to-day, it is a question for the Convention to decide by its vote, to interpret the law by its vote, rather than through a direct motion. As was stated here to-day, the provision of the constitution referred to was enacted for a purpose, and that was that some interloper might not come to this convention under the guise of representing an organization per-

haps organized for a purpose in entire contravention to the purposes of the American labor movement. It never was contemplated that it would act as an estoppel for a bona fide organization of a trade such as the American Flint Glass Workers' Union.

Delegate Woll—I move you that we interpret the issuance of the charter to the American Flint Glass Workers Union as having applied to the time they complied with the instruction of the Executive Council at their convention, and that the Committee on Credentials be instructed to bring in a report accordingly.

Delegate Tracy (T. F.)—I move that the report of the committee be non-concurred in and that the delegates from the American Flint Glass Workers Union be seated in this convention. (Seconded).

Delegate Barnes—I will accept that.

Delegate Egan discussed the question briefly, and Delegate McDonald made a short statement for the committee.

On motion debate was closed.

The motion offered by Delegate Tracy was carried by a vote of 177 in the affirmative to 29 in the negative.

Secretary McDonald read the report of the committee on the protest offered by the United Association of Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters and Steam Fitters' Helpers against the seating of John Mangam and J. T. Kinsella as delegates from the International Association of Steam and Hot Water Fitters and Helpers.

Delegate Carolan—I move that the report of the committee be received and the delegates of the International Association seated. (Seconded).

Vice President Duncan—I offer a substitute to the motion, as the subject matter was dealt with in the report of the Executive Council to-day and will be in printed form for all the delegates to see to-morrow, that consideration of the subject be deferred until 10 o'clock to-morrow when all the information will be in the hands of the delegates. (Seconded and carried).

Resolution No. 23—By Delegates W. D. Huber, Frank Duffy, Fred C. Wheeler, A. M. Swartz, D. F. Featherston, William J. Kelly, W. E. Hemsell, of the U. B. of C. and J. of A.:

WHEREAS, The United Trades and Labor Council of Buffalo, N. Y., has illegally and in violation of the laws of the A. F. of L. seated in said central body a dual union of millwrights unaffiliated with the U. B. of C. and J. of C.; also two local branches of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters, a dual organization of electrical workers, and representatives of the Amalgamated Wood Workers; and

WHEREAS, The matter relative to this rump organization of Millwrights has occupied the attention of several conventions of A. F. of L., and representatives have been deputed to investigate charges made by U. B. and said central body has always denied to said representatives that this rump organization was represented in the central body, further that these investigations were positively one sided, the complainants never being considered in the investigations; and since the reaffiliation of the U. B. in Central and B. T. Dept., we find delegates from these dual organizations seated in both bodies, and upon objections of U. B. delegates to the seating of dual and unaffiliated organizations, the representatives of said central body openly defied the A. F. of L. to discipline them; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 32d Annual Convention of the A. F. of L. do at once order the United Trades and Labor Council of Buffalo, N. Y., to unseat the dual, and all local unions whose national or international are not affiliated with the A. F. of L.; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That failure upon the part of the U. T. and L. C. of Buffalo, N. Y., to comply with the action of this 32d Annual Convention, within thirty days from adjournment, that the charter of the United Trades and Labor Council shall stand revoked, without further action, and immediate action taken to reorganize a central body of bona fide trades affiliated with the A. F. of L.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 24—By Delegate Manny Weiss of the Sugar Refinery Employees Union No. 13,053, Yonkers, N. Y.:

WHEREAS, The Sugar Refinery Employees Union No. 13,053 of Yonkers, N. Y., has and does hold a charter of the A. F. of L. for the past two years; and

WHEREAS, There are between 75,000 and 90,000 unorganized men in this industry throughout the United States, who are only too anxious to be organized; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention instructs its officers and organizers to do everything within their power to organize the men in this industry.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 25—By Delegates A. W. Wharton, William H. Johnston, Thomas Van Lear, P. W. Buckley, B. H. Lamb of the I. A. of M.; William P. Hannon of the Sacramento, Cal., Federated Trades and Labor Assembly; Edward V. Wood of the Syracuse (N. Y.) Central Trades and Labor Assembly; J. W. Holder of the Florida State Federation of Labor; R. L. Corley of the Georgia State Federation of Labor; J. J. Keane of the Trades and Labor Assembly, Savannah, Ga.:

WHEREAS, It has been very forcibly brought to the attention of a number of delegates attending the 32d Annual Convention of the A. F. of L. that Section 11 of Article 9 has not been complied with

by the President and Executive Council inasmuch as they granted a charter to the American Flint Glass Workers Union on October 21, 1912, notwithstanding that the issuance of this charter was protested by the International Association of Machinists, said protest being based upon the fundamental law of the A. F. of L., which guarantees protection to affiliated organizations in the maintenance of jurisdiction as per their charter rights; and

WHEREAS, The charter granted to the American Flint Glass Workers Union concedes this organization jurisdiction over all mould makers; and

WHEREAS, Mould making is a class of work, the entire product of which is of metal construction, requiring the use of machinery and tools and a well-equipped machine shop; and

WHEREAS, The American Flint Glass Workers Union is composed of men engaged in the making of glassware, which is a separate and distinct operation in connection with the completion of the article manufactured, the comparison being as between a pattern maker and a moulder; and,

WHEREAS, The granting of a charter to any organization claiming jurisdiction over work which would be a trespass on the jurisdiction of existing affiliated unions is in direct violation of law; and

WHEREAS, Such action not only fails to bring about the solution of the question at issue, but establishes a more serious state of affairs; and

WHEREAS, This organization that has now been granted a charter withdrew from the A. F. of L. some ten years since because of differences arising and their unwillingness to abide by the laws of the A. F. of L. and no assurance that they would not do so again; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this convention that the President and Executive Council are hereby instructed to immediately revoke the charter illegally granted by them to the American Flint Glass Workers Union on October 21, 1912, and thus protect the affiliated unions in their charter rights and maintain the integrity of our laws.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 26—By William P. Hannon, Sacramento, Cal., Federal Trades and Labor Assembly; M. F. Ryan, Brotherhood of Railway Carmen; J. W. Kline, Brotherhood of Blacksmiths; William H. Johnston, A. V. Wharton, International Association of Machinists; J. A. Franklin, Brotherhood of Boilermakers; M. O'Sullivan, Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers:

WHEREAS, The Machinists, Boilermakers, blacksmiths, sheet metal workers, railway carmen, pipe fitters, railway clerks, painters, electricians and other shop employees of the Harriman and Illinois Central Railroad lines have been on strike on the above mentioned lines for the past fourteen months; and,

WHEREAS, Despite the fact that all efforts to bring about a settlement of the strike by the international officers of the various unions have been unsuccessful

up to the present time, it has been demonstrated that the strike has proven to have been most effective; and

WHEREAS, Among those on strike are many unskilled men who belong to the federal labor unions and many who are not members of any organization; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this, the 32d Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor does hereby approve of the gallant struggle being waged by the members of these organizations and extends to them our moral support in their efforts to secure the shorter work-day and other favorable working conditions; and be it

RESOLVED, That the convention urge the national and international organizations affiliated with the A. F. of L. to render all financial aid possible to the strikers on the Harriman and Illinois Central Railroad lines until such time as an amicable adjustment of the questions at issue have been reached.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 27—By Delegate Edwin S. Burns of Logansport Trades and Labor Assembly;

WHEREAS, We recognize the trade union as the legitimate agency through which the working class will secure the just rights of labor; and

WHEREAS, There exists in many localities a wrong apprehension and misconception of the true purposes and aims of the American Federation of Labor, thereby causing confusion among the membership, and tends to create a wrong impression as to the legitimate intent and purpose of the parent body, and as this unsatisfactory condition is an impediment to the growth of our organization and our influence for progress among the toilers; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council at the earliest possible date take up the question of arranging for lecture courses to be held under the auspices of the central bodies of organized labor holding charters from the American Federation of Labor throughout the United States, Canada and our insular possessions, said lecture course to be held during the winter months from January to April of each year; and be it

RESOLVED, That the salaries and traveling expenses of said lecturers be borne by the American Federation of Labor and all local expense, such as hall rent, advertising, etc., be paid by the local central bodies where such lectures are held.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 28—By Delegate J. P. Coughlin of Brooklyn Central Labor Union;

WHEREAS, The Central Labor Union of Brooklyn and Queens, New York, composed of local unions of the A. F. of L. are enforcing a regulation that no delegate be seated who has not the union label on his clothing, hat, shoes, etc.; and

WHEREAS, This body has made an exhaustive investigation as to the condi-

tions under which the union label of the Journeymen Tailors Union is being issued; and

WHEREAS, We find that the label of the Journeymen Tailors Union does not cover all branches of the industry, as the cutters and helpers are non-union men and women; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention condemn the method of the Journeymen Tailors Union in placing their label on a product that is not strictly union made; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be instructed to send copies of these resolutions to all state and central bodies of labor.

Referred to Committee on Labels.

Resolution No. 29—By Delegate Thomas J. Curtis of Tunnel and Subway Constructors International Union of North America;

WHEREAS, It is an indisputable fact, that the work performed by the members of the International Union of Compressed Air Workers is identical in every particular with that of the International Union of Tunnel and Subway Constructors, including similarity of tools; and

WHEREAS, We, the International Union of Tunnel and Subway Constructors, believe that the best interests of the workers in both of these vocations can be best conserved by the joining and amalgamating of the two organizations into one compact and solid organization; and

WHEREAS, The International Union of Compressed Air Workers have expressed a desire to so join and amalgamate with the International Union of Tunnel and Subway Constructors; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 32d Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled at Rochester, N. Y., November, 1912, direct the Executive Council to at once adopt such measures and plans as will bring about this desired result in the interest of the members of both organizations, thereby concentrating the power and effort in that industry and calling.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 30—By Delegate Sol Sontheimer, Hartford, Conn., C. L. U.:

WHEREAS, There exists in the city of Hartford a condition in the labor movement wholly at variance to the best interests of the movement, to wit: In this city there is a Central Labor Union, working under a charter of the American Federation of Labor, living up to and abiding by the rules, laws and regulations of the American Federation of Labor; there also exists an independent organization known as the Building Structural Alliance, composed of the Brotherhood of Joiners and Carpenters, United Association of Journeymen Plumbers, an independent Union of Mason Tenders and the Bricklayers Union, all the other building trades crafts being affiliated with the Hartford Central Labor Union, which has perfected a Building Trades Council, but for unknown reasons the aforesaid unions refuse to affiliate with

the council recognized by the American Federation of Labor; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That, we the delegates in convention assembled, request the Executive Council to use their best endeavors, with the national and international unions, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, to request their local unions to affiliate themselves with central labor unions, which are chartered under the American Federation of Labor to the end, that the deplorable situation existing in Hartford, Conn., may be brought to a speedy end.

Referred to Committee on Building Trades.

Resolution No. 31—By Delegates C. L. Shamp and George E. Norman representing the Nebraska State Federation of Labor and the Omaha, Nebraska, Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, In the state of Nebraska there are thousands of unorganized wage workers of different trades and callings who, we believe, could be organized if visited by an organizer; and

WHEREAS, The Nebraska State Federation of Labor has at all times spent all the means at their command to organize the unorganized, but are not in a position to maintain organizers to cover only a portion of the territory that should be covered; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the incoming Executive Council be and is hereby instructed to at the earliest possible date place an organizer in the state of Nebraska and keep him there as long as he can organize the unorganized wage workers, and the Nebraska State Federation of Labor pledges itself to lend said organizer all the possible assistance it can to the end that all of the unorganized wage workers of the state be organized if possible in unions of their respective trades and callings.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 32—By Delegate George E. Norman, Omaha, Neb., C. L. U.:

WHEREAS, The Building Trades Council of Omaha, Neb., is not chartered by the Building Trades Department of the A. F. of L.; and,

WHEREAS, The conditions in the building trades of that city is very unsatisfactory to the C. L. U. and hindering it in improving the conditions of the workingman of Omaha; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention request the Building Trades Department of the A. F. of L. to send a representative to Omaha, Neb., at an early date to organize a local Building Trades Council under the Building Trades Department of the A. F. of L., and in conformity with the laws of the A. F. of L.

Referred to Committee on Building Trades.

Resolution No. 33—By Delegate Wesley Russell of the Commercial Telegraphers' Union:

WHEREAS, Commercial telegraphers are among the pioneers in the labor

movement of this country; first organized in 1864, they have struggled nearly fifty years for the right to organize and to build up a strong union of their craft, striking in defense of their rights in 1870, 1883 and 1907; and

WHEREAS, They were probably the earliest organized craftsmen to feel the effects of monopolistic power, being opposed from 1866 by a powerful corporation having an almost complete monopoly; control of which corporation has now passed to the telephone trust, making a combination of capital aggregating five hundred million dollars, second in size only to the notorious steel trust; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, that this half-century fight of the commercial telegraphers for a principle deserves our hearty commendation and support, and that the membership of the present union, organized in 1902, and the longest lived in the history of the craft, may be encouraged to persevere in their struggle to ultimate victory, the Executive Council is hereby requested to instruct its organizers, city, central and state bodies, to make especial effort during the ensuing year to bring all commercial telegraphers into the Commercial Telegraphers Union of America.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 34—By Delegate R. J. McGrath, Iron City Central Trades Council:

WHEREAS, Organizers are at all times needed in the different districts throughout the country for the purpose of helping to organize more thoroughly the different organizations and adjusting grievances; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the A. F. of L. instruct its organizers to have a certain headquarters in all cities where they can be reached without difficulty when wanted for assistance by any organization affiliated with the A. F. of L.; and be it further

RESOLVED, That all organizations in any city affiliated with the A. F. of L. be notified of said headquarters.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 35—By E. Lewis Evans, of the Tobacco Workers International Union:

WHEREAS, The trade union label is one of the vital instruments in advancement of the interests of the labor movement; and

WHEREAS, It is the effort on the part of every trade unionist to give the greatest possible publicity to the union label, so as to indelibly impress it upon the mind of the consuming public; and

WHEREAS, A number of state federations and central bodies have established a principle of requiring the delegates representing the various trades to stand an examination for efficiency as a delegate and be able to show that he has at least a reasonable number of labels about his person; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor heartily commends the state federations and central bodies that have already adopted this principle as part of the efficiency of a representative from a local union affiliated; be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in Rochester urges the extension of the aforesaid principle and that all state federations and central bodies establish by legislation a requirement that all delegates must be able to pass an examination which requires an exhibit of not less than three labels on or about his person.

Referred to Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

Resolution No. 36—By E. Lewis Evans of the Tobacco Workers' International Union:

WHEREAS, The products of union and non-union labor are in severe competition with each other in the market; and

WHEREAS, It is the duty of all the union workers to increase the sale of union labeled products as much as possible; and

WHEREAS, The Tobacco Workers among the other trades have adopted a union label to give distinction between the fair and unfair brands of tobacco, snuff and cigarettes offered for sale; and

WHEREAS, A larger consumption of the union label brands of tobacco, snuff and cigarettes is necessary to the continued betterment of the conditions of the Tobacco Workers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That it is the sense of all members of the American Federation of Labor that a greater measure of patronage should be given to the brands of tobacco, snuff and cigarettes bearing the union label; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That inasmuch as tobacco, snuff and cigarettes bearing the union label are on sale in all cities and towns in the United States and Canada, the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in Rochester, New York, hereby pledges itself to the duty of creating a greater demand for union labeled tobacco, snuff and cigarettes by purchasing only such brands as do bear the Blue Label, accepting nothing as a substitute, the dealers' persuasive powers to the contrary notwithstanding.

Referred to Committee on Labels.

Resolution No. 37—By Delegate O. L. Preble of the Rhode Island Branch of the A. F. of L.:

WHEREAS, The state of Rhode Island has within its bounds a large number of manufacturing establishments, among which are many textile and jewelry plants, the employes of which are to a great extent unorganized and working under very poor conditions; and

WHEREAS, In the state of Rhode Island is a city which in size is about

the eighteenth in the United States, namely Providence, and is centrally located in a thickly populated part of the country, being within an hour's ride of nearly two million people; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in regular convention assembled, that we establish a permanent office in the city of Providence, R. I., and place one of our organizers in charge of the same, with instructions to work in that locality and use every honorable means to aid in building up the now existing organizations, to organize the unorganized and assist them in maintaining their organizations, to the end that better conditions of employment may obtain for the workers in that locality and that the influence of organized labor under the banner of the American Federation of Labor Day may be still further increased.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 38—By Frank Scoby and James Doyle of the Coopers' International Union:

WHEREAS, At a convention of the Coopers' International Union, held at St. Louis in September, 1912, it was deemed advisable to establish a repair label, the same to be placed on all beer and ale cooperage that has been repaired by members of the Coopers' International Union; and

WHEREAS, Through the process of repairing beer kegs and barrels, the union label that is placed on the bung stave where the package is newly made, is removed when a broken bung stave is replaced by a new stave; thereby leaving the package without any guarantee that such was made by union men and under union conditions; and,

WHEREAS, In justice to the patrons who at all times insist that only union made packages shall be used to supply their needs; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we, the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, do hereby endorse the beer barrel repair label of the Coopers' International Union and call on all members and friends of organized labor to see to it that the repair label is placed on new heads and staves when such packages are placed upon the market.

Facsimile  
of



repair  
stamp.

Referred to Committee on Labels.

At 5 p. m. the convention was adjourned, to reconvene at 9.30 a. m., Wednesday, November 14th.

## Report of Executive Council

Rochester, N. Y., Nov. 12, 1912

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

Greeting: One of the duties devolving upon, and which is the privilege of, the Executive Council, is the submission at each convention of a report of the more important matters to which attention has been given during the year. To attempt to touch upon all of the many subjects with which we have dealt since the adjournment of the last annual convention, would make our report too voluminous for your time. Therefore, in coming before you now with this, our report to the Thirty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, we shall endeavor to be as brief as the importance of the various subjects contained herein will permit.

The Executive Council has held six meetings since we last met in convention, as follows: November 27, 1911; January 8-13; May 17-22; August 12-21; October 18-23; and November 9-10, the last meeting having been held in this city previous to the opening of this Convention.

Our President submitted by mail to the Executive Council during the year 88 documents dealing with various matters, some of the most important of which we shall make part of this report.

In view of the engrossing and immediate work of the Convention, not only during its actual sessions, but in committee meetings, the members of the E. C. being required to serve upon committees, as well as to perform their full share of the work on the floor and in the proceedings of the convention, the hope is entertained that, so far as consistent with the necessity, the urgency or importance of the subjects which you may desire to lay before the Executive Council, that all such matters may be kept until the meeting which we shall undoubtedly hold immediately after the adjournment of this Convention.

### Charters Granted.

For the fiscal year of 1911-1912 we issued charters to 2 national and international unions as follows:

Diamond Workers Protective Union of America.

Brotherhood of Railway Express Messengers of America.

We also issued charters to 1 department, 2 State federations of labor, 57 central labor unions, 149 local trade unions of which there are no national or international unions of the trades represented, and where there were an insufficient number of workmen of any one trade to form a local trade union we issued charters to 49 federal labor unions.

We are proud of the record thus made, the organizations formed, the charters issued, the increase in membership of affiliated unions, but we are also proud to say that some applications for charters have been denied. We insist that an organization must be bona fide in character and purpose before it may be afforded the privilege of being recognized as one among the great family of trade unions under the head of our Federation.

Again, other applications are being held pending adjustment of jurisdictional claims with other organizations.

Attention should be here called to the folder issued at headquarters in which is published a chart showing the growth of the Federation since its beginning in 1881. Copies of these can be secured upon request at our Washington headquarters. The chart is also printed in the official proceedings of the Atlanta Convention, 1911.

Despite the heavy obstacles our Federation has had to overcome during the year, its growth has not been retarded, but it has steadily advanced as evidenced by the reports already submitted to you by our President, Secretary and Treasurer.

### Extension of Jurisdiction.

#### TAILORS

Upon the application of the Journeymen Tailors for extension of jurisdiction over cleaners, pressers and dyers, the application was granted and the local unions of these workers directly affiliated to the A. F. of L. were transferred to the jurisdiction of that organization.

#### METAL POLISHERS

We approved the application of the Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Brass Workers' International Union of North America for change in title so as to include silver workers, the title of

that organization now reading "Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers, Brass and Silver Workers' Union of North America."

#### GLOVE WORKERS

The application of the International Glove Workers for jurisdiction over cloth glove workers was granted.

#### BLACKSMITHS

Your Executive Council also approved the application of the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths for jurisdiction over chain makers.

#### TILE LAYERS

Upon the application of the Ceramic, Mosaic and Encaustic Tile Layers and Helpers' International Union, the local unions of marble and mosaic workers directly affiliated to the A. F. of L. were transferred to the jurisdiction of that organization.

#### HOD CARRIERS

By Resolution No. 129 of the Atlanta Convention, the International Hod Carriers and Building Laborers Union of America made application for extension of jurisdiction over "common laborers" employed in the construction of streets, sewers and tunnels. A thorough investigation was made of the matter through correspondence with each local laborers' union and Federal Labor Union affiliated directly with the A. F. of L. From the information gained through that correspondence we deemed it to be the best interests of this particular class of workers that the application should be granted, and that organization is now recognized under the title of "Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' International Union."

#### BREWERY WORKERS

The International Union of United Brewery Workmen made application for extension of jurisdiction so as to include Distillery Workers. A conference is to be held during this convention between the representatives of that organization and the representatives of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen and the Coopers' International Union of North America. We hope later, during this convention, to make a report as to the result of this conference.

#### CARRIAGE WORKERS

Application of the International Union of Carriage and Wagon Workers for change in title so as to read "International Union of Carriage, Wagon and Automobile Workers of North America" was granted, it being understood that the jurisdiction of this international union under its newly adopted title should conform to the agreement entered into at the Atlanta Convention of the A. F. of L. between the Carriage and Wagon Workers', the Blacksmiths', the Upholsterers' and the Painters' organizations.

We trust that the course we have taken in these matters will be given your endorsement and approval.

#### Bricklayers' and Masons' International Union.

Obedying the instructions given by you at our last Convention that the Bricklayers and Masons should again be invited to affiliate with the A. F. of L., we authorized President Gompers and Mr. James Short, President of the Building Trades Department of the A. F. of L., to attend the Convention of the Bricklayers' and Masons' International Union, then in session at St. Joseph, Missouri, and as duly appointed representatives of the A. F. of L., to urge the affiliation of that organization with the Federation. Important matters in connection with our movement having arisen to prevent President Gompers attending the Convention, he addressed a letter to the officers and delegates of that Convention, which President Short submitted.

President Short was cordially received, read President Gompers' letter and addressed the Convention. The matter of affiliation was thereafter ordered to be submitted to a referendum vote, which thus far has not been taken, but we are advised that the matter will be submitted to a referendum vote of the membership in the very near future.

#### Unaffiliated Organizations.

Our Federation was organized in 1881. It has ever, without diversion, served the cause of labor. It has demonstrated its right to existence. It has earned the good will and confidence of the people, and particularly the working people of our continent. Its work, its achievements, are

known and recognized abroad. Other movements inaugurated in behalf of the toilers have degenerated, have been diverted into improper channels, have been destroyed, but our Federation has stood the acid test of time for the thirty-two years of its life and demonstrated its service to the toilers. It can be made of immeasurably more help by greater unity, extension and federation.

We have continued our efforts to secure the affiliation of those national bodies of wage earners which have thus far not identified themselves with our Federation. Advances have been made and invitations extended to them to join the A. F. of L. It is the policy of our Federation to pursue a consistent course toward all unions even though they are not affiliated. It respects their jurisdiction and refrains from chartering any union which would intrench upon their territory. In pursuance of this policy, President Gompers on May 17, upon the invitation of its officers, attended and addressed the Convention of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers at Harrisburg, Pa. His address to the Convention was published in the July, 1912, issue of the official journal of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers.

Vice-President Perham addressed the Convention of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen at Minneapolis, and he, President Gompers and several other members of the Executive Council addressed several conventions of affiliated internationals, namely: Vice-President O'Connell, the Convention of the Molders at Milwaukee; President Gompers and Vice-President Alpine the Granite Cutters at Quincy; Secretary Morrison the Garment Workers at Toronto; and President Gompers and Vice-President Alpine the Carpenters and Joiners at Washington.

We believe that if it were possible to make more frequent addresses to the conventions of international unions, a better understanding of trade unionism and a greater spirit of unity and fraternity would result, much to the advantage of the general labor movement and to the great interests of the toilers in general.

In connection with the subject of the attitude of the international unions unaffiliated to the American Federation of Labor, we are impelled to call attention

to the fact that generally members of unaffiliated internationals work with the members of affiliated internationals, enjoying advantages and receiving protection from comradeship and co-operation. We hold that such advantages and benefits carry with them duties and responsibilities. The members of unaffiliated unions enjoy much of the prestige of our movement or they share in every advantage secured on the economic field, as well as by laws enacted through the efforts of the American Federation of Labor. They should share in the performance of the work and in the duties and the responsibilities. The question of moral rights and moral obligations in the labor movement is also involved, for it logically follows that the deprivation of the right to hold aloof and remain apart from the American Federation of Labor involves the very same principle as for a local union to hold aloof from the international union of its craft, and further involves the moral right of a workingman to remain and hold aloof from the union of his trade.

In no civilized country on the face of the globe does any bona fide national trade union hold itself aloof from affiliation with the general labor movement of the country, and the general labor movement of America regards it as an unappreciative and unjustified position when any bona fide eligible international trade union of America remains unaffiliated to the American Federation of Labor.

#### New Departments.

There were two resolutions submitted to the Atlanta Convention calling for a conference of the representatives of the organizations comprising the wearing apparel industries for the purpose of the formation of a Wearing Apparel Trades Department, and that the Executive Council should take such steps as might be deemed necessary for the formation of a Transportation Department. Upon correspondence with the various organizations representing the several trades and callings that would naturally be expected to make up the two suggested departments, it was found that a decided majority of them was opposed to the formation of the departments. Therefore, the project was abandoned and nothing fur-



ther will be done in the matter until the international unions which would be affected can be persuaded to favor their establishment.

However, it should be here stated that on January 22, 1912, the Executive Council issued charter to the Mining Department of the A. F. of L., this Department having notified the Atlanta Convention of its formation and having made application for charter.

#### **Carpenters—Building Trades Department.**

In accordance with the action of the Atlanta Convention our best endeavors were exerted to re-establish harmony and have the U. B. again become part of the Building Trades Department. The Building Trades Department at its Convention immediately after the close of the A. F. of L. Convention agreed with the position taken by our Atlanta Convention, and directed its officers to be helpful in having the Brotherhood of Carpenters resume its relations with the Department. The officers of the Department aided materially in carrying that into effect.

We are pleased to be able to report that the matter having been submitted to a referendum vote of the membership of the U. B., it was acted upon favorably and that organization is again part of the Building Trades Department.

#### **Building Trades Department—Plasterers.**

The officers of the Building Trades Department entered protest to your Executive Council against the Plasterers' International Union refusing to affiliate with the Department.

The matter was considered and discussed at length and much correspondence ensued in the effort to have the Plasterers' International Union conform to the provisions of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor by re-affiliating with the Building Trades Department.

Former President Donlin finally answered that he would leave the entire matter to the Convention of the Plasterers' International Union, which was then about to be held. Up to the time of our October meeting, no information having been received as to the Convention having taken action in the matter, we directed President Gompers to enter into

in-mediate telegraphic communication with the officers of that organization. As a result, the latest advice from President McGivern is to the effect that he will be present in Rochester during this Convention, and sincerely expects that arrangements will be made to bring about the re-affiliation of the Plasterers' International Union with the Building Trades Department.

#### **Building Trades Department—Hod Carriers—Cement Workers.**

The International Hod Carriers and Building Laborers Union appealed to your Executive Council from the decision of the Tampa Convention of the Building Trades Department of the A. F. of L., jurisdiction over laborers doing the mixing of concrete having been thereby conceded to the American Brotherhood of Cement Workers. After all parties in interest had been afforded a full opportunity of presenting their respective claims of jurisdiction, our best judgment was that the appeal of the Hod Carriers and Building Laborers should be sustained.

#### **U. B. Carpenters—Wood Workers.**

We are gratified to be able to report that the amalgamation of the Amalgamated Wood Workers' International Union with the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners has been effected. The agreement for amalgamation as signed by the representatives of both organizations and endorsed by the Executive Council was published in the February, 1912, issue of the American Federationist.

The referendum vote of the Wood Workers being favorable to the plan of amalgamation, the merging of the two organizations was effected on April 1, 1912.

#### **U. B. Carpenters—Amalgamated Carpenters.**

Our last annual convention declared that, both for harmony and for practicability, the carpentry trade should be represented in the American Federation of Labor, and also in the Building Trades Department by one general organization of the carpentry industry—the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America—and instructed the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. and requested the Executive Council of the Building

Trades Department, to carry that declaration into effect. The Convention further directed that the President of the A. F. of L. should arrange a conference between the representatives of the two organizations for the purpose of carrying out its declarations and instructions.

The representatives of the two organizations were invited to meet in conference with President Gompers beginning Monday, January 15, at Washington, D. C. The conference lasted nearly the entire week. At the outset a difference arose as to one provision of the action of the Atlanta Convention in regard to the conference of these two organizations. President Gompers was called upon for an interpretation of that action. He gave the following:

"A Committee consisting of W. D. Huber and James Kirby, representing the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America and Herbert Crampton and William Fyfe, representing the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners, called upon me for an interpretation of the recommendation of the Committee on Adjustment and adopted by the Convention; the recommendation of the committee printed in the first column on page 311 of the official printed proceedings of the Atlanta Convention of the American Federation of Labor, is as follows:

"Your committee recommends that the President of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to arrange a conference between representatives of the two organizations involved within ninety days from the adjournment of this Convention, with a view of arranging a basis of amalgamation of the two organizations, and in case of disagreement upon the terms of amalgamation agreed upon and submitted by the President and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, the differences shall be referred to the President and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for a final decision, which decision shall be rendered not later than June 1, 1912.

"Should the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners fail to amalgamate with the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners on or before July 1, 1912, the President of the American Federation of Labor is hereby instructed to revoke the charter of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners."

"The difference being as to whether an endeavor should first be made to reach terms of agreement between the representatives of both organizations, or whether the terms of agreement should, in the first instance, be submitted by the President and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

"The gentlemen named requested an interpretation of the Committee's recommendation regarding this difference.

"At the outset, I should say that the language employed in the committee's report is, in my judgment, involved, but it is quite evident that the recommendation contemplated a conference between the representatives of the two organizations involved within a specified period 'with a view of arranging a basis of amalgamation of the two organizations.' That statement is clear and unmistakable and is not modified or nullified by any later language of the committee's recommendation. My understanding of the later language of the committee's report is that if there be a failure to agree upon terms of amalgamation by the representatives of both organizations, then the disagreement is to be reported to the President and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, who shall jointly render a final decision not later than June 1, 1912.

"I shall submit this interpretation of the action of the Convention to Mr. James O'Connell who was chairman of the committee which submitted this report to the Atlanta Convention, and who, as President of the Metal Trades Department, has offices in this building and who will be available within a short time to review this interpretation."

"SAMUEL GOMPERS,  
"President A. F. of L."

Washington, D. C., January 15, 1912.

The matter being submitted to Vice President O'Connell, who acted as chairman of the Adjustment Committee of the Atlanta Convention, he made the following statement:

Washington, D. C., January 15, 1912.

"Mr. S. Gompers, President, American Federation of Labor, Ouray Building, Washington, D. C.

"Dear Sir and Brother:

"I have read carefully the report you make regarding the conference held between the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America and the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners, and the interpretation you give upon the report made by the Committee on Adjustment at the A. F. of L. Convention, held in Atlanta, November, 1911. As Chairman of the Adjustment Committee, my interpretation of the recommendation made by that committee to the convention, is, as stated by you, namely:

"If the committees of both organizations cannot agree upon a plan of amalgamation, then the differences between the committees or the reasons for failure to agree upon amalgamation are to be submitted to the President and Executive Council of the A. F. of L. for final decision or in other words if the two committees fail to agree upon a plan of amalgamation, the subject matter is then submitted to the President and Executive Council of the A. F. of L. to decide upon

any differences that may exist between the committees or to outline a plan of amalgamation which would be a basis upon which the two organizations should amalgamate.

Fraternally yours,  
JAS. O'CONNELL."

It will be observed that there is entire agreement in the statements of President Gompers and Chairman O'Connell of the Adjustment Committee, as to the purpose which the Adjustment Committee and the Convention had in view in the declaration it made at Atlanta. In that understanding we are in entire accord.

During the conferences of the week of January 15, the representatives of both organizations submitted propositions and counter propositions for the basis of amalgamation, but amalgamation was not effected.

The amalgamation as provided by the instructions of the Atlanta Convention was to become effective on or before July 1, the further instructions being that, in the event of the failure of amalgamation by that date, the charter of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners should be revoked.

We directed President Gompers to arrange for another conference, for the purpose of further efforts at amalgamation. The officers of the Amalgamated Society refused to participate in another conference having for its object the endeavor to agree upon terms of amalgamation between the two organizations, but insisted that in accordance with the directions of the Atlanta Convention the Executive Council render its decision setting forth the conditions upon which amalgamation of the two organizations should take place. It therefore devolved upon your Executive Council to perform the duties imposed upon it by the Atlanta Convention of the A. F. of L., that is, to render a final decision relative to the terms of such amalgamation; we had no alternative. We thereupon made the following declarations and findings, which were submitted to the officers of both organizations, accepted by the U. B. and rejected by the Amalgamated Society:

"Under instructions of the Atlanta Convention of the American Federation of Labor, in case of a disagreement upon the terms of amalgamation between the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners and the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, the President and

the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor are required to render a final decision, to be binding upon both parties as to the terms of such amalgamation.

"For the purpose of having the organizations themselves agree upon the terms upon which the amalgamation should be had, a conference was called of their respective representatives and held at the city of Washington, January 15-19, inclusive, 1912.

"At the outset the representatives of the Amalgamated Society declined to enter into any conference to formulate terms of amalgamation, and it required the rendering of a decision by the President of the A. F. of L. and the Chairman of the Adjustment Committee of the Atlanta Convention, which made report upon the subject to the convention, stating definitely and emphatically that a conference must be held prior to any further action on the part of the Executive Council.

"Instead of holding a conference as contemplated by the action of the Atlanta Convention, propositions and counter propositions were submitted in writing, resulting in failure to reach any definite plan, since each rejected the proposition of the other.

"The Executive Council, at its meeting in May, 1912, still believing that a conference should be held for the purpose of endeavoring to reach a conclusion upon the terms for amalgamation, invited the representatives of the United Brotherhood and the Amalgamated Society to meet in such conference, and directed that three officers of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. participate in that conference to be helpful in reaching terms of amalgamation.

"The representatives of the United Brotherhood appeared at the time and place for the conference. The representatives of the Amalgamated Society refused to send representatives. Hence the conference was not held.

"The Secretary of the Amalgamated Society in an official communication under date of May 23, 1912, declared that it was the duty of the President and the Executive Council to render a decision without any further joint conferences of the representatives of the two organizations: The Executive Council therefore finds it incumbent upon it to perform the duty which it sought the organizations themselves to determine. Now therefore:

"The members of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, having before them the proposition submitted by the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, made to the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners as the terms of amalgamation, the counter proposition made by the Amalgamated Society to the United Brotherhood, and the extended propositions then made by the United Brotherhood to the Amalgamated Society, declares:

"1. That the counter propositions submitted by the Amalgamated Society of

terms of amalgamation are based upon the form of organization in all its details of the Amalgamated Society, which are so far reaching as to make it immediately impossible for the United Brotherhood to accept or adopt, and which would indeed make the United Brotherhood, under its own name, the Amalgamated Society.

"2. That the propositions made by the United Brotherhood are fair, just, advantageous and honorable, and as far reaching as the United Brotherhood, in its present and immediate future is in a position to make for the amalgamation of the Amalgamated Society with the United Brotherhood.

"The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor therefore decides that the terms proposed in the first and second proposition of the United Brotherhood for the amalgamation of the Amalgamated Society with the United Brotherhood should form the basis for amalgamation; that unless these terms are accepted by the Amalgamated Society it carries with it the revocation of its charter as directed by the Atlanta Convention of the A. F. of L.

"As part of this decision, the Executive Council directs and decides that in the event of the acceptance by the Amalgamated Society of the terms of amalgamation and amalgamation is effected, that the United Brotherhood shall at its forthcoming convention determine, or refer to its membership for determination, the adoption of the following features as part of the organization:

"(a) Uniform dues throughout the jurisdiction of the United Brotherhood.

"(b) Uniform strike and lockout benefits throughout the jurisdiction of the U. B.

"(c) Uniform sick benefits throughout the jurisdiction of the U. B.

"(d) Uniform out of work benefits throughout the jurisdiction of the U. B.

"(e) Uniform funeral benefits throughout the jurisdiction of the U. B.

"(f) Uniform accident or disability benefits throughout the jurisdiction of the U. B.

"(g) Uniform superannuation benefits throughout the jurisdiction of the U. B.

"(h) Uniform tool benefits throughout the jurisdiction of the U. B.

"(i) A general reserve fund for the guarantee of the payment of benefits.

"(j) Arranging for the exchange and acceptance of traveling cards of all union carpenters of the civilized world who have been members in good standing of such unions twelve months or more prior to the presentation of such cards.

"(k) Equalization of funds.

"A copy of the first and supplementary propositions of the United Brotherhood made to the Amalgamated Society as terms and conditions of amalgamation are in your possession."

Desirous of leaving no effort untried to effect amalgamation, we extended the time limit from July 1 to August 1. However, the Amalgamated Society refusing

to meet in further conference, or to accept the terms of amalgamation as decided by the Executive Council, there was no alternative left us other than to carry out the instruction given by the Atlanta Convention, and therefore, on August 2, having waited until midnight of August 1 for any further advice from the Amalgamated Society, the charter was revoked and the officers of the Amalgamated Society so notified in a letter which under our instructions President Gompers wrote.

Having before us the decision of the Atlanta and previous conventions, and particularly the instructions of the Minneapolis Convention which read as follows:

"It has been brought to the attention of the Grievance Committee by protests handed to the Committee on Credentials and referred to us, that a number of the Central Bodies affiliated with the American Federation of Labor are violating the laws of that body by seating the representatives of dual and seceding organizations, or those who are antagonistic to the Federation and its affiliated bodies and illegally unseating or refusing to admit delegates, representing National or International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

"Your committee recommends that the Executive Council be instructed to rigidly enforce the laws of the American Federation of Labor, governing the action of Central Bodies affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. Any Central Body failing to comply with the laws shall have its charter revoked."

And Section 1 of Article II, of the Constitution of the A. F. of L. as follows:

"No Central Labor Union, or any other central body of delegates, shall admit to or retain in their councils delegates from any local organization that owes its allegiance to any other body, National or International, hostile to any affiliated organization, or that has been suspended or expelled by, or not connected with, a National or International organization of their trade herein affiliated, under penalty of having their charter revoked for violation of their charter, subject to appeal to the next convention."

We authorized the issuance of a circular to all affiliated central and state bodies, directing that the local bodies of organizations coming under the above category should no longer be recognized, or allowed representation therein. A copy of this letter and a copy of the circular issued to all affiliated organizations were published in the September, 1912, issue

of the American Federationist beginning page 74.

In a letter dated July 31, and received at the office of the A. F. of L. during the day of August 1, the day when the time limitation expired, the officers of the Amalgamated Society asked for an extension of time, they knowing that it was a physical impossibility for that request to be conveyed from the headquarters to the members of the Executive Council and a reply thereto received at headquarters on that same day. That request for an extension of time could just as well have been made earlier in July, or even in June, and the request might have been complied with, but in any event, even in all the correspondence and even in the letter in which the request for extension of time was made, it was stated definitely and emphatically that the decision of the Executive Council would not be accepted by the Amalgamated Society, and, therefore, the charter was revoked.

**Steam Fitters — Plumbers — Building Trades Department.**

The Atlanta Convention declared that both for harmony and practicability the pipe fitting trade should be represented in the A. F. of L., also in the Building Trades Department, by one general association of the pipe fitting industry—the United Association of Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters and Steam Fitters' Helpers of the United States and Canada, and further, that the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. be instructed, and the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department be requested, to carry that declaration into effect. That Convention further declared that a conference should be held between the representatives of the two organizations at interest, for the purpose of effecting their amalgamation. The conference was duly held on January 6, 1912, when, acting upon our authority, the following letter containing the decision of the Executive Council was sent by President Gompers:

"Headquarters  
American Federation of Labor.  
Washington, D. C., Jan. 12, 1912.

"Mr. Thomas E. Burke, Secretary, United Association of Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters and Steam Fitters' Helpers of United States and Canada, 411-416 Bush Temple of Music, Chicago, Ill.

"Mr. W. H. Davies, Secretary, International Association of Steam and Hot Water Fitters and Helpers of America, Room 205, Merrick Bldg., Chicago, Ill.

"Dear Sirs and Brothers: The Atlanta Convention of the American Federation of Labor directed amalgamation should take place, whereby the United Association of Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters and Steam Fitters' Helpers of United States and Canada and the International Association of Steam and Hot Water Power Pipe Fitters and Helpers of America shall be formed into one organization under one charter from the American Federation of Labor, namely, the United Association of Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters and Steam Fitters' Helpers of United States and Canada. The Convention directed that a conference of the interested parties should be held for that purpose, at which a representative of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. should be present.

"We herewith notify both organizations in interest that the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. received a report from President Gompers of the A. F. of L. and President Short of the Building Trades Department that the conference called for had been held January 6, 1912, at the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor.

"Representatives of the U. A. and I. A. were present together with President Gompers of the A. F. of L., representing the Executive Council; and President Short representing the B. T. D.

"President Gompers and Short reported that though the conference was held, no agreement was reached, due to the fact that the representatives of the I. A. refused to confer with the representatives of the U. A. to determine upon any plan of amalgamation, the representatives of the International Association declaring that, in accordance with the action of the Atlanta Convention, it was for the Executive Council to submit a plan to effect amalgamation.

"In view of these facts, the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. herewith submits to the United Association of Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters and Steam Fitters' Helpers of the United States and Canada, and to the International Association of Steam and Hot Water Fitters and Helpers of America, terms of amalgamation as incorporated in this letter.

"Owing to the importance of the subject and the necessity for constructive action in the pipe-fitting industry and for the greater development of the purposes of the Building Trades Department, and its relationship to the general labor movement, both organizations in interest, the U. A. and the I. A. are hereby informed that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor expects a report of the action taken by the respective organizations on the following proposed general terms of amalgamation not later than April 1, 1912. Both organizations are hereby also notified that the interests involved in the pipe-fitting industry, as well as in the Building Trades Department and the labor movement generally, require that in the event of amalgamation, as directed by the Atlanta Convention, not being agreed to by

April 1, 1912, that the whole labor movement relies upon the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. to announce that there is but one organization of the pipe-fitting industry, recognized by the American Federation of Labor, namely: The United Association of Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters and Steam Fitters' Helpers of United States and Canada.

AMALGAMATION AGREEMENT

"The following agreement is entered into this \_\_\_\_\_ day of \_\_\_\_\_, 1912, by and between the United Association of Journeymen Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters and Steam Fitters' Helpers of the United States and Canada and the International Association of Steam, Hot Water and Power Pipe Fitters and Helpers of America, in compliance with the action of the American Federation of Labor Convention, held at Atlanta, Georgia, November, 1911:

"Sec. 1. All beneficial members of the International Association of Steam, Hot Water and Power Pipe Fitters and Helpers of America, in good standing at the time this agreement is consummated, shall be placed in full beneficial standing on the books of the United Association, as provided for in the general constitution and laws of the United Association governing payment of benefits and donations.

"Sec. 2. It is agreed that all members of the International Association of Steam, Hot Water and Power Pipe Fitters and Helpers of America thus becoming members of the United Association of Journeymen Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters and Steam Fitters' Helpers of the United States and Canada, shall be entitled to all rights and privileges accorded other members of the United Association.

"Sec. 3. All apprentices at present in good standing in International Association shall, upon affiliation to the United Association, be credited with full length of time served and shall be entitled to all benefits and privileges of the United Association as provided for in the Constitution of that Association.

"Sec. 4. In cities or districts where two or more locals of the Amalgamated Association are located a joint council shall be formed.

"Sec. 5. Separate charters shall be granted local unions composed of steam fitters or steam fitters' helpers where a sufficient number of applicants for such charter exist, in accordance with the laws of the United Association.

"Sec. 6. Increased effort shall be made to organize all non-union steam fitters and helpers employed in the pipe-fitting industry.

"Sec. 7. It is hereby agreed that steam fitters shall be entitled to, and shall have, complete control over all steam fitting work and it is further agreed that in order to promote the success of this amalgamation, a com-

mittee of six (6), composed of equal numbers representing the parties at interest, shall be created for the purpose of determining the division of the work. This committee shall meet and so determine within fifteen days after the consummation of this agreement.

"Sec. 8. In case any differences arise relative to carrying out the provision of Sec. 7, that cannot be settled by the representatives of the organizations in interest then the question in dispute shall be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for settlement."

"The above is the decision in the case of the Plumbers, and the Steamfitters as rendered by the Executive Council at its meeting the week of January 8th.

"Both Secretary Morrison and I have been absent on official business since the adjournment of the Executive Council meeting, or the decision would have been more promptly transmitted to you.

"Trusting that I may hear from you in regard to the above at your early convenience, and with best wishes, I remain, Fraternaly yours,

SAMUEL GOMPERS,

President

American Federation of Labor."

To this the following replies were received:

United Association Journeymen Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters and Steam Fitters' Helpers of the United States and Canada.

"Chicago, Ill., Jan. 27, 1912.

"Mr. Samuel Gompers, President, American Federation of Labor:

"Dear Sir and Brother: I have your esteemed favor of recent date which is the decision rendered by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor at its recent meeting held the week beginning January 8th, 1912, which is in relation to the case of the United Association of Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters and Steam Fitters' Helpers of the United States and Canada versus the International Association of Steam and Hot Water Fitters of America.

"In reply beg to say that I am instructed by the General Executive Board of the United Association to inform you that we unanimously accept the decision of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor in all its details in this case, and further that we are prepared now and at the date set to carry its provisions into execution, as desired by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

"Trusting that your efforts and the efforts of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor will meet with complete success, in settling once and for all this long drawn out controversy, assuring you of my best wishes, I beg to remain,

Fraternaly yours,

THOS. E. BURKE,  
Secretary-Treasurer."

International Association of Steam, Hot Water and Power Pipe Fitters and Helpers.

Chicago, Ill., April 3, 1912.

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

"Dear Sir and Brother: At the outset I must apologize for the seeming delay in replying to your communication referring to our amalgamation with the Plumbers. Can assure you that same was sent promptly to our Executive Board, which naturally caused much deliberation and delay in getting their replies to me, as no doubt they felt the subject matter was of the utmost importance.

"I beg leave to report that our Executive Board has decided to reject the proposition as submitted. With best wishes, I am,

"Yours fraternally,

W. H. DAVIES,

Secretary-Treasurer International Association."

At our January meeting we decided that, in accordance with the action of the Atlanta Convention of the A. F. of L., "the officers of the A. F. of L. will, after May 1, 1912, receive per capita tax from only one organization in the pipe fitting industry, namely the United Association of Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters and Steam Fitters' Helpers of the United States and Canada." In view of the instructions of the Atlanta Convention and particularly the instructions of the Minneapolis Convention, and Section 1 of Article II of the Constitution of the A. F. of L., both of which have been quoted in the section of this report dealing with the Amalgamated Carpenters and the U. B. of Carpenters, and further, in view of the declarations on the part of the Steam Fitters, as indicated in Secretary Davies' letter of April 3, on May first we directed the issuance of a circular letter to all affiliated organizations, calling attention to the fact that in conformity with the action of the Atlanta Convention, the officers of the A. F. of L. would after May 1, 1912, receive per capita from only one organization in the pipe fitting industry, the United Association of Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters and Steam Fitters' Helpers, and calling upon all affiliated organizations in the interests of the workers in the pipe fitting industry, as well as all wage earners in our country to aid by every means within their power to carry into effect the decision of the American Federation of Labor and the Building Trades Department.

It should be stated that the Building Trades Department, the Metal Trades Department, and the Railroad Employees Department at their several conventions since the Atlanta Convention of the A. F. of L. have taken such action as to conform to the decision of that convention that there shall be but one organization recognized in the pipe fitting industry, namely, the United Association of Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters and Steam Fitters' Helpers, of the United States and Canada.

#### Sheet Metal Workers—Metal Polishers.

In view of the many existing jurisdictional controversies, it is pleasing to submit to you the agreement as entered into between the Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance and the Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers, Brass and Silver Workers Union of N. A.:

August 15th, 1912.

"Jurisdiction agreement entered into this date between the Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance and the Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers, Brass and Silver Workers' Union of North America.

"It is understood by the parties whose signatures are hereto attached:

"First, That all sheet metal work as registered with the American Federation of Labor, the Building Trades Department and Metal Trades Department shall be the work of the Sheet Metal Workers.

"Second, The Sheet Metal Workers waive the right to the manufacture of gas and electric fixtures, and beer pump supplies, such as are used in the drawing of beer, soda and mineral waters to the Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers, Brass and Silver Workers.

M. O'SULLIVAN,

"General President, Sheet Metal Workers,

T. M. DALY,

"General President, Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers, Brass and Silver Workers Union of N. A."

#### Glass Bottle Blowers — Flint Glass Workers.

At our meeting in August, we received a communication from President Hayes at the 36th Annual Convention of the Glass Bottle Blowers Association then in session at Olean, New York, that an agreement had been entered into with the American Flint Glass Workers and that the Glass Bottle Blowers Association therefore withdrew its protest against the Flint Glass Workers being granted a charter by the American Federation of Labor.

At the same meeting, however, a protest was entered by President Johnston of the International Association of Machinists against the charter being issued to the Flint Glass Workers until the question of jurisdiction over mold making should be adjusted. We thereupon directed that at the earliest date possible a conference should be held between the representatives of the three organizations. This conference took place at our Washington headquarters on September 23rd.

It was decided at the conference that President Hayes of the Glass Bottle Blowers and President Rowe of the Flint Glass Workers should formulate in writing a request to the International Association of Machinists to withdraw its protest against charter being issued to the Flint Glass Workers. This was done. The Machinists' organization, however, declined to withdraw its protest. Thereupon the officers of the three organizations involved were invited to a conference with us during our October meeting. An entire afternoon session was devoted to the conference, with an endeavor to reach an agreement, but without avail.

At the Minneapolis Convention the Executive Council rendered a decision regarding the application of the American Flint Glass Workers Union for a charter. That decision was reported to the Norfolk Convention of 1907, found on page 77 of the official printed proceedings of that year, and which the convention approved and made its own:

"Upon the application of the American Flint Glass Workers for a charter, it was decided that charter be issued upon the condition that they refrain from making bottles and fruit jars, which constitute the class of work performed by the Glass Bottle Blowers Association of the United States and Canada now affiliated to the American Federation of Labor."

That decision was ratified at a later convention. This was the clear and emphatic instruction to the Executive Council, and inasmuch as the American Flint Glass Workers Union complied with the decision of the Executive Council rendered at Minneapolis and endorsed at subsequent A. F. of L. Conventions, and the A. F. G. W. U. had entered into an agreement with the Glass Bottle Blowers' Association carrying the decision into effect, the Executive Council had no al-

ternative and directed that charter be granted and it was granted.

As will be observed from the report we have thus far submitted to this convention, every effort has been made to carry into effect the spirit, as well as the letter, of the declaration of the Atlanta Convention of one organization for one trade; that duality and rivalry must cease so far as we have the power to enforce it.

Nor were the efforts of the Executive Council directed to that policy and practice because of the Atlanta Convention's declaration. That has been the course pursued by the Executive Council and by our Federation ever since its inception, and particularly since the autonomy declaration of the Scranton Convention. Inasmuch as eleven years have elapsed since that declaration, we believe it entirely appropriate to quote it in this report, so that it can be made a part thereof to refresh your minds and the minds of our fellow workers. It is as follows:

#### AUTONOMY DECLARATION\*

Scranton, Pa., December 14, 1901.

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

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

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

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

"1. As the magnificent growth of the American Federation of Labor is conceded by all students of economic thought

\* (The above declaration as here given is as corrected by the New Orleans Convention, page 143.)



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

"2. We hold that the interests of the trade union movement will be promoted by closely allied and sub-divided crafts giving consideration to amalgamation, and to the organization of District and National Trade Councils to which should be referred questions in dispute, and which should be adjusted within allied crafts' lines.

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

SAMUEL GOMPERS,  
JAMES DUNCAN,  
JOHN MITCHELL,  
JOHN MULHOLLAND,  
C. N. HUGHES,  
Committee."

In connection with this declaration it is necessary to call attention to a frequent misconception of the term "autonomy" as it is used by the American Federation of Labor. Some have mistakenly interpreted it to mean that a trade union cannot expand its jurisdiction, or amalgamate with another organization of the same or if a kindred trade in the same industry. The term "autonomy," as applied, has been used as an obstacle to such extension, growth, and amalgamation. No such construction or interpreta-

tion can be justly given the term. Broadly and specifically speaking, the term "autonomy" means self government, as automaton and automatic, self-acting; autobiography, self-writing the history of one's own life; automobile self-propelling; deriving its general application from the root word auto, self. We are prompted to this explanation by several instances in which the term "industrial unionism" is applied, as against trade unionism, with its autonomous self-government, as well as by a circular which was recently issued by the Metal Trades Council of Toledo, Ohio, in which the affiliated organizations and the delegates to this convention are urged to favor an amendment to the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, so that,

"National and International trade unions shall have the right to amalgamation; such amalgamation must be endorsed by a referendum vote of the organizations affected, and a two-thirds affirmative vote of the members voting upon such amendment in each organization, shall be necessary to make the amendment legal and binding."

Such a proposition is based upon the misconception that the American Federation of Labor prevents, or has the power to prevent or place obstacles in the way of, amalgamation of national or international trade unions when they so desire to amalgamate, when as a matter of fact every effort has been made by the A. F. of L., the Executive Council, and our organizations to bring about amalgamation of national and international unions, and where that has been impossible for the time being, to endeavor to have them co-operate and federate for their mutual advantage.

Attention is also called to the provision of this suggested amendment to the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, that if it were adopted it would require a two-thirds affirmative vote of the members voting to bring about amalgamation, when as a matter of fact, amalgamation of several organizations has been effected by conference and agreement ratified by a majority of the membership, or a majority of the convention, voting upon the question. Thus it will retard and not facilitate.

Years ago we severed the affiliation of the American Branch of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, and declared

that inasmuch as its members performed the work in several of the machinery trades, the members thereof should belong to the International Association of Machinists. The Allied Metal Mechanics' International Union became part of the International Association of Machinists, and the Machinists Helpers unions have become part thereof.

The Amalgamated Wood Workers' International Union amalgamated with and became a part of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, and the American Branch of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters has had its charter revoked because it refused to amalgamate with the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners.

In accordance with the instructions of the Atlanta Convention, efforts were made to have the International Association of Steam and Hot Water Fitters and Helpers amalgamate with the United Association of Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters, and Steam Fitters' Helpers. Because of the refusal of the former, we have endeavored to carry the instructions into effect that there should be but one organization recognized in the pipe fitting industry, and that the United Association of Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters, and Steam Fitters' Helpers. The United Association has within its membership those branches of the trades included in its title.

The International Molders' Union of North America now encompasses molders of all metals, and some years ago the Core Makers' International Union became amalgamated with it.

The Longshoremens have pilots and steam shovelmen in addition to their own workers, longshoremens.

Blacksmiths have chain makers and helpers.

The Lasters' International Union became amalgamated with the Boot and Shoe Workers International Union.

The Iron and Steel Workers are organizing the unskilled with the skilled of the trade.

The Miners have jurisdiction over all work in and around the mines.

Granite Cutters have added polishers, rubbers, sawyers, and the tool sharpeners have been part thereof from the beginning.

Quarry Workers have added derrickmen, boxing and strapping.

Railroad Telegraphers have added station agents, signalmen, train despatchers, telephoners, pneumatic interlockers, and staffmen.

The Journeymen Tailors' International Union, the United Garment Workers of N. A., and the Ladies Garment Workers International Union are endeavoring to bring about an amalgamation of the three organizations, or to bring about a closer co-operative effort.

So on might we quote nearly all of the national and international unions in their constant effort to a more thorough and comprehensive organization of their own fellow workers in the trade, or in kindred trades.

And yet it is also true that in some few organizations the amalgamation of various branches of one industry having been accomplished, they have voluntarily separated into a number of international unions of their respective branches. That is especially true of the International Typographical Union, which until some years ago had under its jurisdiction and part of the organization the compositors, proof readers, pressmen, book-binders, stereotypers and electrotypers, mailers, news-writers, photo-engravers. By agreement, the book-binders, stereotypers and electrotypers, and photo-engravers, have formed separate organizations from the International Typographical Union, and generally co-operating in their local and national councils.

The American trade union movement is one of constant growth, development and expansion. Since its inception, the American Federation of Labor has been the most practical and beneficial general organization of the wage-workers of the continent; has taken cognizance of the constant change and transition in industry and by every means within its power has sought not only to effect the organization of unorganized workers, but to bring about unity, solidarity and fraternity among organized workers, and has stimulated by every means within its power the necessity for closer co-operation, federation and amalgamation of existing trade unions to the end that each may be helpful to all.

The American Federation of Labor realizes that a chain is no stronger than its weakest link; that the grand army of organized labor cannot advance much further than its most backward column; that the labor organizations are made up of human beings who are not cast in plastic molds; cannot be placed in rigid forms, and therefore, it must concede that the authority vested in the affiliated unions and their members must be the largest consistent with the general progress and the welfare of the entire wage-working masses.

The American Federation of Labor has organized central bodies in hundreds of cities, and State federations in nearly all the states in America; has instituted a large number of international unions and numberless local unions, and has developed the system of Industrial Departments which federate the organized workers of the different crafts, trades and callings and which co-operate for the common protection and advancement of the interest of all.

The American Federation of Labor realizes that there is still much to do, but repudiates the insinuation which is implied by the term "Industrial Unionism" as it is employed by the so-called "Industrial Workers of the World" in antagonism to "Trade Unionism" for in that implication the false impression is conveyed that the trade unions are rigid, unyielding, or do not adjust themselves to meet new conditions and do not advance, develop or expand, whereas the whole history of the trade union movement in the past thirty years demonstrates beyond successful contradiction, that there is not a day which passes, but which witnesses in the trade union movement in America the highest and loftiest spirit of sacrifice in order to co-operate with our fellow-workers for their interest and common uplift.

In line with the historic, intelligent and comprehensive attitude which the American Federation of Labor has pursued since its inception, we urge still greater effort and energy in the work of more thoroughly organizing the unorganized workers, pursued to its fullest extent; to urge upon the organized workers a more thorough co-operation, to advocate amalgamation of organizations of kindred

trades and callings, and a more thorough federation of all organized labor, to the end that economic, political, moral and social justice shall come to the toilers, the wealth producers of America.

#### **Teamsters—Newspaper and Mail Deliverers.**

By Resolution No. 40 of the Atlanta Convention—the claim made by the Brotherhood of Teamsters of jurisdiction over a certain class of the members of Newspaper and Mail Deliverers' Local No. 9463, it was directed that these members should be transferred from that local to the jurisdiction of the Teamsters' organization.

In conveying to the officers of both organizations the action of the convention, every effort was exerted to reach a mutually satisfactory basis of agreement between them, and yet to carry out the instructions of the convention. Much correspondence passed between both organizations and President Gompers. Local No. 9463 was loath to abide by the Atlanta decision. The Brotherhood of Teamsters insisted that the decision should be enforced. Endeavoring in every way to relieve the situation, and realizing that the revocation of the charter of the Newspaper and Mail Deliverers for failure to abide by the Atlanta decision would not change the situation, and in so far as concerns the organized labor movement of the country that local would not be identified with it, we deferred from month to month revoking the charter hoping that some way out of the difficulty might be found without having recourse to such drastic measures.

#### **Teamsters—Brewery Workers.**

The Atlanta Convention directed the President of the A. F. of L. to arrange a conference between the representatives of the Teamsters and the representatives of the Brewers for the purpose of endeavoring to bring about an adjustment of their jurisdictional controversy, that failing to secure such an adjustment your Executive Council should render a decision setting forth clearly the jurisdiction of each organization. At several different times during the year President Gompers succeeded in arranging a date that was mutually satisfactory and at a time when a representative of the Executive Council could be present. Upon each occasion,

however, some unforeseen matters arose which prevented either one or both of the organizations from participating in the conference.

We urge and recommend further conference during the sessions of this convention.

#### Teamsters—Bakers.

The conference between the representatives of these two organizations was duly held as directed by you at our last convention, Secretary Frank Duffy of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America representing the American Federation of Labor.

The representatives of the Bakers asked for a modification of the recommendations of Mr. Duffy and requested that a further conference be held between the representatives of the two organizations.

The second conference was held and the recommendations and findings of Secretary Duffy were approved and adopted by us. They are as follows:

"I therefore again recommend that Resolution No. 43 be concurred in by the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. and that the President and Executive Council of the A. F. of L. put in force and effect the decision of the Atlanta Convention that in one craft there must be one organization only;

"I further recommend that after this is done a conference of the representatives of both organizations be held for the purpose of arriving at an agreement governing the relationship of one organization to the other on the matters hereinbefore mentioned."

The officers of both organizations were duly advised of our decision and were requested to meet in further conference. The officers of the Teamsters declared that as soon as the officers of the Bakers complied with the action of the E. C., the Teamsters would then be ready to meet with them.

#### Blacksmiths—Tunnel and Subway Employes.

Your Executive Council did not concur in the jurisdictional claims of the Brotherhood of Blacksmiths as set forth in Resolution No. 26 of the Atlanta Convention in connection with which that convention directed that a conference be held between the representatives of the Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and of the International Union of Tunnel and Subway Constructors. As the result of the conference and

much correspondence, we are pleased to be able to report that the following agreement was reached:

New York City, May 2, 1912.

"TERMS OF AGREEMENT made and agreed to by and between Mr. T. J. Curtis, President of the International Union of Tunnel and Subway Constructors, and Mr. Richard Brereton, Business Agent of the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Local Union No. 17, as a basis of settlement determining the demarkation lines between both organizations.

"President Curtis on behalf of the International Union of Tunnel and Subway Constructors agrees to concede the jurisdiction of all blacksmiths except those employed in the sharpening of drills used by his members in their work.

"He further agrees that any member of his organization doing general blacksmith work shall be turned over to Local Union No. 17 of the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths.

"He further agrees to render moral support wherever and whenever possible to the representative of Local Union No. 17 of the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths in having unorganized blacksmiths affiliate with that organization.

"Business Agent Brereton, representing Local Union No. 17 of the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, agrees to accept the above conditions offered by President Curtis as a fair basis of settlement of dispute between both organizations and agrees to work and co-operate with President Curtis of the International Union of Tunnel and Subway Constructors in not only promoting harmony between the two organizations but to render moral support wherever and whenever necessary in assisting and building up the International Union of Tunnel and Subway Constructors.

"THOS. J. CURTIS,

"President, International Union of Tunnel and Subway Constructors.

"RICHARD BRERETON,  
"Business Agent, International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Local Union 17.

"HUGH FRAYNE,

"General Organizer, American Federation of Labor."

#### Tailors—Garment Workers.

On October 19, 1902, an agreement was entered into between the representatives of the United Garment Workers of America and the Journeymen Tailors Union covering disputed points of jurisdiction. That agreement has been in force since that time.

Some months ago the officers of the Tailors alleged transgression of jurisdiction on the part of the United Garment Workers and requested that the officers of the A. F. of L. should arrange a con-

ference with the representatives of the United Garment Workers and the Ladies Garment Workers International Union, for the purpose of devising plans to bring about a better understanding in the best interests of the several organizations and with a view of possible federation or an amalgamation. This conference was held September 30, Secretary Morrison representing the A. F. of L. The conclusion reached was that the amalgamation of the three organizations into one would be to the best interests of the garment working trade; that in order to develop this idea, the headquarters of the three organizations should be located in the same city; that there should be selected by each organization three members to meet jointly at least once in three months or as often as either of the organizations might call for a conference for the purpose of developing and working out a practical plan of amalgamation. A further conference will be held during this convention when the three organizations will be prepared to submit such plans as they believe will assist in finally bringing about amalgamation.

#### **Brick Makers—Steam Engineers.**

In conformity with instructions given by you at our last convention, as per Resolution No. 132, a conference of the representatives of the International Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers' Alliance and the International Union of Steam Engineers was arranged, Vice-President Alpine representing the Executive Council. No agreement was reached upon the disputed points of jurisdiction and it was referred to the Executive Council. We thereupon sustained the Steam Engineers in their contention for jurisdiction over their operating electric machines in brick yards.

#### **Amalgamation Steam-Shovelmen's Organizations.**

We were authorized by the Atlanta Convention to call a meeting of the representatives of the International Brotherhood of Steam-Shovel and Dredgemen, the representatives of the Associated Union of Steam-Shovelmen, and such other organizations as are interested in the subject, for the purpose of uniting all organized members of this trade into one organiza-

tion in conformity with the laws of the A. F. of L. As authorized by us, President Gompers arranged for several conferences. They were barren of results. The last conference was called to be held during our August meeting.

The representatives of the several organizations in interest were then given hearings. Immediately after the adjournment of our August meeting, another conference was held in Chicago at which Vice-President Mitchell represented the Executive Council. He submitted the following report of that conference:

Mount Vernon, N. Y., Sept. 9, 1912.

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

"Dear Sir and Brother:

"In pursuance of the action of the August meeting of the Executive Council, I arranged a conference of the representatives of the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen and the Associated Union of Steam Shovelmen, at Chicago, August 30th. Those present at the conference were Messrs. Dolan and Carrigan, representing the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen, James Hannahan, representing the International Brotherhood of Stationary Engineers, John W. Tracy, representing the Associated Union of Steam Shovelmen, Edwin Perry, representing the Mining Department of the A. F. of L., and the undersigned representing the American Federation of Labor.

"The purpose of the conference being the unification of the organizations having control of steam shovel work, I requested the representatives of the parties at interest to submit proposals for amalgamation. As neither side was prepared to submit any definite proposition, which the other would accept, I proposed amalgamation on the following basis: That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor should recommend to the respective organizations of steam shovel men that during the month of December a committee of ten, five representing each organization, meet in the city of Chicago for the purpose of revising the laws of the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen in such manner as could be agreed upon, it being understood that in the revision of the law the right of the steam shovel men to continue their affiliation with the International Brotherhood of Stationary Engineers and the International Longshoremen's Association or to make other affiliations of mutual benefit, should not be interfered with; that this recommendation of the Executive Council be transmitted by the American Federation of Labor to the officers of the respective organizations of steam shovel men and by them be submitted to a referendum vote of the membership of the organizations at interest, in accordance with the provisions of their own laws.

"The above proposal was accepted by all those present at the conference and the statement was made by Mr. Dolan, representing the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen, and by Mr. Tracy, representing the Associated Union of Steam Shovelmen, that they would recommend to the membership of their respective organizations that the proposal of the Executive Council be adopted.

"On the following day—that is Saturday, August 31—Mr. Dolan, of the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen, advised me that he had consulted with the members of his executive board, and that they would not agree to amalgamation on the terms proposed. On that day—August 31—Mr. Dolan wrote me as follows:

Chicago, Ill., August 31, 1912.

"Mr. John Mitchell, Kaiserhof Hotel, Chicago, Ill.

"Dear Mr. Mitchell:

"Since my talk with you yesterday in reference to your proposition affecting our Brotherhood and the dual organization of steam shovelmen, will state that I talked your proposition over with the members of our executive board on the long distance telephone and they will only agree to the following proposition, namely: The International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen will agree to accept the entire membership of the dual organizations into our Brotherhood with the exception of the men who are now scabbing in the Purinton Brick Yard at Galesburg, Ill. With the exception of these men who are scabbing on 600 brickmakers and 25 of our members who have been on a strike there for the past eighteen months, we will take in their entire membership free of all cost.

"Trusting the American Federation of Labor can induce these dual organizations to come into our Brotherhood through the regular channels according to the principles of the American Federation of Labor, I remain,

Yours fraternally,  
T. J. DOLAN,  
General Secretary-Treasurer.

"From the foregoing you will perceive that my efforts to unite the organizations of steam shovelmen have failed and that failure is due to the refusal of the Executive Board of the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen to endorse the action of their representatives in the conference herein referred to.

I shall write to-day to Messrs. Tracy and Perry informing them of the refusal of the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen to proceed further in the movement for amalgamation. I am,

Yours truly,  
"JOHN MITCHELL,  
Second Vice-President A. F. of L."

The basis of amalgamation as proposed by Mr. Mitchell was accepted by all of those present at the conference, and the

representatives of the Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen and of the Associated Union of Steam Shovelmen stated that they would recommend to their respective organizations that the proposal of the Executive Council as represented by Vice President Mitchell be adopted. The Executive Board of the International Brotherhood declined to accept. Believing that the necessity for unity warrants us in urging that another conference be held by the representatives of the organizations in interest, they have, therefore, been invited to send representatives to hold a conference in this city, during the time of this convention. We hope to make a report to you later as to the result of such conference.

#### Electrical Workers.

The long standing controversy in the courts between the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and the seceding section of that organization was decided by Judge Phillips in the Court of Common Pleas of Cleveland, Ohio, on March 21, 1912, in favor of the Brotherhood affiliated to the A. F. of L. The Executive Board of the Brotherhood immediately thereafter held a meeting and adopted the following as the basis upon which the local unions of the seceding faction of the electrical workers would be admitted to membership in the Brotherhood:

"1st. In the event of the members of Local Union No. — again joining forces with our Brotherhood, they will be placed immediately in benefit to the amount of \$100 in case of death.

"2nd. All members of Local Union No. — that have been in good standing for five continuous years in either organization or in both, will be entitled to transfer their membership into any other local union of the same branch of our trade without examination or difference in initiation fee.

"3rd. All members of Local No. — who have been less than five years in continuous good standing will be given credit for the full length of their good standing.

"4th. All members of Local Union No. — to be placed in good standing on our books on payment of current per capita tax."

A number of local unions immediately accepted the proposition and from time to time additional unions came into the Brotherhood until at the time of making this report it has been reported to us that 65 local unions of the seceding faction of Electrical Workers have united with the

International Brotherhood, with an increase in membership of 4,088.

**Jurisdiction Over Newsboys, Carriers, Newspaper Solicitors, Printer Roller Makers.**

We have given much thought and discussion to, and there has been much correspondence upon, the matter of jurisdiction over newsboys, news carriers and newspaper solicitors and printer roller makers. Your Executive Council expressed the belief and opinion that the International Typographical Union has original jurisdiction over news writers. A conference is to be held during this convention between the representatives of the printing trades, when it is hoped that a mutually satisfactory agreement may be reached regarding the matter of jurisdiction over the trades mentioned. We hope to be able later during this convention to make a report to you in regard to this matter.

**Authority and Self-Imposed Discipline.**

In connection with the general subject matter of the electrical workers, and questions of a kindred character, attention should be called to the fact that in conformity with the laws of the A. F. of L. and the actions and declarations of its conventions, the charter of the Alameda County Central Labor Council, California, was revoked because that body refused to abide by the decision and the laws of the A. F. of L. in the electrical workers' matter.

Information has come to us that a committee of three representing the Alameda County C. L. U. has visited several places in California, soliciting support in their refusal to abide by the laws and decisions of the A. F. of L. and for the organization of a dual and rival body to the A. F. of L. on the Pacific Coast.

Your attention is called to this particular case for several reasons, only a few of which need here be stated. Somewhere in the labor movement of America, there must be lodged some degree of authority, or expression of judgment. To this authority, interested parties should defer for investigation, discussion, final judgment and ultimate determination, all disputed matters affecting the internal relations of the organized labor movement

coming properly before the American Federation of Labor.

This authority to adjudge as to which disputant is held to be right and which to be wrong, and should endeavor, with all the influence which can be brought to bear through our movement, to adjust such disputes, conflicts and claims so that the unity and solidarity of the labor movement may be maintained.

If this position be right, the question arises as to where that authority shall be vested. If the American Federation of Labor in its conventions, or between conventions, the Executive Council, is not the constituted authority, where, pray, shall such authority be lodged? In any one central body? If that be justified, than why not a single local union? And if that be proper, then each individual member of a union may be constituted a law unto himself. Then, how can any general policy or purpose be outlined or a coherent practical course be pursued in the interests of the general welfare of the toilers of our continent?

The laws, the policies, and the decision of the A. F. of L. are based upon the combined judgment of the toilers of America. There is no power lodged any where in our movement by which the laws, policies, and decisions thereof can be made effective, unless it be the general consensus of opinion and judgment of the organized wage earners, and the respect and confidence which they have in the movement and the men they have chosen to represent them. It depends for success upon the devotion of the rank and file of organized labor to the cause of unionism for furtherance of their own interests and the common welfare.

In the absence of any power to enforce laws, policies and decisions (and our movement aims at the avoidance of such force and power), there must come to our fellow workers the understanding that some degree of discipline must be maintained, but that only through discipline which is self-imposed and maintained for the progressive and orderly conduct of the labor movement of our time, can the integrity and entity of our movement be safeguarded; so that it may be of the greatest value and influence in securing for the toiling masses of our country, the opportunity and the means for the at-

tainment of the highest and best possible conditions.

Because of the action of the Central Labor Council of Alameda County, and other instances of a similar character, we believe that this convention should express itself in no unmistakable terms as to the moral duty and obligation of every affiliated body loyally to give effect to decisions of the conventions of the American Federation of Labor, the highest authority in the organized labor movement of America.

#### **Strikes and Lockouts of Directly Affiliated Local and Federal Labor Unions.**

During the year many applications were made for financial assistance by directly affiliated local trade unions and federal labor unions, where their members were involved in strikes or lockouts. Whenever the unions were entitled to such assistance under the Federation constitution, your Executive Council gave speedy and effective aid, and in some cases where assistance was urged we supported the strike or lockout even though there were no actual obligations resting upon the Federation. It has been our desire and endeavor to deal as generously in such cases as is permissible under the constitution, but yet we wish to take this opportunity of impressing upon the local trade and federal labor unions directly affiliated the necessity for complying with the requirements of the constitution in giving notice where there is a likelihood of a strike or lockout being inaugurated.

It is not necessary that we should repeat in this report the data given in the Secretary's report of the number of unions involved in strikes and lockouts during the year, the amount of benefits paid, but we do desire to call particular attention to the strike of the button workers at Muscatine, Iowa, and the strike of the railway employes on the Harriman and Illinois Central Railroad lines. In the case of the former the contest lasted considerably over a year. Although the button workers were almost wholly unorganized at the beginning, yet the strike ended without rancor or bitter feeling, with considerable enthusiasm for the union and without one dollar indebtedness. Benefits were paid to the mem-

bers of the organization to the amount of \$21,718, and during the entire contest one or more representatives of the Federation were constantly on the ground assisting, encouraging and helping in every possible way. President Gompers, by our direction, finally visited Muscatine on May 22, it being upon his advice and with his counsel that the strike came to an honorable end. Since that time the Button Workers' Union of Muscatine has been conducting an aggressive campaign for the organization of the workers of that trade, not only in that vicinity, but in various other localities where the industry is established. Through the help of our Federation organizers, assistance has been given whenever and wherever possible.

In the case of the railway strikes there were benefits paid for forty-eight weeks to nine unions, varying in members from 34 to 99. The men made a noble fight. When it finally became necessary to notify the various organizations that after a certain date no further benefits could be allowed, one local after another wrote to headquarters expressing its deep appreciation for the generous financial and moral assistance given by our Federation.

There were several directly affiliated trade unions and federal labor unions whose members have been on strike, and to whom benefits have been paid from the defense fund, but better than all the financial assistance rendered in these several controversies has been the fact that many improvements in wages, hours and conditions of labor have been secured by reason of the affiliation of these local unions to the A. F. of L., the practical suggestions and advice given them by our Federation officers and organizers, and the defense fund which, if necessary, was at their back.

Nor should we omit to make reference here to the many instances in which strikes have been averted and agreements reached through the efforts and with the assistance of the Federation organizers, the organizations' representatives and officers of the national and international unions, by conferences with employers and their representatives. It is the endeavor of the officers of the A. F. of L. and of its affiliated organizations to leave no honorable effort untried to prevent



strikes, consistent with the rights and promotive of the interests of the workers.

We believe that the intelligent public is beginning to realize that a well organized, orderly labor movement as represented by the American Federation of Labor is the most effective safeguard against unnecessary strikes and industrial disturbances.

#### Organizers.

A number of resolutions were introduced at our last convention requesting the appointment of special organizers for many of the different trades and callings, or requesting assistance in special organization work. Many requests of a similar character have been made during the course of the year. In all instances we authorized the President of the A. F. of L. to comply as fully as warranted by the funds of the Federation available for that work.

In Secretary Morrison's report to this convention the statistics are given of the number of unions organized and chartered during the year, both direct by the A. F. of L. as well as by the affiliated national and international unions. There must be taken into consideration, however, the fact that not all of the affiliated national and international unions have been able to make accurate reports along these lines. It must be further borne in mind that these statistics are but a partial demonstration of the work of the organizers, both of international unions and the American Federation of Labor. It is often the case that an organizer is required to devote days of his time to a particular locality, performing most excellent work in the interest of a special trade, as well as of the movement in general, and yet not be able to report the organization of a new union. Such work as this is not susceptible of statistical tabulation. It is, however, of none the less value to the progress, strengthening and building up of the movement in general.

There are now working directly for the American Federation of Labor organizers who speak English, German, Bohemian, Polish, Slavish, Lithuanian, Russian, Latium and Yiddish.

It should also be stated that for the purpose of assisting in the organization work of the Women's Trade Union League we authorized the payment of \$150 per month for one year.

In many of the international unions a considerable number of the members speak foreign languages. These organizations also have special organizers for the trade who speak various languages. They publish their constitutions and by-laws in foreign languages, as well as organizing literature and their various journals in part.

We recommend to our national and international unions, and to all organized labor, that a greater effort than ever before be made during the coming year to organize the yet unorganized workers in every trade and calling, and thus have them identified with, and become part of the great organized labor movement of America.

We further recommend the continuation of the special organization work of the A. F. of L., as far as warranted by the state of the Federation funds.

#### Organizers' Salaries.

The Atlanta Convention considered a resolution for the amendment of section 7, article XI of the constitution, relating to the salaries of organizers, the proposed amendment being to:

"Strike out the figures \$5.00 per day and insert the figures \$6.00 per day on line 4."

The matter was referred to the Executive Council with power to act. Owing to the fact that the funds were not then available to meet the proposed added expenditure which would thereby be entailed, we finally decided in favor of the proposition, the amendment to go into effect January 1, 1913. When considering this amendment, it was also decided that where organizers for any specific trade are employed by the A. F. of L. to perform special trade organizing work, that such organizers shall receive the stipulated salary as provided by the national or international union in whose interest the work is being performed, provided, however, that such salary does not exceed \$6.00 per day.

### Contempt Case.

In the report which was submitted to the Atlanta Convention, attention was called to the fact that a "committee" consisting of the attorneys in the original injunction and contempt case against us had been appointed by Justice Wright to investigate and report whether or not there was good reason to "believe Messrs. Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison guilty of contempt of court," and that this committee brought charges against our colleagues and reported them to the court. The committee recommended that it might be that Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison had believed that "the injunction was not binding" upon them because of what they claimed to be their "constitutional right of free speech and free press"; that it might be that, now that their contention had "not been sustained by the Supreme Court of the United States," they might be prepared to make such "due acknowledgment, apology and assurance of future submission" to the court; that should such acknowledgment, apology and submission not be forthcoming after due notice and opportunity, the course necessary to be pursued to maintain its dignity and due respect for and obedience to the law, was submitted to the court for its consideration. No such apologies or acknowledgments were made, and in pursuance of these charges the re-trial of the case began before Justice Wright, December 30, 1911.

While the three defendants were the parties on trial for contempt of court in the alleged violation of the terms of the injunction, there were more than personal interests, personal freedom, personal equations involved. Time and again the American Federation of Labor had declared, as we trust it will repeat and emphasize, for the untrameled freedom of the press and freedom of speech; that when an opportunity should be presented a test case should be made before the courts. Messrs. Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison were making that test. Regardless of consequences, they believed that they had not the right, and neither had they the inclination, to stultify our movement and degrade their consciences in making an apology for the lawful course they had pursued in having our rights determined before the courts, or to make

acknowledgment that they were unjustified in the course they pursued in welcoming the making of a test. The case had been brought against the Federation. We could not abstain from a defense, and it afforded the best method to utilize it as a test case.

The taking of testimony lasted 25 days, during all of which time there was not a scintilla of evidence adduced which in any way reflected dishonorably upon our movement or our men. It clearly emphasized the fact of our determination to uphold, at whatever peril, the right of free speech and free press. Perhaps it may not be amiss to call attention to the fact that the editorial printed in the March, 1908, issue of the American Federationist, reviewing the decision of the United States Supreme Court in the Hatters' Case, was taken as a text for a speech in the House of Representatives by Honorable William Sulzer of New York, and was made part of that speech. Because he incorporated therein a reference to the company which brought on the original injunction, that, too, was used as evidence against "Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison." Congressman Sulzer was called as a witness and took the stand and declared that he made that speech and made the editorial a part of it on his own volition, with the purpose of giving the subject the widest publicity in the interests of the people. His testimony closed the case.

Then began the argument, Mr. Darlington arguing for the prosecution against Messrs. Gompers and Morrison, and Mr. Wilson against Mr. Mitchell, Judge Alton B. Parker and J. H. Ralston arguing for the defendants, the closing argument being made by Committeeman Davenport on Friday, March 15. The arguments on both sides lasted in all five days, when the court took the case under advisement.

Our attorneys made magnificent arguments in presenting our case, taking up each specific bit of evidence and argument presented by the prosecution, and utterly demolishing them. They indicated the struggle on the part of our ancestors to secure the great principles of liberty, now embodied in the Constitutions of our Federal government and our State governments, and how organized labor, finding that the courts were infringing upon their constitutional and

statutory rights by usurpation, and through the abuse of the injunctive power, had determined to carry some test case to the court of ultimate authority in order to get a ruling. The legal principle involved in the case is whether or not an order is void when issued by a department of the government in excess of its authority. The injunction issued against the defendants in this case was declared by the District of Columbia Court of Appeals to be in excess of the court's power to issue. The injunction, as issued, gave the court censorship over the press. Our counsel argued that the constitutional provisions were to prevent all previous restraints to publication.

The argument of the case was completed March 15 and more than three months later, that is, on June 24, Justice Wright delivered his decision. As was expected, he confirmed his previous opinion. He declared Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison guilty of contempt of court, and sentenced them to imprisonment for twelve, nine and six months respectively. The decision aroused considerable comment because it was felt that Justice Wright had allowed personal opinions and feelings to determine his course. Besides unfavorable comments, by individuals and the press, the Democrats of Nebraska, in their state convention, incorporated into their state platform the following paragraph:

"We denounce the usurpation of power on the part of the Federal Judiciary as shown by the decision of Judge Daniel Thew Wright of the District of Columbia wherein he sentenced to imprisonment such champions of the wage earners of the nation as Samuel Gompers and John Mitchell for daring to exercise the prerogatives of free speech. We call upon Nebraska's representatives in Congress to investigate the record of this procedure with a view to the Judge's impeachment."

In accordance with these instructions the Democratic members of the Nebraska delegation conducted an investigation, which, we are advised, will be shortly resumed.

Mr. Francis T. Tobin, a lawyer from Philadelphia, Pa., advised us that he had sent to the Speaker of the House, Hon. Champ Clark, a petition for impeachment proceedings against Justice Wright. The petition asked that impeachment proceedings be instituted and that he be removed from office. Speaker

Clark was requested to present the petition to the House of Representatives for action.

Messrs. Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison have furnished bail in the sums of \$5,000, \$4,000, and \$3,000 respectively for their appearance. An appeal from Justice Wright's decision and sentence has been taken to the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia.

In connection with this case there are a few instances of an interesting character and which we feel in duty bound to report. One is already known to you; the other was communicated to the Executive Council (outside of the defendants themselves) only at our October meeting. The first is that our colleagues have stood firmly and unequivocally in defense of the right of free speech and free press. In that they have the almost universal approval and endorsement of the American people as well as of all men of other countries with whom we have had any contact or correspondence, and of the press of foreign countries which has come to our notice.

The stand of the American labor movement, the position of our three colleagues, is the stand which right-thinking, liberty-loving men in all countries and in all climes have taken for centuries. It was wrung from an unwilling monarch of Great Britain hundreds of years ago and writ in Magna Charta. It was given a new meaning in the Declaration of Independence, in the first amendment to the Constitution of the United States, and in the constitutions of every one of the States of our Union. It is a stand from which the American labor movement must not, and can not, recede. It is a stand which must ultimately be recognized and established for every citizen of our country and our time, regardless of who, in the meantime, must suffer in the struggle for its attainment. There is one fact which stands out clearly; that is, that our colleagues, Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison, even though they may have to suffer imprisonment in this case, will bear no obloquy, but it will be to their honor and their credit in having made the stand for the rights of man.

In addition, the circumstance was most unfortunate that the original appeal on the injunction itself, and which primarily involved the principle for which we were

contending, that is, free speech and free press, became a moot case because, in the logical work in connection with our movement, we could not refrain from entering into an agreement with the company which had obtained the injunction. Therefore, the appeal on the injunction was dismissed and nothing but the appeal upon the contempt case was before the Supreme Court. In connection with this fact, we desire to lay a second matter before you and which, as we have already said, was so recently communicated to us.

When the agreement with the company was reached our attorneys realized that in all likelihood the case would be regarded as moot, and therefore an amended agreement was reached the month following the original in the hope that the status of the case might be saved before the court. However, that too proved futile. Realizing this state of affairs, a conference was held in Judge Parker's office at which he, Mr. Ralston and Mr. Mulholland our attorneys, were present, and in which President Gompers was invited to participate. The case in its position then was gone over. It was the opinion of the three attorneys that a statement should be made to the United States Supreme Court of the situation as it existed and the court requested to take the view that inasmuch as the appeals on the injunction had become a moot case that the court would dismiss the entire proceedings, including the sentences in the contempt case; that is, that the court should dismiss the entire proceedings, leaving the matter as it finds it. Against that proceeding President Gompers protested, insisting that, for the mere sake of saving himself, it would have every appearance of surrendering the principles for which he and his co-defendants, and all of us, were contending. Feeling, however, that he could not speak for his associates, he requested the attorneys to place their proposition in writing which he would submit to Mr. Mitchell and Mr. Morrison. That letter was received, conference of the three men was held, and an answer made. The following is the letter of the attorneys:

Washington, D. C., Dec. 21, 1910.

"Mr. Samuel Gompers, President,  
"Mr. John Mitchell, First Vice-President,  
"Mr. Frank Morrison, Secretary, Wash-  
ington, D. C.:

"Gentlemen:

"At the conference of July 19, 1910, held in the City of Cincinnati, Ohio, at which the Buck's Stove and Range Company was represented by Mr. William H. Cribben and Mr. Thomas J. Hogan, and the American Federation of Labor and other affiliated organizations interested in the controversy with the Buck's Stove and Range Company, were represented by Mr. Samuel Gompers, and others, an agreement was entered into with the purpose and intent of ending the entire trouble existing between the parties to the conference. This purpose went not only to the termination of the questions between the parties as to the terms of employment within the plant of the Buck's Stove and Range Company, but also to those matters that have arisen in the courts as between the Buck's Stove and Range Company and the parties, or some of the parties, to the conference.

"Paragraph four of the agreement entered into on July 19, 1910, provided as follows:

"4. That the Buck's Stove and Range Company, through its representatives, Messrs. Cribben and Hogan, agrees that it will withdraw its attorneys from any case pending in the courts, which have grown out of the dispute between the American Federation of Labor and any of its affiliated organizations on the one hand, and the Buck's Stove and Range Company on the other, and that said Company will not bring any proceedings in the court against any individual or organizations growing out of any past controversies between said Company and organized labor."

"Subsequently, to wit, on the 7th day of September, 1910, a conference was held at the Southern Hotel in the City of St. Louis, Missouri, to consider the questions presented under paragraph four above quoted. This meeting was attended by Mr. Gardner, a majority stockholder and Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Buck's Stove and Range Company, with Messrs. Lee and Lehman, his attorneys, and by Mr. Samuel Gompers with Mr. Jackson H. Ralston and Mr. Frank L. Mulholland, his attorneys.

"It is well for you to understand that this conference was arranged because of the suggestion of the fact that paragraph four, above quoted, would, and in and of itself did, terminate all litigation as between the Buck's Stove and Range Company and yourselves and others in the American Federation of Labor. This result was contrary to the wish of Mr. Gompers, who desired that the litigation in reference to the so-called injunction case and the so-called contempt cases, be prosecuted to a final decision upon the questions involved by the Supreme Court of the United States.

"With this end in view, and as a result of the St. Louis conference, an amended or supplemental memorandum of agreement was prepared and executed by and between the parties to the original or Cincinnati agreement.

"In the 'amendment or substituted memorandum,' paragraph four was changed so as to read as follows:

"4.—The Buck's Stove and Range Company will not bring any proceedings in the courts against any individual or organizations growing out of any past controversies between said Company and organized labor."

"(It was the understanding that notwithstanding the second agreement, original paragraph four should still remain in force.)

"This, you understand, was an effort on the part of the conferees, and at the earnest request of Mr. Gompers, to leave the matter of the cases then pending—that is—the injunction and contempt cases—open for prosecution before and consideration by the Supreme Court of the United States.

"Wide publicity was, however, given to the purpose, language and effect of the Cincinnati agreement. It was published *in toto* in the public press throughout the country and gave the fullest possible public notice that all matters in controversy between the Buck's Stove and Range Company and organized labor were fully and satisfactorily adjusted.

"We are now upon the eve of the time set for the presentation of these cases to the Supreme Court, they being upon the assignment of that Court for January 16, 1911. We cannot believe but that the Judges of this court are conversant with the terms of the Cincinnati agreement. They, together with the public generally, must know that there is to-day no issue between the parties to this litigation. You desire this tribunal to nevertheless consider the cases, and pass upon the questions involved, in order that there will be an adjudication of these questions by the supreme authority. If the case ostensibly proceeds, we will go into the court upon a 'moot case,'—not to settle a real controversy between the parties of record,—but to settle a mooted question of law.

"In our opinion, the court being conversant with the entire situation, or having some information and gaining a thorough understanding by catechising counsel, will decline to sit as a 'Moot Court' to pass upon matters not actually in controversy.

"This situation would then dispose of the appeals of both complaint and defendants in so far as the case relates to the injunction originally issued by the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia and the injunction as modified by the Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia.

"In this event, the only matter left for the consideration of the court is the contempt case—the only issue, whether or not three men go to prison. The Buck's Stove and Range Company says it has no such purpose or interest. The Buck's Stove and Range Company wishes to be relieved of counsel who anticipate, prosecuting this case to that end. You gentlemen directly involved certainly have no desire to go to jail, except in the neces-

sary vindication of a principle dear to you, and the situation is such that this is not obtainable. There is, then, a mutual interest rather than a controversy upon this question, and if the Supreme Court decides that all matters of difference between the parties have been fully and satisfactorily settled, they may decide to leave all parties where they were found.

"If the Supreme Court refuse to consider the so-called injunction case, we can see nothing left to fight over. There is no issue worthy of the risk incident to the pressing of the contempt case.

"The original injunction has been greatly modified and a learned judge of the Court of Appeals has rendered a dissenting opinion that contains much of comfort. You, although charged with contempt, are under sentence, but not imprisoned. Regardless of the adverse decision of the court below, you have won your contest with the Buck's Stove and Range Company. They recognize the rights of your organization and the members thereof and propose to deal justly with all. In so far as public information goes and in a very practical way, you are the victors at every point put in issue in the progress of this controversy.

"We now ask what would be the effect upon the public mind and upon the individual member of organized labor, uninformed as to the details of the questions involved, if the Supreme Court refusing to pass upon the fundamental questions involved in this litigation, should nevertheless say that a restraining order when issued out of a court must be obeyed until such time as another and higher tribunal has passed upon the question of whether it was rightfully or wrongfully issued. Do not understand that we admit the correctness of this view for a moment. We are yet of the opinion that when a court of equity exceeds its jurisdiction to issue an injunction restraining a citizen from the exercise of his fundamental, constitutional rights, that citizen is not bound to obey the injunction. It appears to us that if you go to prison the labor movement will lose the benefit and support that is come from the victory so far gained, while the public, viewing only the fact of your imprisonment, forgetting all else, will consider you blameworthy.

"If we proceed with these cases in the Supreme Court we do so with a belief that amounts almost to a certainty that the court will refuse to hear us upon the issues raised in the injunction case. The attorneys for the Anti-Boycott Association might then under the guise of friends of the court, proceed with the prosecution of the contempt cases. If, however, Messrs. Davenport and Darlington are withdrawn from these cases and the information be presented to the court, in open court, of the friendly relations now existing between the parties to this litigation, and new counsel for the Buck's Stove and Range Company decline to further prosecute the charges in contempt, requesting reversal of the findings and sentences of the court below, we believe

this litigation would come to a happy end.

"With the Buck's Stove and Range Company out of the prosecution, there will be no interested party pressing the matter of contempt. The court might ask the legal department of the government to take up this prosecution, but we cannot believe that the court will deem it its duty to take up the battle when the parties directly interested desire to end the controversy.

"On Wednesday, December 14, the undersigned had a conference with Mr. Gompers in the office of Judge Parker in New York City, and after full consideration and against the protestations of Mr. Gompers, decided that we would recommend to you that the Buck's Stove and Range Company be asked to carry out the terms of paragraph four of the agreement of July 19, 1910, adopted at Cincinnati, and withdraw its attorneys, Messrs. Davenport and Darlington from the cases now pending in the Supreme Court of the United States, substituting others in accord with its present policy toward labor.

Respectfully submitted,  
"JACKSON H. RALSTON,  
"ALTON B. PARKER,  
"FRANK L. MULHOLLAND."

To the foregoing the following reply was made:

Headquarters  
American Federation of Labor,  
Washington, D. C., Dec. 28, 1910.

"Hon. Alton B. Parker,  
"Hon. Jackson H. Ralston,  
"Hon. Frank L. Mulholland.

"Gentlemen:

"Your joint letter, addressed to the undersigned, under date of December 21, came duly to hand, and at a conference in this city last evening we took it under advisement. Inasmuch as two of us (Messrs. Mitchell and Morrison) were unable to participate in the conference with you in New York, we invited Mr. Ralston to give us the benefit of his legal advice in the matters presented in your letter. Later, we determined upon the course we should pursue in the premises, and to communicate with you through the medium of this letter.

"At the outset we should say that our understanding of Section 4 of the agreement entered into with the representatives of the Buck's Stove and Range Company, Mr. Gompers and others, at Cincinnati, July 19, was in good faith changed by the supplemental agreement at St. Louis, September 7; that there was no understanding that the original paragraph No. 4 should still remain in force. All parties to the amended supplementary agreement believed that they were conserving their mutual interests and the interests they respectively represented, as well as in the appeal cases before the United States Supreme Court.

"We beg to assure you that we greatly appreciate the advice which you give and

the suggestion you make, and thereby see clearly the possibility, aye, even the probability, of escaping the enforcement of the sentences imposed upon us by Justice Wright. We do not underestimate in the slightest degree the fact that as men of honor and in view of the duty you owe to the court, you can not withhold from the court that information which is the court's due, or in any way attempt to deceive it. We feel convinced, however, that in view of the duty we owe to our fellow workers and to our fellow citizens, as well as to our own self-respect, we can not see our way clear to follow the course you have suggested for us to pursue.

"It is quite true that the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia has modified the injunction issued by Judge Gould and made permanent by Judge Clabaugh of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia. We feel considerable satisfaction in the dissenting opinion of Chief Justice Shepard, but it is equally true that we are wholly unsatisfied with the injunction as modified by the Court of Appeals. It still denies to us and to our fellow workers the rights to which they and we are constitutionally and inherently entitled, and we can not even seemingly give our assent to the provisions of the injunction as modified by the court.

"For many years large numbers of the people of our country have protested against the abuse of the injunctive power of the courts. The men and women of labor have been the greatest sufferers and victims of this abuse. They have not only protested, but have sought relief at the hands of the higher courts, of the state legislatures, and of the federal Congress. For several years labor has sought the opportunity to make a test of the principles involved before the courts wherein the constitutional and inherent rights would be raised and met. Such a case presented itself when the Buck's Stove and Range Company under its old management obtained the injunction against the American Federation of Labor, its officers and affiliated organizations and their members. With great earnestness and unanimity it was decided that a case, not of our own seeking, but nevertheless a case, had been found wherein these principles could be tested, and with a clear understanding of what the possible consequences might be, it was determined that the test should be made.

"It is not necessary here to recount the varying stages of procedure of the injunction, the appeal, the ruling to show cause why we should not be punished for contempt, the brutal and prejudiced opinion delivered by Justice Wright, and the unprecedented severity of the sentences imposed. They are all matters of history with which you are entirely familiar. When labor decided that the appeal should be made to the United States Supreme Court, you advised that that course was not only consistent and profitable, but you expressed your confidence that that high tribunal would sustain our

contention. That court granted the writ of certiorari in which the injunction and contempt cases should be combined and heard as one appeal. The case was set for the October, 1910, term, and later deferred to January 16, 1911, so that the appeals might be heard before a full bench.

"Going back a little, we were always aware that if the present management of the Buck's Stove and Range Company ever got into control of the Company's affairs, the Company's policy would be charged toward organized labor. Upon the demise of the late Mr. James W. Van Cleave, who was the Company's President, Mr. Frederic W. Gardner came into control and direction of the Company's affairs. Negotiations were begun and an adjustment of the dispute and an agreement between the Company and organized labor was reached. New and friendly relations between the Company and organized labor were thereupon established. As a result of that agreement it appears that the standing of our case before the court has been impaired. Yet as a matter of fact we could not, we dared not, continue a contest with an employer who is desirous of living in friendly relations with organized labor. Being unfamiliar with the technicalities of the law, we are frank to admit that it never dawned upon us at the time that the status of our case would in any way be affected by the agreement with the company, but such it seems is or may be the case, but we hope not.

"Substantially, you advise that the Buck's Stove and Range Company be requested to withdraw their counsel of record, appoint new counsel who together with yourselves will present the facts before the court, have the appeal and cross appeal dismissed, and that inasmuch as an agreement has been reached between the Company and organized labor (the defendants) no good purpose can be served in the enforcement of the sentences arising out of the contempt proceedings, the decision of the court should be reversed and we be set at liberty.

"As we have already stated labor has for a long time endeavored to find a case in which the principles for which we are contending could be brought before the highest tribunal in the land. The case, not of our own seeking, was found and the proceedings under it held. We have maintained this position all through, and we have received encouragement and support in our contention such as have been given to few men. That encouragement and support were given upon the belief in our integrity and sincerity. Better than all, we had faith in each other and in ourselves. If we pursue the course you suggest we would not only forfeit the respect and confidence reposed in us, but worse than all, our own self-respect. We can not upon our own initiative consent or seek to have the United States Supreme Court dismiss the appeal on the injunction, and thus establish the principles contained in the modified injunction of the Court of Appeals, with the view of having

the court relieve us from the sentences imposed upon us in the contempt proceedings.

"We respectfully suggest when our cases are called that you will make a frank statement of the present relations between the Company and organized labor, without attaching too great importance to the agreement, and then endeavor with all your power and ability to prevail upon the court to hear the arguments, and to consider and decide all the questions contained in the appeals. Because the principles involved in these appeals are so vitally important, they should be judicially determined by the highest tribunal of our land, the judicial court of last resort.

"Information has just come to us that not many months ago proceedings were begun against the 'Wall Paper Trust'; that later in order to free itself from blame the Trust formally dissolved and went out of business; that when the case was called before the court, this state of affairs was presented to the consideration of the court; that the court held that notwithstanding the fact the Wall Paper Trust had dissolved, the court said it would grant the equity relief asked, and the court would hear the arguments upon the causes upon which the Wall Paper Trust was charged. We are not quoting the language of the court, but merely the substance which was communicated to us. You can verify or discover whether it is correct. It is simply stated so that if it is founded upon fact, and if the case is applicable, it could be urged before the Supreme Court of the United States, so that it may not be regarded that our appeal is a 'moot case.'

"If we should pursue the course you suggest and the Supreme Court dismissed the appeal on injunction as being a 'moot case,' it is not certain that it will reverse the lower court's decision and sentence in the contempt case. In that event we should not only have our labor for our pains, but we would be in the unenviable position of having attempted to compromise on a principle to save ourselves from the consequences of our acts in defense of that principle.

"If after our counsel have made the statement of the relations between the Company and organized labor, and have endeavored to prevail upon the court to hear arguments, to consider and decide all the questions upon the appeal, and the court shall then say that the injunction appeal is a 'moot case' and shall still consider the contempt case, we shall at least have the mental satisfaction that the dismissal was not of our seeking.

We beg to assure you that we "have no desire to go to jail." It is farthest from our minds to attempt the role of martyrs, but there are other considerations equally important, and one is that we shall not carry to our graves the consciousness of cowardice and poltroonery.

Assuring you of our great respect for you and confidence in your faithfulness, sincerity and ability, and regretting that we cannot follow the advice contained in your recent letter, and respectfully re-

questing you to continue to proceed in the case as outlined in your briefs and in this letter, we have the honor to remain.

Very truly yours,  
 "SAMUEL GOMPERS,  
 "JOHN MITCHELL,  
 "FRANK MORRISON.

"P. S. This letter is being written in triplicate and a copy sent to each of the gentlemen to whom it is addressed at his office."

#### **New Injunction Rule.**

About two years ago the Supreme Court of the United States appointed two justices thereof to make a thorough investigation of the rules of practice which obtained in the administration of the courts of equity in various countries with the view of the application of the best of them to the rules in the United States.

A number of printed documents published by the American Federation of Labor upon the subject of restraining orders and injunctions were forwarded to the justices. The matter has been under advisement from that time and on Monday, November 4, 1912, the United States Supreme Court issued a 28 page pamphlet promulgating the rules of practice for the courts of equity of the United States.

In so far as the new promulgated rules are concerned, Rule 73 is of interest to Labor. We quote it here as follows:

#### **RULE 73**

#### **PRELIMINARY INJUNCTIONS AND TEMPORARY RESTRAINING ORDERS**

"No preliminary injunction shall be granted without notice to the opposite party. Nor shall any temporary restraining order be granted without notice to the opposite party, unless it shall clearly appear from specific facts, shown by affidavit or by the verified bill, that immediate and irreparable loss or damage will result to the applicant before the matter can be heard on notice. In case a temporary restraining order shall be granted without notice, in the contingency specified, the matter shall be made returnable at the earliest possible time, and in no event later than ten days from the date of the order, and shall take precedence of all matters, except older matters of the same character. When the matter comes up for hearing the party who obtained the temporary restraining order shall proceed with his application for a preliminary injunction, and if he does not do so the court shall dissolve his temporary restraining order. Upon two days notice to the party obtaining such temporary restraining order, the opposite party may appear and move the dissolution or modification of the order,

and in that event the court or judge shall proceed to hear and determine the motion as expeditiously as the ends of justice may require. Every temporary restraining order shall be forthwith filed in the clerk's office."

Of course we appreciate the fact that Rule 73 as promulgated by the Supreme Court of the United States is a correction of and a reform in the practice and the abuses of some of the judges sitting in courts of equity. And yet, in so far as the rights of the working people of our country are concerned, or more properly speaking, the wrongs which the working people of our country for the past several years have endured, Rule 73 falls in its most essential features.

The equity courts have extended their field of jurisdiction to the regulation of personal rights and personal relations instead of confining their jurisdiction to the useful purpose for which they were created—the protection of property rights from immediate and irreparable injury. Rule 73 fails to take cognizance of or deal with this abuse of power by the equity courts.

The inherent purpose of the injunctive processes, when there is no other adequate remedy at law, was for the beneficent purpose of protecting property rights only, thereby exercising the equity power of the courts to prevent immediate and irreparable injury.

It was never intended and there is no warrant of law in all our country to use the injunctive power of equity courts to curtail personal rights or regulate personal relations. It was never intended to take the place of government by law by substituting personal and discretionary government.

Attention should be called to the fact that injunctions and restraining orders as they have been issued against workmen, are never used or issued against any other citizens of our country, and never against workmen, except when they are engaged in a dispute affecting their conditions as wage-earners. It is an attempt to deprive citizens of our country, when these citizens are workmen, of the right of trial by jury. It is an effort to fasten an offense upon workmen when they are innocent of any unlawful or illegal act. It is an indirect assertion of a property right in men when these men are workmen engaged in a lawful effort to protect or advance their natural



rights and interests. It is an effort to make outlaws of men when they are not even charged with doing things in violation of any law of state or nation.

The issuance of injunctions in labor disputes is not based upon law, but is a species of judicial legislation, judicial usurpation, against workmen innocent of any unlawful or criminal act.

Labor asks no immunity for any of its men who may be guilty of any criminal or unlawful act, but we insist that the wage-workers of our country shall be regarded and treated as equals before the law with every other citizen; that if any act be committed by any one of our number to render him amenable to the law, he shall be proceeded against by the ordinary forms of law and by the due process of law, and that an injunction does not lawfully and properly apply, and ought not to be issued even in cases in which men are charged with any unlawful act.

In all things in which workmen are enjoined by the processes of restraining orders or injunctions during labor disputes, if those acts are alleged to be criminal or unlawful, there is now ample law and remedy provided. Hence, the issuance of such restraining orders or injunctions covering such allegations or charges are perverse of fundamental rights and the true function of equity courts.

The injunctions against which labor protests are flagrantly at variance with law and without warrant of law; are violative of the fundamental rights of man and of constitutional guarantees of equality before the law of the workers and of all other citizens.

We are impelled to make these comments by reason of the fact that special interests of big business, and particularly that portion of the press most hostile to the cause of labor, have attempted to impose upon the people of our country the notion that Rule 73, promulgated by the Supreme Court of the United States, has affected the remedy of the evil against which labor has found it necessary to protest and against which it now re-affirms its protest. We repeat our expression of appreciation that the rule reforms some of the abuses in which judges, acting in equity courts, have indulged. But we also reiterate the fact that it falls in its most essential features to remedy the greater wrongs. And

therefore labor, in the interests of the common citizenship, of inherent rights, asks and insists upon the enactment of law by the Congress of the United States and by the Legislatures of the several States to rectify the great wrongs inflicted upon the working people of our country by depriving them of equality before the law with all other citizens in the United States, and in conformity with this declaration we shall insist upon the enactment of the Clayton bills for the regulation and limitation of the issuance of injunctions, and the Clayton contempt bill which provides for jury trial in all cases of indirect contempt.

#### Hatters' Case.

The retrial of this case, *Loewe vs. Lawlor*, began August 20, 1912, at Hartford, Connecticut. As previous annual reports have presented the various stages of the case, only a summary up to date is included here. The suit growing out of a strike for a union shop was commenced in the Federal Court for the District of Connecticut, August 31, 1903. A demurrer filed by the defendants was sustained on the ground that the combination stated was not within the Sherman Anti-Trust Act. Since the plaintiffs declined to change their complaint, the court dismissed it with costs. The plaintiffs carried the case, by a writ of error, to the Circuit Court of Appeals of the Second Circuit. For the purpose of having the points at issue decided by the United States Supreme Court speedily, both parties agreed this court should certify the case and asked the Supreme Court for a decision as to whether the Anti-Trust Act of July 2, 1890, could apply to such combinations of the voluntary organizations of the working people. February 3, 1908, Chief Justice Fuller delivered the opinion of the Court that suit could be brought under the Anti-Trust law, invoking sections one, two and seven. The case came on for trial before Judge James P. Platt, at Hartford, Connecticut, October 12, 1909, and continued on trial until February 4, 1910, when the judge submitted the case to the jury with instructions to find for the plaintiff, leaving them to fix the amount of damages. The trebled damages awarded amounted to \$232,240.12. The American Federation of Labor then appealed the

case for the Hatters to the United States Circuit Court of Appeals and secured a unanimous decision from that court on April 10, 1911, reversing the judgment and remanding the case for retrial, on the ground that the jury ought to decide whether any damages at all should be awarded as well as the amount. D. E. Loewe Company, or the Anti-Boycott Association, sought to have this decision reviewed. The legal principle they wished to establish was the responsibility of all the members of the Hatters' Union for what had been done by their representatives. They contended:

"The evidence showed that officers and agents of the United Hatters acted within the scope of their authority in conducting the 'conspiracy,' and the defendants are liable even without knowledge of wrongdoing."

To substantiate this contention they argued:

"As interpreting the authority of the agents and officers of the United Hatters, it was undisputed that all the 'wrongful' acts that were done were to benefit the members of the union, and it was shown that they had been constantly engaged in these strikes and interstate boycotts for their members for many years past. Under such circumstances, the plaintiffs contended that the members of the United Hatters, paying dues thereto, were responsible for the strikes and boycotts being conducted on their behalf by their officers and agents, as such strikes and boycotts were obviously within the scope of the objects of the union and the authority of its officers. The very essence of trade unionism is concerted action, and such action must take the form of withdrawal from employment or withdrawal of patronage. Since also the union was engaged in promoting the interstate sales of union goods to the exclusion of non-union goods through its duly appointed agents, the members of the union were responsible for the boycotting acts of these same agents committed in connection with their business of promoting the sale of union goods to the exclusion of non-union goods.

"The plaintiffs acknowledged that it was aiming at 'the very essence of trade unionism.'"

On January 15, 1912, the Supreme Court of the United States dismissed this petition for certiorari in the Hatters' case. Hence it devolved upon the plaintiffs to establish personal connection on the part of each defendant with the prosecution of a boycott. The President and the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor and members of the Executive Council were summoned to testify before

the Court that the American Federation of Labor had never taken any official action upon the boycott of the Hatters, or taken any part in it, as had been charged by the plaintiffs in trying to establish that a concerted unanimous movement of all organized labor had existed to "destroy" the business involved. The principles involved in the suit which the Anti-Boycott Association and the National Manufacturers' Association wished to establish are:

That labor unions which succeed are a conspiracy and a combination in restraint of trade; that human power to work shall be considered of the same nature as material commodities of trade or industry; that union funds and the individual savings and property of union members can be seized and appropriated to satisfy damages awarded against the unions; that union officers may be fined and imprisoned for executing those duties upon the performance of which "the very essence of unionism" devolves.

On October 11, the jury returned a verdict awarding to D. E. Loewe and Company damages of \$90,000 and costs. Under the provisions of the Sherman Anti-Trust law the sum named is trebled, making the total amount \$270,000 and costs.

In his charge to the jury, the Judge said that many of the defendants testified that they had no knowledge their officers and agents had been members of a "conspiracy" to interfere with interstate trade and the commerce of the plaintiffs, but that nevertheless the associations were voluntary, and individual members had vested authority in their representatives. The judge told the jury that if there was a "plot" to boycott the plaintiff's trade in other states in order to unionize the plaintiff's factory and that if such boycotting had been resorted to, then the plaintiff should be awarded full damages. Steps were at once taken to appeal the case.

We are accustomed to refer to the Dred Scott decision as the example par excellence of juristic heartlessness in subordinating human rights to property rights. But the court interpretations arising out of this case have been more far-reaching and drastic. It has been determined that the sale of hats is of more

consequence than human welfare. It has been maintained that successful efforts to secure better wages and working conditions, under the Sherman Anti-Trust Act are conspiracies. There have been committed into subjection, not former slaves, but supposed free men enjoying the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

It is out of keeping with modern progress and the social conscience of the times that a law intended to restrain the greed and the cut-throat manipulation of corporations in the products of labor should be invoked to repress the activity of voluntary humanitarian organizations instituted not for profit. A labor organization is not a trust—that which it possesses cannot be separated from the living body and cannot be manipulated and controlled at will as can the material products of a true trust. If you can speak of a trust in labor power, you can just as well have a trust in brain power or any other human faculty—a manifest absurdity except under slave conditions.

Such a decision and interpretation could only result from long isolation from the affairs and problems of the industrial world. Those who are engaged in the modern struggle against the industrial aggression of employers and for human betterment know that the trade unions are the bulwarks of liberty of the present industrial organization. To render them helpless by confiscation, to subject their members to fines or irrational and whimsical imprisonment, only opens the way for un-American violence and anarchy. In the interests of industrial peace, of progress, and of humanity, some remedy must be found. The remedy lies in legislative action. The paramount legislative issue for organized labor is the amendment or repeal of the Sherman Anti-Trust law so that we may have relief from an act never intended to apply to us. Sturdy determination, co-operation, unflinching persistence will secure us the rights and privileges of free men.

The Bacon-Bartlett Anti-Trust bill, which has been reported to the House by the Committee on Labor, if enacted into law, will secure to all organizations instituted and conducted not for profit the full rights of association. It will restore to organized labor and to other voluntary

associations organized not for profit, the lawful rights to which they are entitled as obtained prior to the interpretation placed upon the Sherman Anti-Trust law by the Supreme Court of the United States in the Hatters' case.

The full force and far-reaching danger which are carried with the Supreme Court's decision have not even yet been realized by the rank and file of labor. There are so many of us who are prone not to realize directly the full extent of a wrong, an injury or a danger when we ourselves have not felt its stunning effect. And no instance more distinctly emphasizes the fact than the decision of the Supreme Court in the Hatters' case—how it affects the rights and interests of the working people of the country, farmers included. As interpreted by the Supreme Court the Sherman Anti-Trust law not only holds that the voluntary associations of our trade unions are combinations in illegal restraint of interstate commerce, but that by withholding our labor, striking, or withholding our patronage, boycotting, an employer or business man who can show that his business has been injured may sue for an amount of damages and recover a treble amount with costs of the case; that each member of the organization may be included in such suit and mulcted in the proportionate damages awarded; that in addition, the government, through its attorney-general or through a Federal district attorney, may begin proceedings against any of the officers or members and prosecute them and impose a sentence of a fine of \$5,000 and imprisonment for one year. Under that interpretation of the Sherman Anti-Trust law, at the whim or fancy or pique of any Federal administration proceedings may be begun against any of our unions, and even our Federation itself, for dissolution.

All these proceedings to mulct the men of labor in damages, fine them, send them to prison, have for their purpose the punishment of the men and women of labor who associate themselves, either permanently or temporarily, to protest against deterioration in their conditions or to secure a better standard of life in their work, in their homes, and for their dependants.

It seems to us that this convention should, with the utmost emphasis, declare that legislation of a definite, affirmative character should be secured which shall relieve the voluntary organizations of the workers from the position in which they are placed by the interpretation of the Sherman Anti-Trust law by the Supreme Court, so that the humanitarian organizations of the workers may be removed from the category of the combinations of gamblers in human products, the trustified owners of the products of labor.

Quite apart from any other subject which may come before this convention, there is not any one ranking in importance with the one we have here presented. It is paramount to any question with which this convention will deal. It is not only the duty of the convention to give this subject the important consideration which it demands but to authorize and direct that such action shall be taken as to arouse our fellow-workers throughout the country to the full consciousness of the gravity of the present situation under the Supreme Court's anti-labor interpretation of the Sherman Anti-Trust law.

We recommend that prior to the report of the committee to which this subject will be referred, that the convention devote a session or a day to a general discussion of this question and as to the best ways and means to secure the relief which we seek and to which we are so justly entitled.

#### **Post vs. A. F. of L. and Buck's Stove and Range Company.**

Our last report contained a statement of the origin of this suit through which C. W. Post endeavored to restrain the parties to the settlement of old difficulties—the American Federation of Labor and the Buck's Stove and Range Co.—from carrying out the terms agreed upon. He invoked the Sherman Anti-Trust Law and claimed damages to the amount of \$750,000. We entered a demurrer which was sustained and the bill ordered to be dismissed. From this decision of the Court, an appeal was taken to the United States Circuit Court of Appeals.

The suit was fully argued before that Court at St. Paul last May. The Court took the matter under advisement but has not yet given its opinion. This litigation is an illustration of the lengths to

which a hostile and unscrupulous enemy of organized labor, such as C. W. Post, will go, in an endeavor to destroy effective and genuine protection for the workers. Having failed in efforts to undermine our movement, Mr. Post now seeks to destroy us by the process of litigation.

#### **Universal Label.**

A resolution was introduced at the Atlanta Convention calling for the appointment of a committee of three to study the cost of label agitation and to consider the feasibility of a universal label. Several years ago, it will be recalled, the matter of a universal label was very thoroughly investigated and the plan was found to be impracticable.

This matter having been referred to your Executive Council by the Atlanta Convention, we in turn referred it to the Union Label Trades Department, requesting the Secretary of that Department to give earnest consideration to the proposition of adopting a distinctive universal mark or design for labels to be used by the organizations affiliated to the A. F. of L. in connection with their own labels.

We recommend that the Executive Council be authorized, and the Union Label Trades Department and the International unions be requested, to consider further the idea of devising some general design which may be used by International unions in connection with their own labels, the aim being not to supersede or subordinate the individual union label, but to further popularize the existing union labels and the demand for union labeled products.

#### **Convention of the Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union of America.**

In conformity with the custom of the past few years, and also the action of the Atlanta Convention that a fraternal delegate should represent the A. F. of L. at the annual convention of the Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union, Treasurer Lennon was selected to act in that capacity. The convention was held in Chattanooga, Tenn., beginning the first Tuesday in September. Treasurer Lennon's report on that convention is as follows:

"The annual convention of the Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union of

America was held at Chattanooga, Tenn., opening on Tuesday, September 3, 1912, the undersigned being in attendance as a fraternal delegate from the American Federation of Labor. Brother Barrett, the president, and Brother Davis, the secretary, of the Farmers' Union were exceedingly cordial in their greeting, and manifested very great interest in the work of our Federation.

"At the afternoon session of Tuesday, I was called on to address the convention which I did at some length, dealing with matters wherein practical co-operation could be developed between trade unions authorized and directed this committee to and the organized farmers. The closest attention was given to all I had to say, and my address was received with evidence of real approval.

"I talked personally with many of the delegates who were in attendance from nearly all the States of the Union. All with whom I talked were interested in trade unions. They stand for essentially the same social reforms as does our Federation. They informed me that the sale of union labeled products was on the increase in their respective communities, this being especially true as to men's clothing, hats, shoes, and tobacco. This I believe to be true because of the continued and persistent work of the unions making those commodities in advertising their label so that the farmers have become deeply interested. This field is open and ripe for effective work by all label trades and the Label Trades Department.

"The Farmers' Union I found to be in a flourishing condition, having made material growth during the past year. Not only has the membership been increased, but effective work is being done by the union in promoting better results in return for the products that their labor brings from the land. I most heartily recommend that the Federation extend its efforts to help the Farmers' Union wherever it may be possible, and secure their co-operation to a still greater extent in behalf of the members of the Federation.

"I highly appreciate the honor of being a delegate to their convention, and extend to their officers and delegates my sincere thanks for courtesies received."

We recommend that efforts be continued during the coming year to secure better co-operation between the Farmers' Union and the organizations of labor, and that authority be given for a representative of the A. F. of L. to attend the next annual convention of the Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union.

#### Labor's Political Program, 1912.

The progress and successes on the legislative field as shown in our President's Report, are gratifying and show also the results of our efforts politically, in all of which we fully concur. We quote the re-

port made to us by the Labor Representation Committee as follows:

#### LABOR REPRESENTATION COMMITTEE'S REPORT.

Rochester, N. Y., November 9, 1912.  
To the Executive Council, American Federation of Labor.

Colleagues:

We herewith submit to you and through you to the Convention of the American Federation of Labor, a report of our action upon the matters confided by the American Federation of Labor to you, and by you to the undersigned, and submit to you further direction and approval.

Four years ago acting upon the authority and by direction of the Convention of the American Federation of Labor, you selected the members of the Executive Council located at Washington as the Labor Representation Committee, and authorized and directed this committee to carry on labor's political campaign in the furtherance of the purposes, principles and rights upon which the American Federation of Labor had made declaration. We were at all times to act in consonance with these declared policies and submit to your further direction and approval. From time to time we have made report to you, the substance of which was conveyed to the conventions.

During the meetings of the Executive Council in the early part of the year you instructed us to inaugurate and conduct an active campaign to the full limit of our opportunities, in accordance with the instruction of the Atlanta Convention that the Labor Representation Committee be continued and authorized and empowered to act in unison with the Executive Council for the purpose of taking such action as may be deemed advisable and necessary for the successful consummation of our legislative demands by the federal government, and in compliance with your instructions that upon the adjournment of Congress, or at as early a date as possible if Congress did not adjourn before the conventions of the political parties, that President Gompers submit a tentative statement covering the legislative demands of the American Federation of Labor to the members of the Executive Council, to be submitted to the dominant political parties with the further direction that the subject matter be held in abeyance until the adjournment of Congress, and, if it adjourned before the conventions were held, that the resident members and visiting members and officers of the departments affiliated to the A. F. of L. formulate the legislative demands and submit it to you for your consideration. The instructions of the convention and your directions were complied with in every particular. The demands were prepared in accordance with your directions and they were submitted to the dominant political parties at their conventions.

No special fund was raised this year to carry on the political campaign, and the few dollars remaining in the treasury were expended and this campaign more

than any other has been carried on by the volunteer work of the officers and members of the labor movement.

One hundred thousand copies of the Weekly News Letter, containing the 1912 political program, as unanimously approved by the Executive Council, were distributed. A copy was mailed to the secretary of every affiliated and unaffiliated organization, urging them to use their best efforts to secure the election of trade unionists to Congress and to the legislatures of the various states.

Too much credit cannot be given to the officers of state federations and city central bodies for the efforts they put forth to secure the election of trade unionists to office.

On account of the election having just been held, we have been unable to secure sufficient information to definitely report the results. We have sufficient, however, to warrant us in expressing the belief that the results will be gratifying.

We feel that the campaign inaugurated by the American Federation of Labor in 1906, and which was again taken up with renewed vigor in 1908 and continued in 1910, which resulted in the election of fifteen men holding trade union cards, to the House of Representatives, and a great number of trade unionists in the legislatures of the various states, has been a means of increasing the efficiency of the committees that have been appointed by state and central bodies and local unions for the purpose of questioning candidates as to their attitude toward labor measures, so that the machinery for carrying on labor's 1912 political program existed in nearly every city where we had an affiliated central body or local union.

Our activities were devoted particularly to securing the election of trade unionists to the Congress of the United States and to the State Legislatures, but the reports received indicate that many labor men have been elected to offices of importance in state and municipal governments. We desire to say that the trade unionists have good cause for gratification at the results achieved, and we take this opportunity of expressing our appreciation to the volunteer workers of the trade union movement for their active co-operation and earnest work to bring about the election of their fellow workers to legislative offices.

Fraternally yours,  
SAMUEL GOMPERS,  
JAMES O'CONNELL,  
FRANK MORRISON,

Labor Representation Committee.

We present this report of the Labor Representation Committee with our full approval and expression of appreciation of the efforts which they put forth in the interests of our cause.

#### Commission on Industrial Relations.

On August 23, 1912, there was enacted a law "to create a Commission on Indus-

trial Relations." The purpose of the creation of this commission is set forth in Section 4 of the Act, which is as follows:

"That the commission shall inquire into the general condition of labor in the principal industries of the United States including agriculture, and especially in those which are carried on in corporate forms; into existing relations between employers and employees; into the effect of industrial conditions on public welfare and into the rights and powers of the community to deal therewith; into the conditions of sanitation and safety of employees and the provisions for protecting the life, limb and health of the employees; into the growth of associations of employers and of wage earners and the effect of such associations upon the relations between employers and employees; into the extent and results of methods of collective bargaining; into any methods which have been tried in any state or in foreign countries for maintaining mutually satisfactory relations between employees and employers; into methods for avoiding or adjusting labor disputes through peaceful and conciliatory meditation and negotiations; into the scope, methods, and resources of existing bureaus of labor and into possible ways of increasing their usefulness; into the question of smuggling or other illegal entry of Asiatics into the United States or its insular possessions, and of the methods by which such Asiatics have gained and are gaining such admission, and shall report to Congress as speedily as possible with such recommendation as said commission may think proper to prevent such smuggling and illegal entry. The commission shall seek to discover the underlying causes of dissatisfaction in the industrial situation and report its conclusions thereon."

It was further provided in Section 1 of that act that,

"Said commission shall be composed of nine persons, to be appointed by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, not less than three of whom shall be employers of labor and not less than three of whom shall be representatives of organized labor."

Having the provisions of this law under consideration, your Executive Council, by unanimous vote, recommended to the President for appointment upon the commission, John B. Lennon and James O'Connell. Realizing that a number of organized wage earners are not affiliated to our Federation, the railroad brotherhoods, and believing that fairness required that these brotherhoods should be represented by one of their choice, in making the recommendation to the President of Brothers Lennon and O'Connell, the point was clearly brought out that the

third representative of organized labor should be the choice of the railroad brotherhoods. We felt constrained to take this attitude because it was out of the disturbed conditions in industry which have prevailed for a considerable period of time, that there arose that sentiment which prompted the presentation of the petition to the President which resulted in the drafting, presentation and passage of the Industrial Relations' Act.

We further felt that in view of the fact that the organized working people of our country are to be judged by the commission, that good or ill may ensue to our movement and the cause it represents from the results of the investigation of the commission, and inasmuch as both the President of the United States and Congress recognized that at least not less than three of the commissioners should be representatives of organized labor, we deemed it our duty to make the recommendations we did to the President.

The law requires nine members of the commission shall be appointed by the President, by and with the consent of the Senate. Hence the President will send his nominations for membership on the commission to the Senate after that body convenes in December. There is therefore time for this convention to give its endorsement to the action of the Executive Council, in recommending to the President the names of John B. Lennon and James O'Connell for appointment as members of the Industrial Relations Commission as two of the representatives of organized labor.

#### **Federal Bureau of Health.**

The original bill of Senator Owen, providing for a Federal Bureau of Health, was redrafted and the alleged objectionable medical provisions removed. It was then favorably reported to the Senate. Though it was frequently debated in the Senate, yet no action was taken. The Executive Council recommended its amendment so as to include a special Bureau of Plumbing and Sanitation.

Surgeon-General Blue of the public health service, in co-operation with the Interstate Commerce Commission has instructed the surgeons in his department to make such observations upon sanitary conditions as their duties and experience

may reveal to be necessary and to make a detailed report to him, for forwarding to the Commission on the Sanitary Conditions in Interstate Traffic. He has just issued the following order:

"Hereafter all commissioned officers of the public health service when traveling under official orders on trains and vessels engaged in interstate traffic, will make such observations as may be practicable of the sanitary conditions of the trains and vessels on which they travel and the stations and wharves at which they stop. The result of these observations will be noted in a report to be submitted to the bureau upon completion of the travel authorized.

"These observations are desired for the information of the bureau and for the compilation of facts relative to the sanitary conditions prevailing in interstate traffic."

The reports which will be compiled from these observations will give the results of a nation-wide observation, as officers of the service are scattered all over the country and are constantly on the move. If we attempt action upon this investigation it will be best, therefore, to seek it through the Interstate Commerce Commission, pending the establishment of a Department for the Public Health. The public health service, as now organized, only exercises jurisdiction in cases of grave menace to the public health or contagious or infectious diseases.

In spite of its many virtues, the Owen bill has been made the subject of bitter attacks by agencies whose special interests it threatens—patent medicine venders and others. We, therefore, urge more activity on the part of our membership for the principles contained in the Owen bill.

#### **Pure Food and Pure Drugs.**

The American Federation of Labor has continued its efforts along the lines of having enacted better pure food and pure drugs laws, and in this work has co-operated with the American Society of Equity, the National Consumers' League and other reform associations interested in and working along similar lines.

#### **Industrial Education.**

In December, 1911, a conference was called by Senator Page of Vermont to give technical consideration to his bill S. 3, which provided for vocational educa-

tion and trade training. Reference to this bill has been made by us in our previous reports. Prominent educators, agriculturists, and representative employers, together with the Legislative Committee of the A. F. of L., considered proposed amendments to the bill and the best methods to pursue in order to secure favorable action. Senator Page re-introduced his bill with the suggested changes. Most of these were embodied in the technical features and in the agricultural extension sections of the bill. They were not applicable to the interests of urban labor represented by the American Federation of Labor. The result was that when the amended bill was considered by the Senate Committee on Agriculture, Senator Page was ordered to report it favorably to the Senate. This was done on February 26, 1912.

The Senate considered the bill on June 14, July 24, August 10, 18 and 22. It still holds its place upon the Senate calendar, and, in accordance with a tacit agreement among the Senators, will be given further consideration in the third session of the 62nd Congress. It is the opinion of some enthusiastic supporters of the measure that it will be passed. Its enactment will depend upon the nature of the support given by those who have been urging its passage. This Industrial Education bill has been handicapped to some extent by the persistency with which several Congressmen, particularly some from the southern states, have been urging the passage of that section of the bill, relating to agricultural colleges and experiment stations, without regard to the other provisions of the bill dealing with industrial and vocational education and training.

The bill H. R. 22871 by Representative Lever, of South Carolina, was introduced by him on April 4. It is limited to agricultural educational extension work exclusively. It was referred to the House Committee on Agriculture.

Representative Wm. B. Wilson, of Pennsylvania, had previously re-introduced his bill (new number H. R. 21490) which had been changed to conform to its companion bill, S. 3, by Senator Page. Mr. Wilson's bill was also referred to the House Committee on Agriculture. A tentative understanding was reached between the Chairman of the House Committee, Mr. Lamb, and Mr. Wilson, that no action

should be taken on the Lever bill until after an opportunity had been afforded Mr. Wilson and the friends of his bill to be heard by the House Committee. In accordance with this understanding, Mr. Wilson arranged with the Chairman for hearings on his bill, to commence on April 23. He invited those desiring to be heard to come prepared to make their statements before the Committee on that date. He took charge of the hearings, which continued for four days. The Legislative Committee of the A. F. of L., appearing in co-operation with other advocates, urged that the Wilson Vocational Trade Training bill be favorably reported. The Lever bill was reported favorably by the Committee on April 13, passed by the House on August 23, and referred to the Senate Committee on Agriculture, August 24.

At our meeting in January, after the Industrial Education bill had been given some consideration, we directed Secretary Morrison to request the members of the Special Committee on Industrial Education to meet concurrently with our next meeting May 9. The Page bill was discussed by several members of the Committee at that meeting.

A digest of the special report of the United States Commissioner of Labor on Industrial Education was discussed by us. The A. F. of L. Committee on Industrial Education recommended to us that Mr. Charles H. Winslow be requested and authorized to prepare a final report for the Committee, this report to be submitted to this convention as directed by the Atlanta Convention. We complied with that request, and Mr. Winslow performed this service.

At the following meeting of the Executive Council, we had before us the report of Mr. Winslow as accepted by the A. F. of L. Special Committee on Industrial Education. It was discussed and it was decided that inasmuch as the document was of such great public value, was such a magnificent contribution to the literature upon the questions of industrial education, vocational training, household economics, and civics, that it should be made a public document by authority of Congress. Senator Page readily obtained the consent of the United States Senate to have it printed as a Senate Document.



It has been so printed, and is known as Senate Document 936, 62d Congress, second session. Several thousand copies of this document have already been distributed and a sufficient number are at the convention so that each delegate may have a copy. The members of affiliated organizations should request their respective United States Senators to send them copies for educational institutions and for the labor unions.

#### **International Secretariat.**

In the report of President Gompers, as submitted to you, attention was called to the next meeting of the International Secretariat. In connection therewith it should be added that President Gompers has made report to the International Secretariat for the American Federation of Labor which, together with reports of a similar character from other national centers, will be published in several languages by the International Secretariat. Copies of these reports can be secured at a small cost. It is suggested that if the officers of any international union, or others, will remit to the President of the A. F. of L. the charge made for these reports, the order will be forwarded to the International Secretariat and a copy sent by him direct to the organizations ordering them. Copies may be had in the same manner by any organized labor body or by any individual.

#### **International Anti-Home Work Congress.**

In July a communication was received from the International Secretariat the letter being addressed to the International Trade Union Centres, extending an invitation to all trade union centres to take part in the International Home Protection Congress which was to be held in Zurich. The letter stated that the general commission of the trade unions of Germany would send a delegate to the Congress. The matter was discussed at considerable length at our August meeting and it was considered impractical for the American Federation of Labor to be represented. In transmitting this decision to the International Secretariat we stated:

"Despite the enforced absence of any representative of the American National Trade Union Center (The American Fed-

eration of Labor) at this Congress, the Executive Council declares that home work, as it is understood and carried on as part of modern industry, is uneconomic, demoralizing to the men, women and children engaged in it, makes impossible thorough application or enforcement of sanitary conditions of work, reasonable regulation of the hours of labor or the laws limiting or abolishing child labor; that the entire tendency of 'home work' is calculated to frustrate the humanitarian work of the labor movement for the protection and promotion of the rights and interests of the working people, and particularly detrimental to womanhood and childhood. The Executive Council, therefore, endorses and will aid to the fullest extent of its ability the abolition of 'home work,' as it is understood in this declaration."

We trust that the course followed in this matter meets with the approval of this Convention.

#### **The Arizona and New Mexico State Constitutions.**

On May 23, 1911, the House passed the Statehood bill for Arizona. An effort was made by Representative Mann of Illinois to recommit the bill for the purpose of discarding the recall, but his motion was overwhelmingly defeated. On August 8 the Senate passed the bill. On August 15 President Taft vetoed the Arizona constitution because it included the recall of the judiciary. In less than 30 days from the time the President revoked the Arizona constitution because it included the recall, the electorate of California carried the recall in their election by over 100,000 majority.

The people of Arizona—in order to obtain statehood on the President's terms—voted the recall out of their constitution on December 12, 1911. At the same time and at the same election, they elected a Legislature the members of which were pledged to resubmit the judicial recall for a special election. At the special election which was held in April, 1912, the people in Arizona voted the judiciary recall back into their constitution, and the very first act by the members of the Legislature was to enact a law providing for the recall of the judiciary. The bill passed both Houses of the Arizona Legislature with but two dissenting votes in the Senate, and it was promptly signed by the Governor on April 27, 1912. The opposition and veto of President Taft and the

prompt resentment of his action by the people of Arizona have given a wonderful impetus to the movement throughout the country in behalf of the adoption of the recall for public officers, and for judicial decisions nullifying laws of a social character, passed under the police power. We trust that it may be extended through the statutory and organic law in all of the states. It is a remedy absolutely within our power to institute. It can be established quickly and maintained safely and permanently. By its use it will do much to preserve fundamental principles of democracy, and instead of having a government by party, or a government by minority, we shall have a government by the people—an enlightened, progressive democracy.

The situation with regard to the constitution for New Mexico was one which called for immediate action in order that the people of that territory should be enabled to obtain such a constitution, within their own control to alter or amend, as changing industrial or political conditions require. It must be borne in mind that the constitution as submitted from the reactionary State Constitutional Convention was such as to make the constitution practically unamendable.

At the quarterly meeting of the Executive Council, October, 1911, we decided that President Gompers should place organizers in New Mexico for the purpose of aiding in securing the amendment to the constitution for the State which would permit the Legislature to submit proposed amendments to the constitution to a referendum vote of the citizens of New Mexico.

The constitutional amendments which were being advocated by the progressive citizens of New Mexico, provided an opportunity for a majority of the Legislature to submit amendments to the constitution to the people and required such proposed constitutional amendments to receive a majority of those voting to include it in the constitution and make it mandatory for the Legislature to enact it into statutory law. All of the big corporate interests which had favored the iron-clad unamendable constitution for New Mexico, fought the proposed amendment with all their vigor, and used every resource at their command to defeat it.

Mr. L. A. Tanquary of Pueblo, Colorado, Mr. Robert P. Rubin of Salida, Colorado, and Mr. John L. Lewis of Panama, Illinois, were commissioned by us to proceed to New Mexico and devote their time for the purpose of rendering such assistance as they could give. We are glad to report that the activities of our organizers whom we sent into New Mexico were successful from every point of view, and this new state and its people generally are deeply indebted to the activities of the American Federation of Labor in behalf of the effort we made to secure for them the open, free and fair opportunity to change and amend their organic law whenever they may in the future deem it necessary.

#### **Conservation Natural Resources.**

The Atlanta Convention authorized the continuation of the Committee of the A. F. of L. on the Conservation of Natural Resources. The personnel of that committee is as follows: Samuel Gompers, chairman, John Mitchell, D. A. Hayes, James O'Connell and Frank Morrison. The Advisory Board of the Conservation Congress met in St. Louis on May 11. We had previously authorized President Gompers to act as a member of the Advisory Board. Being unable to attend the meeting, by reason of the Executive Council being in session on that date, he authorized another representative of the A. F. of L. to act in his stead. At that meeting it was decided to submit to the annual meeting of the Conservation Congress, for discussion and exhibits, the conservation of forests, waters, lands, minerals and vital resources.

The Fourth National Conservation Congress was held in Indianapolis, October 1-4 inclusive. The members of the A. F. of L. Conservation Committee being unable to attend the Congress, we authorized the following committee to represent the A. F. of L.: Mr. J. M. Lynch, President, International Typographical Union; Mr. W. D. Huber, President, United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America; Mr. Daniel J. Tobin, President, International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America; Mr. Jacob Fischer, Secretary, Journeymen Barbers' International Union; Mr. Edgar A. Perkins,

President, Indiana State Federation of Labor.

The American labor movement is as much interested in the conservation of the natural resources, the conservation of men, as any body of people in our country. We therefore determined and decided that unless you shall otherwise order, the A. F. of L. shall continue to remain a part of and co-operate with the Natural Conservation Congress.

#### Mother's Day.

During the year we were approached by the representatives of the Mother's Day movement requesting our co-operation in having the second Sunday in May observed annually as Mother's Day, a day of home coming and of uplift to the home, in honor of the home. The movement appealed to us as being a decided influence for good in the lives of our people and our citizenship in general, and we therefore gave it our official endorsement. We trust our action in this respect will meet with your approval and that this Convention will declare itself in favor of affiliated organizations and their membership observing the second Sunday in May of each year as Mother's Day.

#### The McNamara Case.

During all the conferences of the representatives of our trade union movement of 1911, all through the two weeks of the Atlanta Convention of the American Federation of Labor, and until a few days after its adjournment, so far as we knew, and know, all believed in the innocence of the McNamaras of the charge of criminality lodged against them. Our belief in their innocence was strengthened by the manner in which they were unlawfully kidnapped from their home state by the "system" of detective agencies—a system which has since become a stench in the nostrils of decent men and officially stigmatized as such by the President of the United States and the Attorney-General.

A few days after the adjournment of the Atlanta Convention not only the people of our country in general, but particularly you and we, the representatives of the great rank and file of organized labor, were stirred, stunned and shocked that the men in whom we had placed our

faith and belief in their innocence had proven by their confession that they were guilty. From such investigations as had been made by those supposedly competent to judge, the catastrophe at Los Angeles, we were led to believe, was due to a gas explosion. The solemn assurances by the men charged confirmed the general confidence in their innocence. Never for one moment did the American Federation of Labor or its representatives condone a crime, if one had been committed. Upon the contrary, every feeling and expression conveyed the hope that no man in the remotest degree associated with organized labor, or that any other human being, was guilty of an offense so heinous. Then again, long experience with the brutal side of many in the business world and their alliance with corrupt politics and unscrupulous detective agencies and *agents provocateurs*, the hostile employers association; the circumstantial evidence connected with the destruction of the Times Building; the fact that Harrison Gray Otis, owner of the building and the Los Angeles Times, had for twenty years conducted a bitter, inexorable war upon organized labor—all this evidence, accompanied by the repeated disclaimers of guilt by the men, persuaded us into the full faith and belief that the men were victims of a vengeful plot to disrupt the labor movement of our country.

If we erred in assuming the men to be innocent, we did not err, as events proved, in assuming concerted and vengeful machinations on the part of militant, hostile employers and their hirelings. If ever there was a fight made upon organized labor, if ever there were efforts made to defame and discredit trade union officials, to abuse and mislead the rank and file, they were made in the months following the change of pleas in the Los Angeles trial. The spirit of Shylock who vowed,

"If I can catch him once upon the hip,  
"I will feed fat the ancient grudge I  
bear him"—

seemed to be surging rampant through our long time foes. Throughout the length and breadth of the land, the hostile press united in a terrific attack upon the leaders and the purposes of organized labor. Bluster, innuendos, insinuations, were blazoned in a way calculated to do

the cause injury. Every device was employed to confuse the issues and to make it appear that organized labor was on trial. It was due the public and our organization that an official statement of our position be made. Accordingly the McNamara Ways and Means Committee issued the following statement which was prefaced by a greeting from President Gompers:

Headquarters  
American Federation of Labor,  
"Washington, D. C., December 9, 1911.

**"To Organized Labor:**

"Greeting: In the recent past, the good name and high ideals of our great labor movement, its men, and the cause of humanity it and they represent, have been attacked as never before. Every enemy, every 'interest,' arrayed against the organized workers has howled like derisives. They hope to bring our tried, trusted and faithful men into disrepute, to destroy your confidence in their integrity and thereby weaken, and finally crush, the organizations of labor.

"Every union member deprecates violence and crime, whether committed by an ordinary outlaw, by a corporation director or agent, or by a so-called union man. Labor resents the insinuation that because one or two union members became criminally fanatical or fanatically criminal, that the rank and file, and the officers of the labor movement, are responsible either legally or morally.

"Labor in its history has met, resisted, and overcome the bitter hostility of its foes. Labor, standing for the great cause of justice and humanity, will again.

"Men and women of Labor: Stand firm, be true to yourselves and to each other. Let the spirit of fraternity, justice, freedom and solidarity imbue your every thought, word and action. Stand by your union. Organize the yet unorganized workers, and labor will triumph.

"The following statement of the McNamara Ways and Means Committee is commended to the thoughtful consideration of you and all interested. Please read it at your meeting and insert it in your minutes for future information and reference. Grit your teeth and organize!

Fraternally yours,

"SAMUEL GOMPERS,

"President American Federation of Labor."

"Attest:

"FRANK MORRISON, Secretary."

**STATEMENT**

"To the American Public on the McNamara Case:

"The McNamaras stand before the world self-convicted of great crimes. They have been sentenced to terms of imprisonment—J. B. during his natural

life, J. J. for fifteen years. The position of labor in connection with the effort made to afford these men an opportunity for adequate defense before the courts has been attacked and misrepresented to such a degree as to require a clear statement at the hands of the undersigned, who are in the best position to make an authoritative statement at this time—a statement that will be strengthened by some review of the principal points of the case.

"Was there an explosion of gas in the Los Angeles Times building when it was destroyed? Immediately after the disaster, the press reports stated that men who had been at work in the building spoke of an odor of gas for some time previous to the explosion. Gas leakage in the building, it came out later, had been known to others. Many conservative trade union officials, newspaper writers and publicists, on making an investigation in Los Angeles, soon after, were positive in assuring the public that they believed gas had destroyed the building. Among the mine workers, not one man, so far as information has reached us, has believed the destructive explosive was dynamite. Prominent officials of the United Mine Workers, cautious, honorable men, whose word is taken as truth by all who know them, who are familiar with mining explosives, declared that the effect of the explosion was not that which follows a discharge of dynamite. Were all these men speaking from blind partisanship or from honest conviction? Were they utterly mistaken? The answer has now been supplied by the prosecution.

While the 'gas theory' was being hooted at by enemies of the unions, while even so late as last Friday night, an editor of the New York Times was inditing a contemptuous slur at John Mitchell for supposing 'that proof would be adduced to show that an explosion of gas destroyed the Los Angeles Times building,' the prosecution knew that gas was an agency in the explosion and a great factor in the destruction which ensued. W. J. Burns in a press interview Saturday last said: 'Why, McManigal told us in his first confession that McNamara turned open the stop-cocks of the gas mains of the building when he set the bomb. We knew all the time that a part of the explosion was due to gas.' Now, the possible terrific force of a gas explosion, even in the open air, was shown in the wreckage caused by the accident at the Grand Central Station, New York, December 19, 1910, while the Los Angeles disaster was being discussed throughout the country.

"The fact of a gas explosion led all others in importance in the minds of the organized workers. Nearly all of them were convinced that it was an established fact. The most cautious reasoners among them regarded the possibilities of the fact sufficient to hold to belief in it until proof to the contrary could be produced. They were

willing to suspend conclusive judgment while awaiting evidence.

"The public also wanted such facts regarding the circumstances of the explosion as could be accepted as evidence of the way it came about. What was given the public, first and foremost? On the instant, at the hearing of the explosion, H. G. Otis broke into a savage denunciation of trade unionists, accusing them of having caused the disaster, and he has ever since declared it was the result of dynamite. By this course, he diverted the case from one in which citizens in common should have proceeded, through legal methods alone, to search for the truth. He threw the unions on their defense, outraged them, insulted their officials, raised animosities that could have been avoided. He was at once backed up by the small circle of bitter enemies of trades unionism, whose fulminations were largely made up of transparent falsehoods leveled at trade unions in general and at the leaders of trade unions.

"Despite all clamor it must be remembered that, with few exceptions, the international trade unions, more than 120 in number, are and have usually been in normal business relations with the employers of their members. Many of them have for years arranged their differences and their working conditions with employers through trade agreements or other methods resulting in a minimum loss through suspension of work. Violence in cases of dispute is not common to them. Trade unionists have been made aware, by experience, that stories of disorder by unionists during strikes or lockouts have been systematically exaggerated.

"Therefore, aware of the necessity of trade union organization, of the incalculable amount of good in various forms done by and through their unions every year, of the long and bitter campaign carried on by Otis, Kirby, Post and others, to destroy trade unionism, and perceiving the intention of these plotters and their detectives to ignore the apparent, and, to their minds, proven cause of the Times disaster, and to turn that terrible event solely to account as a means of discrediting trade unionism, the unions energetically stated their side of the case to the American public as they saw it at that time.

"When, after six months, the McNamara's were arrested, it was in Russian style, not American. Holding the members of the Executive Board of the Structural Iron Workers in confinement without warrant, hurrying J. J. McNamara away from Indianapolis in an automobile and by circuitous routes taken to California—what were these but features of high handed irregularity, and tyrannical lawlessness, known in arrests in Russia that precede transportation of prosecuted citizens to Siberia? And when Detective Burns has throughout been doubted by so great a part of the American public,

it has been largely the fault of his proceedings at this point, and of his own defouling the reputation of his craft, for has he not said: 'Private detectives, as a class, are the worst lot of blackmailing scoundrels that live outside of prisons.' (See page 357, McClure's Magazine, August, 1911.)

"J. J. McNamara had not been of sufficient prominence among labor men to be the subject of discussion as a leading figure, but what was generally known of him was to his credit. He was seen at conventions as a man of pleasing appearance and of mild manner. He was spoken of as self-educated and a faithful secretary of his organization. His speech and his writings for his magazine were reputed to be conservative. When placed under arrest, and throughout his imprisonment, his bearing was undemonstrative. His letters to officials of the A. F. of L. and telegram to the Atlanta Convention were concise and without suspicious characteristics. In no wise, to common observation, had he shown abnormal traits.

"Did organized labor properly express its condemnation of violence on hearing of the Los Angeles disaster? It did by interviews, addresses and publications. The hundreds of union labor papers, in their issues succeeding the event, contained what, taken together, would make volumes, declarative of the sentiments of their editors and of the rank and file of union membership on the subject. All recognized the case as one of mystery, the feeling shown being that of horror at the possibility of any union man being implicated in it. Unions framed resolutions in meetings, declaring that trade unionism was not to be advanced by murderous acts. Union labor officials, and many others, were quoted to similar effect. The president of the American Federation of Labor, the day after the disaster occurred, as published by the St. Louis Star, said:

"Labor does not stand for such outrages, nor contemplate such crime. I cannot believe that a union man has done it, and I deeply hope no one who was connected with the labor movement will be found to have done it. It is inconceivable that a union man should have done this thing. And yet, if it is found that a union man has done it, unionism cannot be blamed by fair-minded men for the deed of a man devoid of any human feeling, as the perpetrator of this horrible catastrophe must have been. It was the act of a madman. No one with an ounce of sympathy in his makeup could doubt but contemplate such a crime with the deepest abhorrence."

"These facts were further fully presented in the June, 1911, issue of the American Federationist in a seventeen-page article entitled, 'The McNamara Case,' in which the leading facts up to that time were reviewed. Speak-

ing before the St. Louis Central Labor Union on Sunday, October 3, 1910, the day after the disaster, President Gompers asserted he would 'immediately turn the dynamiters over to the proper authorities if he could lay hands on them.' The Globe-Democrat also quoted him as saying: 'I only wish I knew the actual perpetrators, and if I did, take my word for it, I would turn them over to justice.' The universal condemnation of a murderous deed in labor circles ought to be a fact so far beyond question, so easily ascertainable from accessible records, that no man with any regard for his reputation for veracity could deny it. Yet, the New York Times, in an editorial last Saturday, printed this sentence: 'From the day when James B. McNamara's bomb blew his twenty-one victims into eternity, down to the present time, no authoritative voice in the ranks of labor has been raised to express the hope that the murderers would be brought to justice, even should they prove to be union men.'

"Relative to other phases of the McNamara case, the article in the June American Federationist contains these passages:

"It may be said that from that time (the kidnapping) to the present, Detective Burns, Attorney Drew, Editor Otis, C. W. Post and the active agents of the extremists in the Manufacturers' Association in general have all played to perfection the hysterical characters to which we are accustomed in the pages of cheap fiction and on the boards of the Bowery class of theatres.

\* \* \* "Nothing more surprised us in the series of audacious acts committed by Detective Burns than his saying to a reporter for the World, May 7, 1911:

"Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, knows by this time that there was no frame-up and that the arrests of the McNamaras and McManigal were not the result of a plant. Why? Because Gompers has been conducting an investigation of his own at Indianapolis that has convinced him that there was no frame-up and no plants.'

"These assertions of Burns were entirely without foundation. Nothing was brought to our knowledge in Indianapolis or elsewhere that could be used as evidence against the prisoners or to show that the Structural Iron Workers' Union has been conducting a dynamite campaign against the Erectors' Association.'

"Since the McNamara's confession Burns has been reiterating this charge. The only 'investigation' in which President Gompers participated in Indianapolis was the meeting of the prominent trade unionists held last May 10-12, called by officials of the eight international unions which have

their headquarters in that city, and the meeting of the officials of a large number of trade unions called by authority of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and held at Indianapolis, June 29, 1911. What President Gompers learned there was precisely what everyone attending the conference learned, and that was nothing that helped to solve the mystery of the Los Angeles disaster, or, of criminality of any kind.

"Indeed, the unlawful and un-American kidnapping of McNamara formed one of the chief factors of fixing in the minds of the working people of our country that he was innocent. They reasoned, as they had a right to reason, that if there existed evidence of McNamara's guilt of the crime charged, every protection would and should have been accorded him to demonstrate before the courts of Indiana that he was innocent of the crime with which he was charged. His protestations of innocence, his demands to be represented by counsel, were all ruthlessly ignored.

"Violence, brutality, destruction of life or property, are foreign to the aims and methods of organized labor of America, and no interest is more severely injured by the employment of such methods than that of the workers organized in the labor movement. Therefore, quite apart from the spirit of humanitarianism and justice which prompts the activities of the organized labor movement, policy and hopes for success forbid the resort to violence. The American labor movement and its men are loyal Americans and seek to obtain the abolition of wrongs and the attainment of their rights within the law.

"Organized labor of America has no desire to condone the crimes of the McNamaras. It joins in the satisfaction that the majesty of the law and justice has been maintained and the culprits commensurately punished for their crime.

"And yet it is an awful commentary upon existing conditions when any one man, among all the millions of workers, can bring himself to the frame of mind that the only means to secure justice for labor is in violence, outrage and murder.

"It is cruelly unjust to hold the men of the labor movement either legally or morally responsible for the crime of an individual member. No such moral code or legal responsibility is placed upon any other association of men in our country.

"In so far as we have the right to speak in the name of organized labor, we welcome any investigation which either Federal or State courts may undertake. The sessions of the Conventions of the American Federation of Labor are held with open doors that all may see and hear what is being said and done. The books, accounts and correspondence of the American Federation of Labor are open to any

competent authority who may desire to make a study or an investigation of them.

"Will the National Manufacturers' Association, the Erectors' Association and the Detective agencies extend the same privilege for public investigation and examination of their books and correspondence?"

"When we were selected as a Committee on Ways and Means to raise and dispense funds for the defense of the McNamars and the prosecution of the kidnappers, we were fully impressed with the innocence of the accused men. That impression was strengthened by their written and oral protestations of innocence. We here and now, individually and collectively, declare that the first knowledge or intimation of their guilt was conveyed by the press in their confessions of guilt. From the outset we assured all contributors and the public generally that we would publish an accounting of the moneys received, from whom received, and to whom paid. This assurance will be fulfilled. A report in full will first be made to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, at its meeting to be held at Washington, D. C., January 8, 1912.

"The American labor movement has done so much for the workers of our country in improving their condition, in lightening the burdens which the workers have had to bear, bringing light and hope in the homes and in the lives, the factories and the workshops of our country, that it challenges the world of investigators. The organizations of labor of America have been the most potent factors in the establishment and maintenance of the largest measure of industrial peace. Their course is of a conciliatory character, to reach trade agreements with employers, and the faithful adherence to agreements. When industrial conditions become unsettled, they are more largely due to the unreasonableness of employers, who regard every effort of the workers to maintain their rights, and to promote their interests, as an invasion of employers' prerogatives, which are resented with consequent struggles. If employers will be but fair and tolerant, they will find more than a responsive attitude on the part of organized labor, but, of one thing all may rest assured, that with existing conditions of concentrated wealth and industry, the organized toilers of our country realize that there is no hope from abject slavery outside of the protection which the organized labor movement affords.

"The men of organized labor, in common with all our people, are grieved beyond expression in words at the loss of life, and the destruction of property, not only in the case under discussion, but in any other case which may have occurred. We are hurt and humiliated to think that any man connected with the labor movement should have been guilty of either. The lesson this grave crime teaches will, however, have its

salutary effect. It will demonstrate now more than ever, the inhumanity as well as the futility of resorting to violence in the effort to right wrongs, or to attain rights.

"In view of the great uplift work in which the men of the labor movement have been and are engaged, and the industrial problems with which they have to contend, we insist that our organizations of labor should be judged by what they do and aim to do, rather than to be opposed and stigmatized because one or a few may be recreant to the good name and high ideals of labor, and we appeal to the fair-minded citizenship and the press of America for fair treatment.

- "SAMUEL GOMPERS,  
President American Federation of Labor, Chairman,  
"FRANK MORRISON,  
Secretary American Federation of Labor, Secretary,  
"JAMES A. SHORT,  
President Building Trades Department,  
"WM. J. SPENCER,  
Secretary Building Trades Department,  
"JAS. O'CONNELL,  
President Metal Trades Department.  
"A. J. BERRES,  
Secretary Metal Trades Department.  
"JOHN B. LENNON,  
President Union Label Trades Department,  
"THOMAS F. TRACY,  
Secretary Union Label Trades Department,  
"Constituting the McNamara Ways and Means Committee.  
"Washington, D. C., December 7, 1911."

The following editorial was published in the January, 1912, issue of the American Federationist:

#### LABOR'S POSITION LAWFUL AND PROGRESSIVE

"We have nothing to hide. We are ready at any time for the agents of the law to begin investigating. Files, records of all kinds, account books—everything in documentary shape is open to them. All that has been printed, or spoken, or written to our correspondents is subject to their inquiries. Every act of every official may be freely looked into. No one is going to dodge or run away. Whatever can be done to aid the law will be done at these offices.

"This is our reply at headquarters of the American Federation of Labor to the clamor to get at 'the men higher up,' to the repeated announcements in the press of 'a nation-wide investigation by Federal officials,' to the assertions that behind the McNamars were men standing high in the councils of labor.

"How to make our language on this point more sweeping we do not know. We could not do it in columns or pages. We therefore consider the point disposed of, in so far as it relates to our attitude regarding the investigation for which some men are calling.

"As to our position on the McNamara case, it is given in the statement which was sent out to the press on December 9, and which we reproduce on other pages in this issue of the American Federationist. We have seen no criticism of that statement which should cause it to be changed. We stand by every word of it.

"As affecting the Executive Council, American Federation of Labor, the officers of the international trade unions, and the active labor men throughout the country who took up the defense of the McNamaras, the gist of the outcome of the case is, in what was a mystery they were deceived.

"As to that part of the public which sided against the McNamaras—or was it against labor?—in a case which was a mystery, they knew no more, and no less, than the people who were deceived.

"As to the future, now is trade unionism to be affected? With respect to this question we have looked for light from the press and in the letters coming to us in quantities from all parts of the country. What lessons are to be derived from this case, which is one of abnormalities? What illuminating suggestion has been sent in, by friend or enemy? Is organized labor to depart from its regularly adopted policies; and if so, why? Where lies a better course than that which it has followed?

"Nothing new has come, in reply to these queries. Among the intense participants in the social conflict, the same groups are but reiterating their well-known sentiments. What could be expected from the National Manufacturers' Association, their agents and hirelings, but precisely what they are saying—which is merely what they have been saying? What from the Socialists except to employ the occasion for vote-catching? What from such reactionary organs as the New York Sun but diatribes covering half the editorial page? So long as these declared enemies of the trade unions are what they are, and unionism is what it is, no help can come from them to the labor movement.

"From the social elements that stand somewhat apart from the wage conflict, there have usually come merely the suggestions of partly informed observers. Ought our Federation at once change its officials? Some part of the daily press, seeking to create a popular cry, calls for this move. That is worth no attention. Ought our Federation forthwith change its policies? The question in reply must be, Which of them? Each represents the wisdom derived from experience.

"A few humanitarians are declaring

that a unionism must prevail which is grounded on 'industrial liberty.' It will have to be a new unionism with new unionists—and where are they to be found?—for the deceits in the catchwords 'industrial liberty' are known to all wage-workers who have suffered from the unending competition which is an inseparable feature of a so-called 'free labor market.'

"As to the critics of our Federation's officers, most of them move in a fundamental error. They assume that the separate trade unions, in their organization, work and affairs, are controlled, directed, supervised from our Washington center. This is not in the least so. To the national (or international) unions there is nothing 'higher up.' With respect to their routine procedures, their conventions, and their dues, assessments, benefits, not one of them is subject to orders from the Federation offices. They are autonomous. All of them are in the Federation under certain general regulations, chiefly such as relate to character of membership, 'jurisdiction' (the prevention of overlapping), the avoidance of duplication of effort and organization, and the adoption of methods for union agitation and education. By a vote of representatives in federation conventions the Federation can, for certain purposes only, impose a slight assessment, a step taken on the rarest occasions. The books of the Federation show how funds raised in this manner, as well as through the regular dues, are expended. They are published in detail in every issue of the American Federationist.

"So far as can be seen, at the present stage of this emergency, the friends of our labor movement, those among the general public whom organized labor has learned to trust, are standing with us, steadfast. To their minds nothing has occurred to discredit the established principles, the accepted policies and procedures, or the general body of officials, of the trade union movement. What has happened has been a deplorable incident, a misfortune, an exceptional course of action, but which does not touch the essentials of trade unionism. The Church, the State, every social institution, has had its fanatics and its criminals. No great movement but has had to survive injurious episodes and unwise advocates. In this ordeal for unionism, we have not heard of the abandonment of the cause by a single follower or a single friend. Not one 'if,' 'but,' or 'and' has been uttered by one of them to pull down or weaken the organization. On the contrary, assurances have come to us from strong men—in the ranks of labor, of the professions, and of business men—many of them strangers to us, that they understand and approve of, the position of the American Federation of Labor throughout the whole of this chapter in the history of what is among the side issues of trade unionism. They have



not been misled by the shrieking in sensational newspaper headlines, the rabid onslaughts of our rancorous foes, or the hypocrisies of those who, professing love for labor, would profit by the present occasion to deprive organized labor of its hard-won strength.

"In truth, amidst the clamor raised by financial interest, by partisan prejudice, by sensation-mongers, or through mere shallowness and base truckling to the noise-makers, the country is being compelled to hear the voice of sanity and moral force. That voice is saying that if labor is the basic element in society, the laborer's cause should be sacred to society; if unrestricted competition among wage-workers leads to the frightful deprivation, degeneration and collective slavery of the masses which even America is witnessing, the wage-workers themselves are justified in organized opposition to such competition; if trade unionism as it exists has been the only effective agency developed to help the masses of wage-workers to get better pay and cut off the work-hours that destroy health and life, and in general improve the working conditions of labor, encouragement to it is a national obligation; if it has stood champion for labor's rights, before our legislative bodies, before the public, appealing for whatever justice can today be had, curbing avarice, performing an unparalleled work of philanthropy in its mutual benefits—then it deserves to live and to continue its mission.

"Who knows better than the trade unionists themselves the mission of unionism? How has that mission come to be shaped and developed? It has come through the free discussion, the public deliberations, the fairest procedures of a perfectly democratic organization. The voice and vote of the least man in the last rank has its due force and weight. Every suggestion from the mind of any and all of the members of a union has its open channel to reach the full membership. What step may, or ought, to be taken, in organization, in efficiency, in policy, in politics, in exclusion or inclusion of members—in all such respects each union can have its share in proposing and deciding. Hence the history of the American Federation of Labor is the story of the will and wish of its majorities. How, then, could it be other than what it has been? How can it be other than what it is? It rests on the solid rock of the economic education, the recorded decisions, the deliberate will of its membership.

"Purification? Yes; of whatever evils, of methods or men, that may appear. That is a natural part of its business, as with every other institution.

"The methods of our Federation have been defined and defended on every necessary occasion. Despite the systematic, malicious and mendacious misrepresentations of those methods, we repeat that they stop short of in-

jurious attacks on persons and property, while they unfailingly uphold, to the last point, every right of labor, and of the wage-workers—in their movements, on the highways, in their purchases, in their choice of work-fellow, and in their organization.

"The men of our Federation have each a duty to perform, according to his place. Within the organization, the membership decides who has or has not been derelict. Without, in matters of the law, the Government decides. On this score, a clamor—by the interested, chiefly—has been raised against the officers of the Federation. In reply, we say to the appropriate Government officials, proceed with your duty. We are ready. You shall have our aid. To the country we say, we have nothing to fear.

"To the men and women of labor we say, the wrongs which the workers have borne, the rights to which they are entitled, should and must achieve, can only be accomplished by thorough organization, unity and federation promoted and permeated by the spirit of fraternity and solidarity.

"At no time in the history of labor has organization been so essential as now. If the wage-earners of our continent hope, not only to promote and advance their interests, but to protect even that which they now enjoy, organization, unity and federation are an immediate and pressing necessity.

"The concentrated effort and bitter animosity of the enemies of organized labor to crush out the spirit of the toilers, and with it to enfeeble or destroy the organized labor movement, must be met by the men and women of labor with an intelligent, earnest, dignified and insistent attitude, whose solemn and imperative duty it is to openly declare the high purposes for which our movement is instituted, to show its splendid achievements already accomplished for the workers and make clear its noblest aspirations, not only for the workers, but for all humanity.

#### "GRIT YOUR TEETH AND ORGANIZE!"

A disclaimer of knowledge of the crime was issued by the executive officers of the international trade unions with headquarters in Indianapolis. They did not condone the crime, but regretted the industrial conditions and tactics of militant employers that led to what seemed to be manifestations of industrial war. They called attention to information and wholesale denunciation of trade unions that had so befogged the situation that honest men were misled.

But still the attacks did not lessen in violence or persistence. Detective Burns traveled from coast to coast,

trumpeting loudly of what might confidently be expected in the way of sensational arrests and convictions of the "men higher up." By subtle and cowardly insinuation he made it appear that officers of the A. F. of L. were the "higher ups." When the President of our Federation made reply, this centered upon him the brunt of Detective Burns' unlimited stock of billingsgate. Burns talked ceaselessly as he traveled, addressed capitalist clubs and organizations glad to listen to his attacks; harangued chance audiences and reporters, trying by every known method to destroy the reputation, to defame the good name and to undermine the life work of President Gompers. Avowing over and over that what he thought of that man was not fit to print, he continued his accusation, so planned that newspapers would give first page space to the stories. Evidently the design was by frequent repetition of falsehoods to make them so familiar that the people would regard them as truth.

Not only were attacks made on Mr. Gompers by the press and Mr. Burns, but he was subjected to a constant and irritating surveillance. Private and official detectives trailed him for weeks and even months after the confession. Their methods, combined with the press attacks, amounted to a most cruel form of the "third degree." Mr. Gompers was hounded by day and night, his acts and words noted, misconstrued, and thus proclaimed throughout the land; at night these sleuths haunted hotels, called upon him, sent messengers, called him up at all hours at his home or elsewhere. By permitting him no rest by day or night, no peace of spirit or body, they planned to break down his will-power and endurance, to crush his spirit and drive him from the cause of labor.

When the public was wearying of Burns' oft repeated charges and virulent abuse, the enemy sought to renew the attack on Mr. Gompers by a new method, namely, the canard: "Gompers desecrating the flag." The story originated with a fake picture published by Otis' Los Angeles Times, which represented Mr. Gompers standing upon a table, draped in an American flag,

trampling and soiling our national emblem. The anti-union press eagerly copied. The cuts were embellished; the story did not lose in sensational flavor or detail of slander as it traveled from city to city. Again the aim was "to get" Mr. Gompers, to spread broadcast the impression that he was a foreign agitator who was teaching anarchistic doctrines and dishonor for American ideals and citizenship.

By persistent, concerted press action this slander spread throughout the land. The victim of the campaign was, of course, unable to give his refutation of the charge as wide and as emphatic a presentment. Experts pronounced the picture a most obvious fake. The picture was taken of the Labor Day celebration at Oakland, California, in 1911.

Then the campaign of slander was carried even to the United States Senate. Labor's old time enemy (recently deceased), Senator Heyburn, of Idaho, then took up the hue and the cry against our President's integrity. The Atlanta Convention directed that a resolution and preamble protesting against the deterioration in the manufacture of the paper money of the country be presented by our officers to the President, to the Vice-President, to the Speaker of the House, and to the Secretary of the Treasury. In a communication by President Gompers that resolution was presented to the President of the Senate, was laid before that body. Senator Heyburn objected to receiving the communication. He charged that Mr. Gompers was not qualified to address the Senate, and, by indirection, charged him with criminal complicity and even crime. Senator Reed, of Missouri, came to the defense, and completely demolished the objections raised by the Senator from Idaho. Overruled in this objection and the right of petition sustained, Senator Heyburn then attacked Mr. Gompers' good standing as a citizen, and by insinuation falsely denied his citizenship. The communication was ordered received.

Meanwhile an investigation had been instituted in Indianapolis against the men "higher up." President Taft per-

sonally directed the Federal investigation. Again wild and irrational rumors were furnishing first page stories with scare headlines. Charles W. Miller, United States Attorney, was announcing that "Gompers is unsafe, he should be retired from office." Burns was ceaselessly bewailing that "Gompers is deceiving union men and must be dropped." While they were trying to create this sentiment, they were scrutinizing every scrap of evidence that might in any way implicate the "higher ups."

Another Burns fake was concocted, to be peddled around to the gullible. Ex-Mayor Bookwalter of Indianapolis was charged with having had information of the methods of the McNamaras and of being guilty of neglect of official duty in not prosecuting John J. McNamara upon evidence which was in his possession. Burns charged that Mr. Bookwalter dropped the investigation to become a member of a printing company doing union business, a firm in which Burns alleged President Gompers was interested. This rumor also died for lack of proof. Mr. Gompers never had a dollar invested in that or any other business.

John Kirby, Jr., was proclaiming to the world that the American Federation of Labor was as big a menace to society as were the Ku-Klux-Klan, the Molly McGuires, the Mafias, or the Black Hand. The Los Angeles Times proclaimed:

"And soon—it has begun to happen already—the plain citizens of every country will form a combine. Its object will be the suppression of sedition and anarchy in the persons of the professional agitators. Theirs will be a big, powerful, effective, but very unostentatious, revolt. It will work **quickly, surely, silently.** The first thing the **Plain Citizen Combine** will accomplish is the **Quiet Removal** of these gentlemen. They won't be blown up; they will just **Quietly Disappear** from human ken. There will be a little inquiry at first, but it will die down ever so quickly, for of all people in the world the professional agitator depends entirely upon his presence and his glib tongue to maintain any sort of interest or influence in his followers. His impassioned rhetoric is his only asset."

Nearly every capitalist publicity organ throughout the country was heralding the "Blow to Labor," and

anticipating the obituary of the American Federation of Labor and its President. With our enemies howling like dervishes, the investigation continued. Our old time "sympathizer," C. W. Post, came to the front, offered Mr. Gompers half a million dollars to subsidize a "labor movement" (?) built upon the lines which Post advocates.

Mr. Frank Morrison, Secretary of the A. F. of L., and Mr. Henry H. Flather, cashier of Riggs' National Bank, were summoned to appear before the Grand Jury to give an accounting of the McNamara funds. Secretary Morrison carried with him two trunks full of accounts, records, stubs, etc. Some of these were left for the prosecution and Grand Jury to scrutinize as long as they pleased. Mr. Flather gave information as to A. F. of L. funds which were deposited in that bank. The ordeal to which Mr. Morrison was subjected was nerve-racking. If, after all of his care and exactness, errors had been detected in his accounts, he well knew the interpretation that the prosecution and the poison press would have placed upon them, and the use that would be made of them. Nevertheless Secretary Morrison and President Gompers were, as were we all, sincerely glad to have the investigation made; they challenged examination, however searching and detailed. After thorough, minute and expert examination there were no errors found in Secretary Morrison's books, nothing in his accounts, papers, or testimony that could in the remotest connect him, or any one else, or the A. F. of L. with the dynamite case, or with any other criminal or unlawful action. It was common report that the Federal Government completely exonerated the American Federation of Labor officials, or the A. F. of L. as such. Though Detective Burns, in season and out, affirmed that "Gompers had guilty knowledge of the crime." Burns has not and could not produce a scintilla of evidence to substantiate his oft repeated mis-statement. "Gompers knew, Gompers knew," was his incessant refrain, re-echoed by the press, so that the words might take on a familiarity accorded to truth.

This man Burns, who was seeking to destroy the A. F. of L. and defame

its officials, has a record that accords with his own characterization of private detectives, which is: "Ninety per cent of them are the worst lot of crooks and blackmailing scoundrels that live outside of prisons." The following accounts show how this much self-advertised, spotlight performer always "got the man he was after."

In connection with a famous senatorial investigation, Mr. Burns and his employes used a dictograph to secure an alleged confession from a man, who, Burns alleged, had "perjured himself." Burns' agent explained his method of operation, read from the "notes" made from day to day of "conversations"; avowed that such sudden "love and affection" sprang up between himself and the man in question that upon the first day of their acquaintance the latter made the alleged confession to him. The official reporter of the Senate Committee, whose nerves were over-wrought by strain and extra work, gave the committee an exciting session when he characterized some of the "notes" used by the Burns witnesses as manufactured. An investigation and a test were made, the results of which were published in the press generally and more in detail by the Washington Post, February 11, 1912. The report described the test and showed the following conclusions:

The shorthand clerk in the employ of the Burns' agency was placed under experimental conditions duplicating as nearly as possible those under which he claimed to have taken the notes; he was in one room with his ear to the receiver of the dictograph, two other Burns' men, together with a third man interested, were in another room conducting a conversation. The shorthand reporter reproduced less than one-third of the conversation. He produced only 581 words, whereas, if his story on the witness stand had been true, he should have reported at least 1,500 words. His notes were evidently written at dictation speed, whereas he had claimed for himself reporting speed. There was no joining of words, no phrasing of words, characteristic of reporting shorthand. The test showed that the Burns agent had an average speed of 58 words a minute, while to report the conversa-

tion he claimed to have taken, he must have had an average of more than 175 words a minute.

Further evidence which discredited the story of Burns' man was the opinion expressed by expert reporters who examined the alleged notes introduced as evidence in the investigation and unanimously declared that they must have been written from slow dictation, that they were written in a crude and what is called correspondence style—a style meant to be used in recording dictation at a rate not exceeding 70 or 80 words a minute.

Another case in June, the Seattle Daily Times reported, as follows:

"Burns' detectives, caught and exposed in a desperate effort to railroad Dr. Frank D. Johnson, a young Centralia dentist, to the gallows for a crime he not only had not committed, but of which there was no evidence indicating he had even any knowledge, brought home to the people of southwestern Washington a realization of the fact that there is no limit to which that agency will not go to carry out its policy of providing a victim whenever it is called into a case."

Lawrence Bar, the aged president of the Farmers and Merchants' Bank of Centralia, Washington, was shot, while resisting an attempted hold-up of his bank, by Adelbert Clark. The Burns' Agency sought and secured employment. It was alleged that an operative, passing as a buyer of real estate, ingratiated himself into Dr. Johnson's confidence and by subtle suggestion so worked upon Johnson's fears and mind as to persuade him he might be implicated by circumstantial evidence. Then the "operative" tried to persuade him to go into hiding; next sought to induce him to flee to Canada; failing in that, tried to persuade him to offer Clark's attorney \$500 if he would not disclose the fact that Clark and Johnson had slept in the same room the night before the murder; finally, a Burns' operative, disguised as a tramp, had himself placed in the same cell with Clark, and induced Clark to write a note to Johnson asking him to smuggle a saw into the prison; when "released" he carried the note to Johnson, who promptly informed the sheriff.

When Clark and Johnson met in the jail after the latter's arrest, Clark accused Johnson of complicity in the crime, and when Johnson began a

vigorous denial a Burns' detective refused to let him talk. With such inhuman ingenuity did the Burns' agency seek to produce a victim. Upon these important points in Johnson's testimony the attorney for his defense obtained corroborative testimony in cross examining the State's own witness.

As most indisputable evidence of the criminally crooked methods employed by Detective Burns is the following statement from the Attorney-General of the United States, addressed to President Taft, upon land fraud cases of Washington:

"Washington, D. C., May 10, 1912. -

"In the Matter of the Application for Pardon of Willard N. Jones.

"The President.

"Sir: On March 1, 1911, you commuted the sentences of Willard N. Jones in effect to four months' imprisonment in the county jail and to pay a fine of \$12,000. On March 16th you received a telegram from H. H. Schwartz, formerly Chief of Field Service of the General Land Office, charging irregularities in the filling of the jury box from which grand jurors and petit jurors were drawn in the Jones cases, and also in the trial of the cases, and pursuant thereto you directed a further investigation to be made and that the execution of the penalty be deferred until the investigation be completed. Shortly thereafter additional papers were filed to sustain the charge, and a report was received from United States Attorney McCourt with which he transmitted additional papers formerly belonging to William J. Burns, detective, which were found in the United States Attorney's office. All of these were sent to you April 24, 1911, with a statement that I thought enough facts were submitted to throw a very decided doubt upon the fairness and impartiality in the method of selecting the jury and that in my opinion it would not be just to allow a man to be sent to prison as the result of a trial before a jury procured in the manner in which it was shown by the papers the jury which Jones was tried was selected. I stated further that the papers also tended strongly to show an atmosphere surrounding the whole prosecution which was hardly consonant with the impartial administration of justice. I referred, however, to the fact that the papers had not been submitted to Mr. Francis J. Heney, the attorney who conducted the prosecution and who was at that time in California, and recommended in view of the delay which would result from securing a statement from Mr. Heney, that the sentence be commuted so as to relieve the defendant from actual imprisonment, or if you desired Mr. Heney's

statement before acting, that the papers be transmitted to him for an expression of his opinion concerning the points of criticism. On April 28, 1911, you replied saying that you believed the execution of the sentence should be withheld until the papers had been submitted to Mr. Heney for comment and answer.

"Mr. Heney's report, a lengthy document covering seventy-seven pages, dated May 23, 1911, was received by the Department June 28, 1911. Mr. Heney disclaims any knowledge of the matters charged, offers explanations and conjectures regarding the alleged irregularities, and expresses the firm conviction that the charges are baseless. I read the statement and referred it to the Pardon Attorney, directing him to look over the report carefully and also the papers and documents which had been received since your prior action on the case, and requested him to inform me whether or not in his opinion there was anything in the papers which should modify the conclusions shown in Mr. Heney's report. This the Pardon Attorney attempted to do. On August 26, 1911, he informed me that he had practically completed the preparation of his report, and although he had reached a fairly satisfactory conclusion, there were matters which he could not settle with absolute certainty from the papers before him and said that he thought it desirable the Department should have at least some statement from Mr. Burns; that he had in my absence caused a telegram to be sent to Mr. Burns inquiring how he obtained possession of the list of names which were in the possession of Captain Sladen and Jury Commissioner Bush prior to the filling of the jury box, to which Mr. Burns replied that there was no truth whatever in the statements that Captain Sladen or the Jury Commissioner had furnished him with advance lists of prospective jurors, and stating that he would look up data and furnish the Department with a complete report of his connection with the matter, which was entirely straight and honorable; that he expected to be in Washington within a short time and would then make a report, and answer interrogatories by any one interested. Thereupon I directed the Pardon Attorney to delay the completion of the report until he had seen Mr. Burns. Mr. Burns, however, did not make his report, or come to the Department for months afterward, although repeatedly communicated with about the matter.

"The papers received up to this time and reviewed by the Pardon Attorney in connection with Mr. Heney's lengthy report were so voluminous that the Pardon Attorney's brief had reached nearly eighty pages. He delayed the completion of his report styled 'Supplemental Report' until October 10, and then closed it with a statement that he did not think any fair or proper con-

clusion could be arrived at until the Department had received a complete statement from Mr. Burns, and that it might be necessary to receive statements from others connected with the prosecution; and in view of the size to which his report had grown he thought it would be well to make the result of his further investigations the subject of another communication. This he has done, styling it 'Second Supplemental Report.' It is well that he has done so and that he has delayed his report until this time, as the Department is now in receipt of such further information in documentary form that there is little left to conjecture as to what actually transpired regarding the filling of the jury box and the correctness of the charges made by petitioner and his friends. Fortunately this evidence is of such a character that it will not be necessary for you to follow very carefully the line of reasoning, conjecture, and comparison of documents and reports received, which otherwise would have been required in order to reach, I think, a thoroughly satisfactory and convincing idea of what actually transpired.

"Nor is it necessary to review the offenses of which Jones was convicted, for the reason that if the charges made by him are true it matters little what the offense was; he should not be required to serve a day of imprisonment or be otherwise punished. The facts relating to the conviction are, however, fully set forth in my former report, which is sent herewith.

"It is charged by the defendant and his friends that William J. Burns, who was investigating jurors for Mr. Francis J. Heney, as stated by the latter in a communication to me dated August 23, 1911, sent his agents throughout the several counties from which names of jurors had been taken for the purpose of filling the jury box, and had these proposed jurors investigated prior to the time the box was filled. It is claimed that these agents reported to Burns, and that he was able in some way to control, and did control, the selection of names that went into the jury box; that in this way the jury box was filled with names of persons predisposed to convict, to wit, Democrats, Populists, Socialists, and Republicans belonging to what is known as the Simon faction, who were antagonistic to the so-called Mitchell faction of the Republican party, to which Jones and the persons prosecuted belonged, and that none of the persons objectionable to Burns were selected. It is also claimed that offenses against the public land laws were of such common occurrence by reason of the lax methods employed by the Government officials, or even by their acquiescence, that very many people in that section of the country had made themselves liable to conviction and punishment under a strict interpretation of the law; and that the prosecution, through intimidation by

threats of indictment and conviction, compelled witnesses both before the grand jury and petit juries to testify falsely, and that witnesses did testify falsely in the Jones and other cases. These charges have been substantially proven, particularly those relating to the irregularities in the filling of the jury box.

"The Department has in its possession the original reports of Burns' agents to him and those assisting him regarding the names of proposed jurors, which reports were made prior to the filling of the box. Some of the comments upon these names were as follows: 'Convictor from the word go.' 'Socialist. Anti-Mitchell.' 'Convictor from the word go; just read the indictment. Populist.' 'Think he is a Populist. If so, convictor. Good reliable man.' 'Convictor. Democrat. Hates Hermann.' 'Hide-bound Democrat. Not apt to see any good in a Republican.' 'Would be apt to be for conviction.' 'He is apt to wish Mitchell hung. Think he would be a fair juror.' 'Would be very likely to convict any Republican politician.' 'Convictor.' 'Would convict Christ.' 'Convict Christ. Populist.' 'Convict anyone. Democrat.' Burns' favorite way of describing an unsatisfactory juror was to designate him as a 's—n of a b—h,' and lists are checked as 'S. B.' 'S. E.' etc. Attached to the Polk County list found among Burns' papers is a slip bearing the following endorsement: 'Pat McArthur checked all on Polk County list who were good; checked on said list for s—s of b—a.'

"The Department also has Burns' original statements of adversely reported names, some in his own handwriting, others typewritten. Evidently Burns, or some one for him, had gone over the reports received and picked out the bad reports and had them typewritten. This was done county by county, with the exception of Multnomah County, concerning which reports are meager, and in practically every instance all of the names on these lists were left out, and occasionally were the only names left out from a particular county unless the name bore a circular check, which indicated that although the name appeared upon the list, yet for some reason the proposed juror would be satisfactory. The conclusion is obvious. It would have been a remarkable coincidence for the jury commissioners to have selected for rejection even from one county only the names which were reported upon adversely and which had been collected and typewritten as above stated, but when the situation obtains with substantial uniformity throughout all of the counties save one, it is impossible to reach any other conclusion than that Burns in some way, either with or without the actual knowledge of the jury commissioners, caused the selections to be made in conformity with his wishes. In view of the high regard in which Captain Sladen and the Jury Commis-

sloner were held and the positive statements made regarding the probity of these men, I am disposed to regard it as improbable that they really understood the nature or the extent of what was being done, but there is abundance of evidence, in my judgment, to show that the work was probably done by Burns acting in collusion with Marsh, who was Deputy Clerk at the time. It is noticeable that the positive statements of denial are chiefly in the nature of an assertion that neither Captain Sladen nor the Jury Commissioner could have been implicated in the affair. Even Burns in his first telegram does not reply directly, but says that there is no truth in the statements that Captain Sladen or Bush furnished him with the information; and Mr. Marsh's emphatic statements have been largely of a similar nature. Indeed, some of the information which Mr. Burns secured, and secured so promptly, it would seem could not have been obtained in any other way.

"It is impracticable to go into all the details of the corroborating evidence on this point, but if there were any doubt regarding Burns' connection with the affair and what he actually accomplished it would seem to be set at rest by his own telegram in cipher to Mr. W. Scott Smith, then Secretary to Hon. E. A. Hitchcock, the then Secretary of the Interior, on August 19, 1909, the very date the jury box was filled and on which the grand jury was drawn. The Department has this original telegram. It reads as follows:

"Jury commissioners cleaned out old box from which trial jurors were selected and put in 600 names, every one of which was investigated before they were placed in the box. This confidential."

"In addition to this an affidavit was received on the 12th instant from C. N. McArthur, who was one of Burns' agents in the field and afterwards Speaker of the House of Representatives of Oregon. Mr. McArthur makes a complete disclosure of the whole situation, which leaves no possible ground for doubt. Among other things he states that on or about July 25, 1905 (the jury box was filled August 17, 1905), Burns telephoned to him that he wished to see him in the District Attorney's office, and while there, and in the presence of Francis J. Heney, Burns handed him a typewritten list and said, as nearly as Mr. McArthur can remember: 'Here, Mac, is a list of prospective jurors from several counties. Take it, weed out the s—s of b—s who will not vote for conviction, and return it to me as soon as possible, for we are going to make up a new jury box, and we want to be sure that no man's name goes into the box unless we know that he will convict, for by G—d we are going to "get" Williamson this time, you can bet your sweet life, and we will send this whole d—d outfit to jail, where they belong. We

are going to "stack the cards" on them this time.' Mr. McArthur states that he became indignant and told Burns that such methods as he proposed were altogether improper and that no self-respecting man could be a party to them, and Burns replied: 'Any methods are justifiable in dealing with these s—s of b—s.' He states further that on or about September 1, 1905, he met Burns, and the latter said to him: 'Well, Mac, we weeded out the s—s of b—s, at least I think we did, and we will "get" Williamson this time, and by G—d we will get the whole d—d crowd. Old Sladen kicked like h—l because my men worked the lists over before they went to the jury commissioners, but it didn't do the old s—n of a b—h any good, and the corrected lists went in anyhow.'

"Mr. McArthur, it is to be remembered, was one of Burns' agents and furnished many of the reports which are on file in the Department. He claims, however, that he did so with great reluctance and under duress, and after much persuasion. He does not state the nature of the duress, but I am informed is willing to do so if you insist.

"There are also on file affidavits of persons who claim that they were induced through intimidation and threats to testify falsely in the Jones case. Such representations in the absence of other corroborating evidence would not be entitled to very great weight, but when it is considered how emphatic have been Mr. Burns' denials and his statements that the whole thing is a tissue of falsehoods from beginning to end, it is apparent, notwithstanding these denials, that the prosecution very probably resorted to intimidation of witnesses also.

"In line with these practices it is further shown that one of the defendants, with Jones, a man named Sorensen, while he was presumptively being tried by the Government, was in the active employment of Burns and received compensation from the Government under the name of George Edwards. In this way Burns kept tab on Jones and the latter relying upon Sorensen because he was a fellow defendant accepted as jurors persons to whom he would otherwise have objected.

"I need not go further in a recital of the high-handed, outrageous conduct on the part of officers of the prosecution in these cases. The Government can not properly countenance, nor is it expedient in these times of attacks upon courts and the judicial system of the United States, for it to lend its approval to any such procedure. In the light of the facts as they appear from the documents and reports before the Department, it does not seem to me that any person convicted of land frauds by a jury drawn from the box referred to had a fair and impartial

trial. For this reason I feel it my duty to advise you that in my judgment Willard N. Jones should receive a full and unconditional pardon. In this connection I should say that Mr. Burns has been given the fullest opportunity to make a statement. The Pardon Attorney went to New York and interviewed him by appointment, but could not obtain a statement from him, though he informed Mr. Burns that he had with him all of the documents that had been filed, and would be glad to show him every one and receive what comment he had to make. Thomas B. Neuhausen, Burns' right-hand man in the investigation, and also closely connected with Mr. Heney in the prosecution of the cases, has been given an opportunity to make a statement, the Pardon Attorney, informing him of the nature of the representations made and the documents filed and indicating the conclusions to which the documents unanswered and unexplained must lead. No reply has been received. Such statements as have been secured are of an evasive character or are directly contrary to the documentary evidence before the Department. Even Judge Gilbert has submitted an explanation of his former emphatic statement denying that the charges made could be true. The course of the Executive, however, seems to me to be clear, and that is, he can not countenance the methods employed in the prosecution of these cases by requiring an enforcement of the sentence imposed in the Jones case; and I think also and for the same reason a pardon should be granted to Franklin P. Mays, although my impression is that the man is really very guilty and deserving of punishment.

Respectfully,  
 "GEO. W. WICKERSHAM,  
 "Attorney-General of the United States."  
 The Secretary-Treasurer of the State Building Trades Council of California, one of the men indicted in the case, in his annual report for 1911 stated:

"In his private office in the Postoffice Building in Los Angeles, Mr. Lawler strongly intimated to witnesses subpoenaed before the Federal Grand Jury—men who were under indictment—that they would be immune from prosecution and possibly receive a substantial consideration if they would state that Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, knew that the McNamara were guilty before they entered their pleas on December 1, 1911. Being informed by the witnesses referred to that they would not lie or perjure themselves to please anybody or to help any one's political ambition, the Special Prosecutor waxed eloquent and forthwith delivered a lecture on good citizenship. He wound up by telling them that they would have to take the consequences."

In the course of the trial when the District Attorney insisted that Burns had nothing to do with the trial, Attorney Rogers hotly retorted:

"Burns men are concerned in every detail of this case, even to hounding our witnesses and watching our office and using telephonic devices in our places. No man could truthfully deny that William J. Burns' men employed by the National Erectors' Association were behind this case in every particular.

"It's a matter of common knowledge that the United States in this district, through Oscar Lawler, and in other districts, has made a strenuous effort to connect Mr. Gompers and to bring his name in, and it is a matter of common knowledge, from the evidence in this case, that the Federal Grand Jury in Indianapolis sent for this check book; that it came into court from Indianapolis, where they are investigating these other charges. It is our contention that this prosecution against Darrow is only a step against Gompers. Mr. Burns is announcing everywhere that he is going to get Gompers, if he can, through Darrow."

Such flashes and the tactics of the prosecution brought out the real meaning of the trial—the well-known struggle waged against organized labor by militant, hostile forces, behind whom stand the relentlessly antagonistic erectors and other employers' associations.

After the end of the McNamara trial, Clarence S. Darrow was indicted for bribery on charges entered by Bert H. Franklin, a detective, who had been in the employ of Mr. Darrow. Franklin confessed his complicity in the alleged jury bribing, stated that he had first been approached with a view to getting him to turn State's evidence by a Deputy United States Marshal and that later he had applied to the National Manufacturers' Association for employment, the association that had taken such a prominent part in the McNamara trial and has for years been the most bitter enemy of organized labor.

Throughout that trial repeated efforts were made to drag in the name of President Gompers, to get his name associated in the public mind with the crime, even though no complicity could be shown, since it does not exist. They attempted to show that the money used in the alleged bribery had been sent directly from President Gompers, though there was not one scintilla of evidence upon which to base such charges, and it is common knowledge that the President of the American Federation of Labor handles none of its funds.

Mr. Darrow said in his marvelous plea in his own defense:



"Only the infinite God can judge the human heart, and I never tried to judge. I never would do it, and hope I never shall, and when Harrington told me that if I would furnish evidence against Sam Gompers in their wild crusade to destroy the trades unions, so that men and women might toil longer for less reward, do you suppose I thought or hesitated or waited to draw my breath for a single moment? I had no information to give, but I had as much as Franklin or Harrington had. I could have told them any story that I saw fit. I could have purchased my liberty at the price of my honor, and then Ford would have said that I was a noble man, and that the fellow I was betraying was a Judas Iscariot."

And again Mr. Darrow reiterates the charge:

"Franklin told Watt and Steineman that the reason they wanted to get me was because I knew something about Gompers, and that if I said anything against Gompers they would let me go as they had let him go."

If any adequate conception could be given the world of the pressing, tremendous forces brought to bear upon the principals in the California trials, if the real history of the terrible affair could be disclosed to the world, the appalling disclosure of the methods of criminal big business would cause humanity to shudder and grow sick at heart.

The McNamara offense was a social crime. Thinking people who were made to realize the poisonous, miasmatic influences corrupting the atmosphere of industrial life, were well nigh overwhelmed by the weight of collective responsibility devolving upon them as a result of the existence of such conditions. The McNamaras were either criminally insane or insanely criminal—either condition due to imperfect education, incomplete education, or defective mentality. In any case, society is responsible for not remedying the conditions. What concerns labor and society generally are preventive measures and human betterment so that life and working conditions may be pure, wholesome and clean. Those infected by deadly social poisons, due to social neglect, are the heritage of our own sins and those of our fathers.

The financial report of the McNamara Defense Fund issued August 9, 1912, contains an itemized statement of all moneys received and from whom, as well as a statement showing amounts paid out, and to whom. This report was sent to

all contributors with the statement that they would be informed as to the disposition of the balance of the funds when that question shall have been determined.

One result of the deplorable affair has been to rouse all to serious consideration of social problems and to convince thinking people of the existence of dangerous tendencies that, unmodified, might foster and intensify class hatred and terminate in class clashes. Many of these citizens formulated their conception in a petition to Congress that the President be authorized to appoint a Federal commission on industrial relations to investigate and report relations existing between employers and employes, to discover and to point out the underlying cause of dissatisfaction in the industrial situation. Congress authorized the President to appoint such a commission. This matter is dealt with in full in another section of this report.

None felt more keenly than did the men of the organized labor movement the crime resulting in destruction of life and property. None regretted and deplored the crime more than we, and none were less responsible for its commission. Such work is not the mission of the American labor movement. This great humanizing movement has lived and will live to protect the workers, to enable them to attain higher and better things of life. The American labor movement is founded upon the inherent principles of justice and right. Its men are loyal—as loyal to the institutions of our republic as are the men in any walk of life. The unions of the workers have done so much for the material, moral and social uplift of the toilers, that they are indelibly impressed upon the hearts and minds, not only of the workers themselves, but of all earnest, intelligent, liberty-loving, fair-minded citizens of our country. The unions of labor will live on, ceaselessly striving for the betterment of all mankind.

#### A. F. of L. Publicity.

##### AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST

In the convention of 1903 preambles and resolutions were adopted, from which we quote the following:

"RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor, with the advice of the Executive Council, be

and is hereby authorized to issue a monthly magazine for the discussion of labor and its interests in all its phases."

In March, 1894, the first issue of the American Federationist was published by the American Federation of Labor. It has been issued regularly each month from that time until the present. Of its service to the cause of Labor and humanity, all unite in agreement. It is not necessary here to describe the high plane upon which it has been conducted and issued; that, as we have said, is agreed to by common consent.

#### WEEKLY NEWS LETTER

The St. Louis Convention of 1910 authorized and directed the preparation and distribution of a Weekly News Letter, to be sent free of cost to all publications devoted to the cause of labor or of a reformatory character. It was in pursuance of those instructions that the first Weekly News Letter was issued April 8, 1911, and has appeared regularly each week from that time until this.

In pursuance of the instructions of the convention of 1911, the News Letter has been extended in scope and volume. Instead of continuing issuing it manifolded, it was issued in printed form, and under the provisions of the new law governing second class postal rates, the Weekly News Letter was so entered.

#### SHALL PUBLICATIONS BE CONSOLIDATED.

All organizations, institutions and interests realize the necessity of publicity. To none in our time is publicity so necessary as to trade union movement—to the American Federation of Labor.

Having these facts in mind, we are issuing the American Federationist monthly, the News Letter weekly, and in addition, pamphlets, leaflets and circulars, the latter now frequently being incorporated in the News Letter.

The question of a general literary medium dealing with the fundamental principles of the labor movement, of the work of the trade union movement, of its methods and achievements, of its trend, hopes and aspirations—all these are dealt with effectively in the American Federationist, perhaps not as effectively as would be done were larger means and opportunities at our command. The American Federationist has

been and is of great usefulness to the membership of organized labor in general; it has been continually quoted by organizers, leaders, students of economic, political, moral and social questions of our time; it can be made of still greater usefulness.

The Weekly News Letter has disseminated the current events and achievements and movements of the day. It has given effective service to the labor and reform publications, has acted as a medium of news for them and has been the feeder to their support.

We have considered the question as to the relation of the News Letter to the American Federationist, the efficiency of both, the effective service which each renders to our movement and our cause, and the possibility of their consolidation into one publication to be known as the American Federationist and to be issued weekly, with the possibility of whether in the weekly issues it should not be only a news letter, but a comprehensive trade union publication, containing the news upon the field of the activity of the organized workers in America and the world over—all forms of work of a reformatory and uplift character, with such editorials and comment as may be timely and appropriate, or, whether the American Federationist, issued weekly, containing editorials and comments on one issue of the month, and in the other weekly issues containing purely news matter.

Your attention has already been called to the fact that we have given this subject consideration in all of its phases, but we are not prepared to make definite, final recommendations thereon. It should be stated that if the American Federationist, with its news letter feature, is to be issued weekly, it is the intention that the publication should reach our labor and reform press about three days in advance of their respective dates of publication, just as is the case with the Weekly News Letter now, so that the labor and reform publications might have advance, or at least contemporaneous, opportunities of publishing the news features with the weekly publication of the American Federationist.

Attention should be called also to the fact that prior to the issuance of the American Federationist, the American

Federation of Labor published its financial reports quarterly in pamphlet form and forwarded copies to all international unions, state federations, city central bodies and directly affiliated locals. When the American Federationist was founded, the Constitution was so changed as to direct the publication of the monthly accounts of the A. F. of L. therein, and that copies of the American Federationist should be sent to all affiliated bodies.

If the American Federationist is to be published weekly, there is no reason why the financial accounts cannot be published each month in one of its issues. What we recommend to the Convention is:

That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be authorized and empowered to make a further investigation of the subject matter of consolidating the Weekly News Letter with the American Federationist, and to issue it weekly with such general instructions as are contained in the resolutions of the conventions of 1893 and of 1910 and having in mind the constitutional provision regarding the publication of the American Federation of Labor's financial transactions, and that if the Executive Council shall deem such consolidation and change expedient and advantageous, it shall have the authority to carry the same into effect.

#### **A. F. of L. Office Building.**

The Atlanta Convention authorized the Executive Council to carry into effect any plan for the erection of an A. F. of L. office building within the limit of the instructions of previous conventions. From time to time during the year we have inspected various building sites which have been offered for sale to the A. F. of L. for its office building. We authorized the resident members of the E. C., together with the officers of the Departments and the A. F. of L. Legislative Committee, to hold a conference for the purpose of considering ways and means of raising funds for the erection of a building, and also to consider the matter of a suitable site. It was the unanimous judgment of all who participated in the conference that an A. F. of L. office building, a Labor Temple befitting the work, character and dignity of organized labor, would be of great

moral and sentimental value to the work in which our movement is engaged.

Having these matters in consideration, together with the cost of such sites as were offered to us for possible purchase, and the limited amount of money at the disposal of the A. F. of L. to be applied to the erection of an office building, we have as yet been unable to reach any definite conclusion in the matter. We recommend, however, that authority be given to your Executive Council to further consider this matter during the coming year, with power to issue an appeal and inaugurate such project or projects which may result in obtaining the necessary funds with which to erect a Labor Temple, an office building for the American Federation of Labor, its Departments, and such other affiliated organizations whose headquarters are located in the Capital of the nation.

#### **Securing A. F. of L. Funds.**

The Secretary and Treasurer of the Federation in their reports have fully covered the subject of the A. F. of L. funds. In connection therewith, we direct your attention to the fact that by arrangement with a bank in Bloomington, Illinois, in which the A. F. of L. funds are deposited, a Bonding Company has guaranteed the funds.

#### **Boy Scout Movement.**

At the Atlanta Convention a resolution was introduced condemning the boy scout organization and the boy scout movement, which, after due deliberation, was referred to the Executive Council for investigation and for report thereon to this Convention.

The American Boy Scouts was introduced into this country some years ago. The movement originated in England. This movement was transported in its entirety and without any changes. The scouts were required to learn military drills and use the rifle. The scout organization in England originated with Lieutenant-General Baden-Powell. It followed closely the South African War that had alarmed England as to her future fighting stock. The movement appeared to be military cabal, as the scouts were being trained to arms and inured to the priva-

tions of camp life. There are about 400,000 boys organized in England and in her colonies. The founders of the movement in this country suggested the organization of the American Boy Scouts as a national institution.

Prominent workers for boy welfare attended meetings and helped to launch the movement which rapidly spread to other cities and towns. Their efforts met with hearty support from prominent men throughout the country.

Instruction for the boy scouts included the rudiments of military training, camping, cooking, signalling, woodcraft, sanitation, first aid to the injured, swimming, boating, the rescue of persons from the water, fire, etc. Special achievements were rewarded by certificates and medals. Official uniforms were adopted. Military terms were used in connection with organization, such as enlisting and recruiting, drummers and trumpeters were encouraged to join the organization. In addition to the games and drills, there was the boy scout law, which, with the scout oath, made up the code. The second section of the scout law contained the following sentences: "A scout is loyal to his parents, to his superiors, to his country and to his employers. He must stick to them through thick and thin against everyone who is their enemy or even talks badly of them."

This organization of the scouts became very popular and attracted much attention, although exact information of its aims and purposes was not generally known. The attention of organized labor was attracted to the movement by two characteristics; its tendency to foster militarism and possible interference with organized labor. Its military tendencies were emphasized by the expressions of those who were backing it so that its chief purpose seemed to be that of a feeder to the army. Military ideals were held up to impressionable youths. The possibility of its antagonism to labor organizations by using and training the boys as strike breakers was brought out by two illustrations. At Des Moines, Iowa, boy scouts were used to break a strike of bootblacks who wished to increase their prices. At Ironton, Mo., a scout musical band was organized which competed with a band of organized musicians. In Chicago, some of the teachers

in the public schools who were organized in the Chicago Teachers' Federation, became alarmed at tendencies and appointed a committee to investigate the organization and its purposes, but this committee was not permitted to attend any of the meetings of the officials. Accordingly the Teachers' Federation, after making all observations and investigation possible, adopted resolutions condemning the organization, because of its military nature, and because it appointed as teachers of immature boys persons not required to conform to the usual qualifications and standards, and because it placed instruction that properly belonged to the public schools under outside jurisdiction. The Chicago Federation of Labor also passed resolutions condemning the movement.

At the May meeting of the Executive Council, held in Washington, representatives of the boy scout movement, Mr. James E. West, the Executive Secretary of New York, and Mr. E. S. Martin, the Executive Secretary of Washington, appeared before the Council, explained the movement and filed documents. This conference and the data filed brought out the following facts:

There are in the United States two boy scout movements: The American Boy Scouts and the Boy Scouts of America. The ideals and activities of the Boy Scouts of America are for peace and the building up of body, mind and character. The rifle is not a part of their equipment. It seems that in the launching of the movement, as a result of increasing and insistent demands for information from all over the country, that a manual was hastily prepared for use. In this rather unwise haste the manual was taken bodily from that used in England and was not carefully edited. As a result, there appeared in the manual considerable emphasis on militarism, and the section just quoted which roused organized labor. As soon as popular criticism called the attention of the Executive Board to these objections, the Board directed that the plates of the book be changed as soon as possible.

Either these matters had been allowed to creep into the organization through oversight or failure to consider all their bearings, or popular criticism had convinced the leaders that a change of ideals

was necessary to adapt the movement to American boys. Changes were made in some of the scout laws and requirements, those containing the references to implicit loyalty and obedience to employers, which were most offensive to labor, were changed entirely. The clause which stated: "A scout is loyal to the President and to his officers and to his parents, his country and employers, he must stick to them through thick and thin against anyone who is their enemy and who even talks badly of them," was changed to read: "A scout is loyal, is loyal to all to whom loyalty is due; his scout leader, his home and parents and country." Another clause, which read: "A scout obeys orders from his parents, patrol leaders and scout masters without question," was revised to read: "A scout is obedient, he obeys his parents, scout master, patrol leader, and all other duly constituted authorities." Whatever the reason for the change, the revision removes the serious objection that the organization was intended to breed strike breakers.

The objection to the organization on the ground of encouraging militarism is not so clearly refuted. It is quite evident that though the letter of the constitution and by-laws may not openly favor military training, the spirit of the organization could very readily develop that tendency and could endow military purposes and ideals with a glamor that would allure many an American boy. Then, too, the lecture given in this country last winter by General Baden-Powell under the auspices of the Boy Scouts of America upon the subject of "Scouting in War and Peace," seems to indicate friendly relations with that organization and to clearly emphasize the ultimate military purposes of the organization, for which General Baden-Powell himself stands.

In a letter which Mr. James E. West wrote to Mr. Owen Miller, Secretary of the American Federation of Musicians, in regard to the difficulties which arose in St. Louis, it is stated:

"It is only fair that I should correct one statement in your letter with reference to the American Boy Scouts. That organization is still in existence, although practically all of the branches throughout the country have become affiliated with this organization. There are, however, a number of unattached groups

which are working practically without supervision. They drill with rifles, and in fact most of their activities are purely military. To this we are radically opposed."

It is not quite clear just what Mr. West implies by saying that branches of that old organization have affiliated with his organization. It is not plain whether or not these affiliated branches have ceased all connection with the older organization.

As to the specific charges of hostility to labor organizations, the following replies were made: In regard to the Des Moines incident, it was said that the bootblacks were Greek boys who were endeavoring to take advantage of a temporary increase in demand due to a fair, and increased their charges from five cents to ten cents. A scout leader who was rather indignant at the attempt at what he termed "extortion," impulsively asserted that he could supply enough bootblacks from his boy scouts to do all the work at the old price. Mr. West asserted that there was no strike or labor difficulty involved and that the speaker did not intend to imply any avowed policy of opposition to labor organizations as such. The incident was purely local and did not represent the ideals and purposes of the movement.

Referring to the Ironton band, he stated that he had known nothing of the affair until the incident was called to his attention, and that it was not the purpose of the organization to encourage the organization of scout bands, and it certainly did not approve of the organization of such bands for the purpose of competition. It was simply a case of a local authority falling to carry out the spirit and the ideals of the national movement.

In regard to the resolutions of the Chicago teachers, it is possible that in this case also the ground for opposition was occasioned by lack of harmony between the local authorities and the avowed purposes and intent of the organization. The argument of the teachers that the work done by the boy scout organization in nature study, wood craft, physical culture and ethics belongs to the teachers and the school, is not altogether convincing. It is true that some of the more progressive schools have at-

tempted something along these lines, but the greater proportion of the schools outside of the large cities do very little of this work. This is due to lack of funds, and to the low salaries paid the teachers, so that well equipped and efficient instructors are not secured. While to incorporate all of these lines in a full and complete education may be the ideal toward which the schools are working, very few have attained this ideal and there seems no present prospect of its universal attainment. In the meanwhile, if these different objects can be worked out by some outside organization, their practicability and feasibility fully demonstrated, their usefulness in child development fully illustrated, it will be much easier for the public to demand that they be made part of the ordinary school curriculum and that teachers trained in these lines be employed.

If the full responsibility of instructing the youth of our country in morals and ethics be placed upon the public schools under their present organization, the load might be more than they could carry. At present it is impossible to keep the boys and girls under their constant supervision. During the months of summer vacation, as well as during that part of the day not spent in the school, there is absolutely no control. If some outside organization can supplement this moral and ethical instruction, the American school boy will be the gainer. Under the present organization a great majority of the teachers are women, and it would not be practicable to expect them to lead the boys in cross country "hikes," outdoor gymnastics and camp life. To be sure, the change would lead to training and employment of more qualified teachers, or to the utilization of the present force in the school. But it should be noted that many of the leaders of the boy scouts are the trained, active and efficient men teachers in the public schools, so that after all the school still has an influence in the boy scout movement which should be increased and developed.

The boy scout movement seems to be one phase of a larger movement, sometimes termed the "simple life," the purpose of which is to counteract the injurious effects of our increasingly complex civilization and method of living. The

idea is to get back to the elemental things, to close contact with the earth, forest and water, to develop a strong vigorous physique so that the boy may know the pure joy of mere living, and as a strong, healthy animal be able to take care of himself under all circumstances without artificial assistance. Our artificial method of living and the strain of modern industry have so taxed the physical endurance of the race that scientists have been constantly warning us that we must conserve our physical resources or the race will deteriorate. The boy scout movement rightly directed will help to solve this problem.

Another present ideal of the organization is to develop all of the good qualities resulting from military life without the attendant evils of militarism. To gain these results, boys are taught to regard as sports the stalking of animals to learn their customs, to catch a picture of them in their native haunts, exploring, etc. There is much about the activities of the organization that would serve as a school for training the imagination, such as the emphasis laid on legends, animal life, the weird mystery of the camp fire, the long nights spent in the open with only the stars overhead and the winds telling strange stories of the stream and forest and hillside. These things bring out the poetry of life and the poetry of the world, and serve as an antidote for much of our too practical civilization.

The movement seizes the keenest interests of the boys of the adolescent age and directs them toward pure and simple things, and in this way keeps them away from much of the evil and impure that would otherwise occupy their thoughts and time. It deals with the problems of child training by the simple process of substituting good things for evil things and crowding out what would be detrimental. The lists of activities, any one of which each scout may pursue in order to win distinction, is a very wide one, and includes almost every form of useful human activity.

The ideals of the movement seem to be well chosen and calculated to develop poise, self confidence and comradeship among the boys. Of course, in any organization of such a size and scope, there

is a chance for the machinery to be misused by some of the agents selected. This is true of any organization, for only through the human agency can any ideal be realized, and in dealing with each human agent the personal equation will modify more or less the purposes and instructions of the officials. Wherever there is a great chance for good to be done there is also a great chance for evil to result through mismanagement. The causes for complaint and objection have so far been purely local. On the whole, however, the officials seem amenable to suggestion and desirous of doing what the public demands.

The officials have expressed a desire to shape the ideals and practices of the movement to accord with the aims and ideals of organized labor. The boy scout movement is now in the formative period; it is daily gaining in popularity and influence; it promises to have great power in boy life, for good or evil. Whether this power shall be directed toward militarism or toward idealizing the advocations and pursuits pertaining to peace and civic and social uplift, is now to be determined. The movement has features and tendencies that can now be turned in either direction. If organizations working to promote the general uplift, endeavoring to develop the best that is in humanity, should endorse the movement, it will be within their power to keep the boy scout movement away from militarism, in the direction of pure, wholesome ideals. If we keep in touch with the movement we may be able to shape and direct it; if we condemn it, we shall find more difficulty in defeating the military tendencies that can so easily develop and dominate the movement, and thereby exert a far reaching and potent influence in boy life.

Much of the work the boy scout is doing, might and should be under the control and supervision of the public school system. There is a growing demand throughout the length and breadth of the land, that the scope and ideals of education should be widened and adapted to needs of all of the children; that the school may not only serve for the training of the mind and for cultural purposes, but shall train the children to conserve and control their resources—mental, physical and moral; that the school shall

not only prepare for future life and work, but shall enter into and direct in the best channels, child life, interests and ideals. The possibilities open to the school for influencing standards of honor and ethics is a function that cannot be too strongly or gravely emphasized. We cannot recommend too heartily that every facility for education, for the conservation and development of the physical, mental and moral faculties be afforded to every child within our country. We are just beginning to catch a glimpse of the development possible under proper direction and control. This is the full duty of the school—let it enter into its heritage.

We recommend that the American Federation of Labor do not denounce the boy scout movement; that on the contrary, the officers of the A. F. of L. shall keep in constant touch with that movement so as to prevent its activities or purposes being directed toward any military movement, or militarism in any form, and that in matters affecting the rights and interests of the working people, that the boy scout movement be urged to a constantly closer sympathetic attitude toward the organized labor movement in its work and struggle for the achievement of a higher material, political, moral and social standard for the toilers of our country.

#### **Combining Official Reports to Conventions.**

The Executive Council has had under consideration a suggestion of our President in which we not only concur, but recommend for adoption. Under the system which has prevailed in our Federation since its inception, the laws have required that the President, Secretary, Treasurer and the Executive Council shall each submit a report to our annual conventions. By reason of this system it has frequently occurred that many of the subjects with which these officers have dealt in their reports have been duplicated, and, in some instances, triplicated. This feature is not necessarily an evil, though it may be a lack of conserving the time of the conventions. But quite apart from this feature, though it has not arisen in the past, there is a likelihood of its occurring in the future, of individual conflicting expression of judgment and recommendation. It is the opinion of the Executive Council, in

which all its members concur, that the report submitted to the conventions of the American Federation of Labor should be the expression of the judgment of the collective opinion of the men entrusted with the affairs of labor rather than any individual judgment of any individual officer thereof. We hold that the organized labor movement, as represented in the American Federation of Labor, is an entity and after a thorough discussion of all the subjects which come under the consideration of our conventions, there should be reported to the following conventions of the American Federation of Labor not only the activities of its executive and fiduciary officers, but the combined report of the activities, of the expression of judgment and of the recommendations to the convention.

It is therefore the unanimous recommendation of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. that our laws be so changed as to eliminate from the Constitution and the custom, the requirement that either the President, the Secretary, or the Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor shall report individually to the future conventions, and that the reports or recommendations of the President, Secretary and Treasurer shall, after scrutiny and determination, be incorporated in or become a part of the report of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. We recommend that this subject matter be referred to the Committee on Laws of this Convention for its consideration and report to this Convention.

#### **Election of A. F. of L. Officers by Initiative and Referendum.**

##### **Investigation of Subject.**

The Atlanta convention after considerable discussion adopted the following resolutions:

**"RESOLVED** That we favor the election of the officers of the American Federation of Labor by the referendum vote of the membership of the affiliated unions who are paid up and in good standing, if after thorough investigation, mature and deliberate consideration, it is found to be practicable and for the best interests of the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it further

**"RESOLVED**, That the question of the practicability and desirability of electing the officers of the American Federation of Labor by referendum vote be referred to the Executive Council for investigation, with the understanding that they report on this subject to the next an-

nual convention for its consideration."

After discussing these instructions at our first meeting of the year and the best method to ascertain the information upon the election of the A. F. of L. officers by the system of the Initiative and Referendum, we directed President Gompers and Secretary Morrison to secure all the data that could be obtained from all sources, particularly from the organized labor movement of America and of some European countries; for, after all, the knowledge and experience of affiliated and unaffiliated organizations of labor in the election of their officers by the Initiative and Referendum system, if any, would necessarily largely influence the judgment and action as to whether the application of this system would be feasible, practical, or possible in the election of the officers of the American Federation of Labor. Comprehensive blanks and letters accompanying were prepared and sent to all such organizations, the information sought covering the following principal points of inquiry:

The makeup of the organization;

The method of electing officers, whether by convention, or the Initiative and Referendum;

The frequency of such elections;

The terms of offices;

If elections are by the Initiative and Referendum, the method employed;

If established, whether it had been maintained or abandoned;

If established, the methods used to safeguard the right of members to vote in elections, to prevent repetition of voting, to secure the faithful accounting and report of canvassers or inspectors of election, and their faithful and accurate returns to some central point;

The opportunity of the rank and file to ascertain the fitness of officers for the positions to which they aspire;

Whether voting is compulsory; The cost of such election;

An expression of opinion as to the desirability or prac-



tibility of electing the officers of the A. F. of L. by the Initiative and Referendum.

A copy of the circular letter and a copy of the blank containing the questions are in the hands of the Executive Council and may be consulted by any committee or delegate to this convention.

It required much correspondence and great painstaking work to tabulate and classify the replies which have been received. We have a tabulated statement, but for clearer comprehension we submit the following condensed statement from reports of the officers of American international unions and organizations of several other countries, which show the methods and manner in which the officers of these organizations are elected, and the expression of opinion in regard to the entire subject matter:

#### **Affiliated Organizations.**

**ASBESTOS WORKERS**—Officers are elected by convention; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by convention. Doubtful as to practicability of use of referendum system in A. F. of L.

**BAKERY AND CONFECTIONERY WORKERS**—Officers elected by referendum; term of office, three years. Laws enacted by referendum and convention. Cost of referendum system to organization, \$500; 50 to 75 per cent of membership voting. Voting is compulsory. Believes that the growing sentiment prevailing amongst the American people for the introduction of the initiative and referendum in matters pertaining to the State absolutely requires its introduction in the American Federation of Labor. As to whether it can be practicable within the American Federation of Labor must be left to a fair trial. However, its practical operation requires a more uniform method in referendum and election in all of the affiliated organizations of the A. F. of L. Introduction of the initiative and referendum in the A. F. of L. would either force such uniform methods or would prove itself impracticable so far as the A. F. of L. is concerned.

**BARBERS**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, five years. Laws enacted by convention. Understands that those organizations that have initiative and referendum systems have them in name only, as is best attested

to by the percentage of members who vote when referendum vote is taken. Information received in past shows that great percentage of votes was cast through the influence of some member and was not the clear expression of thought of each individual member. The initiative and referendum as put in practice in the present day is only a misnomer.

**BILL POSTERS**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, one year. Laws enacted by convention. No report on attitude toward initiative and referendum.

**BLACKSMITHS**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by convention. There are two sides to the referendum. It can be a benefit to a labor organization or it can be a detriment, and unless it is properly safeguarded it can be used to thwart the very purpose for which the referendum is intended. Suggest that if a referendum is adopted a percentage vote should prevail and that 60% should be the basis.

**BOILER MAKERS**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by initiative and referendum. Cost of referendum system to organization; printing and mailing charges. Never had 50% of membership voting; voting is not compulsory. It is an utter impossibility to elect officers in the A. F. of L. by a referendum system.

**BOOKBINDERS**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by convention and referendum. No report on attitude toward initiative and referendum.

**BOOT AND SHOE WORKERS**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by referendum; 5 to 13 per cent of membership voting. To use referendum vote for election of officers of A. F. of L. was considered at a meeting of the General Executive Board of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union held in Boston, June 24 to 23, 1912, and the General Secretary-Treasurer was directed to notify the American Federation of Labor that the General Board was not in a position to give an expression of the entire membership, which could only be secured at a convention of the union; but in the opinion of the Board, as viewed from the standpoint of experience of the

Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, and realizing the difficulties that would be encountered in the American Federation of Labor because many of the organizations have no machinery or method by which a proper vote could be taken, the plan to elect officers in the American Federation of Labor by referendum system would appear to be impracticable. Prior to June, 1909, while the initiative and referendum system of election was in vogue, the percentage of membership voting in the elections averaged from 5 to 13 per cent.

**BREWERY WORKMEN**—Officers elected by referendum; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by referendum and convention. Cost of referendum system to organization, \$350; 75 per cent of membership voting. Voting is compulsory. In our opinion election of officers of A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum is equally as practicable as in our own organization.

**BRICK, TILE AND TERRA COTTA WORKERS**—Officers elected by referendum; term of office, one year. Laws enacted by convention. Cost of referendum system to organization, \$40. About 70 per cent of membership voting. Voting is not compulsory. If the initiative and referendum form of vote is adopted the A. F. of L. would have to make clear what constitutes a legal voter, good standing, etc. International laws on this question differ and might cause confusion.

**BRIDGE AND STRUCTURAL IRON WORKERS**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, one year. Laws enacted by referendum. Does not approve of election of officers of A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum.

**BROOM AND WHISK MAKERS**—Officers elected by convention; term of office two years. Laws enacted by referendum. No report on attitude toward initiative and referendum.

**BRUSHMAKERS**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, one year. Laws enacted by convention. No report on attitude toward initiative and referendum.

**CARPENTERS AND JOINERS**—Officers nominated in convention and elected by referendum vote; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by initiative and referendum and convention. Cost of referendum system to organiza-

tion, \$24,000. About ¼ per cent of membership voting. Voting is not compulsory. Election of officers of A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum would not be practicable for many reasons chiefly because of the enormous expense that would be entailed. Under the present method of electing the officers the candidates as a general rule are well known to a majority of the delegates, or at least the delegates know something of their qualifications and when an organization has confidence enough in a man to send him as a delegate to the conventions of the A. F. of L., they have sufficient confidence in him to believe that he will cast his vote for the man best suited for the office.

**CARRIAGE AND WAGON WORKERS**—Executive Board and Board of Trustees chosen from the locals in the city where headquarters are located by votes of members of these locals; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by convention. The election of officers of the A. F. of L. could be successfully put in practice, as in the inauguration of every new system, there have to be amendments from time to time to meet the requirements and to protect such a system. There is a chance with a system of referendum to arouse an extra amount of interest among the workers, which would naturally result in the betterment of the movement.

**CARVERS, WOOD**—Branches are nominated and a branch is chosen by referendum of the members, then officers are elected by members of the branch chosen; term of office, three years. Laws enacted by initiative and referendum. In favor of election of officers of A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum.

**CEMENT WORKERS**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by convention. Do not use the initiative and referendum system; have had no experience, nor has the necessary consideration been given to it to submit any opinion.

**CIGARMAKERS**—Officers elected by referendum; term of office, five years. Laws enacted by convention, initiative and referendum. Cost of referendum system to organization, \$5,000; 79 per cent of membership voting; 50 cents fine per member not voting. An organization, such as the A. F.

of L., to be successful should be properly officered. The selection of officers should never be trusted to any haphazard, go-as-you-please system. A great many of the members have seen only a few of the officers of the A. F. of L. and the great mass don't see any of those who might aspire to and might be most capable of properly officering the A. F. of L., and after all the A. F. of L. having granted strict autonomy to each constituent or affiliated National and International Union, the officers of the A. F. of L. have not, do not, and cannot interfere with the economic, shop or craft conditions of affiliating unions, and for that reason there is no necessity, or right, even if it were practicable for the rank and file to participate in the election of officers of the A. F. of L. If the National and International Unions were subordinate to and gave the right to the A. F. of L. officers to interfere in organic affairs, trade disputes and other matters, there might be some justification in their claims to vote for such officers. While I believe in self-government, I believe the delegates to the A. F. of L. by virtue of the fact that they go to the conventions, see the other delegates, hear the reports read, hear the debates, and see the votes, are best qualified to select the proper officers.

**CLERKS, RETAIL**—Officers elected by initiative and referendum; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by convention. No report on attitude towards initiative and referendum.

**CLOTH HAT AND CAP MAKERS**—Officers elected by convention; term of office one year. Laws enacted by initiative and referendum. No report on attitude towards initiative and referendum.

**COMMERCIAL TELEGRAPHERS**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by convention, initiative and referendum. Average of 30 per cent of membership voting. Inasmuch as the A. F. of L. is a delegate body with limited powers and the tendency of the Federation is against the centralization of power, any proposition to establish the initiative and referendum for the election of officers must be preceded by a policy of centralization. To this we are opposed.

We are in favor of the initiative and referendum and would like to see it in general use. We have repeatedly extended the practice to subordinate unions of this organization where possible during the last ten years, and are doing so whenever the opportunity permits. During all this time, the highest percentage of votes cast by those affected did not reach 60 per cent, the average is below 30 per cent, which is not convincing proof of its advantages. And this is upon questions in which the members are vitally interested. Now, it has been our experience to find many international officers of unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. who do not understand that the Federation is not a sovereign body, but a delegate body. I venture the assertion that this ignorance reaches very large proportions among the rank and file of the labor movement. (Needless to say that the non-unionist, including many news writers are densely ignorant on this subject.) Under these circumstances it is hard to imagine how the I. R. & R. could be put into effect in the A. F. of L. without destroying it as a delegate body and making it a sovereign organization and ruin it.

**COMPRESSED AIR WORKERS**—Officers elected by referendum; term of office, one year. Laws enacted by initiative and referendum. No report on attitude towards initiative and referendum.

**COOPERS**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by initiative and referendum. Election of officers of A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum could not be successfully inaugurated.

**CUTTING DIE MAKERS**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by convention and referendum. No report on attitude towards initiative and referendum.

**DIAMOND WORKERS**—Officers elected by initiative and referendum; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by initiative and referendum; 85 to 90 per cent of membership voting. Voting is not compulsory. Has not been affiliated long enough with A. F. of L. to form any opinion in regard to election of officers of A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum.

**ELECTRICAL WORKERS**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, four years. Laws enacted by convention and referendum. Think the election of officers of A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum is impracticable. One reason, on account of it being composed of Internationals who in turn send delegates to Central Bodies and State Federations, therefore Central Bodies and State Federations would be deprived of vote on account of delegates having right to vote in their local unions.

**ELEVATOR CONSTRUCTORS**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, three years. Laws enacted by convention. Do not consider the proposition of electing officers of the A. F. of L. by referendum vote to be practicable or possible in any degree.

**ENGINEERS, STEAM**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, one year. Laws enacted by convention and referendum. No report on attitude towards initiative and referendum.

**ENGRAVERS, WATCH CASE**—Officers elected by initiative and referendum; term of office, one year. Laws enacted by initiative and referendum. Cost of referendum system to organization, \$1.50; \$5 per cent of membership voting. Voting not compulsory. Election of officers of the A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum is a very practicable method and should have been in force a number of years, as it is the best argument we could put up for the initiative and referendum and recall of State officers, national officers and the judiciary.

**FIREMEN, STATIONARY**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by convention. We have had the matter of initiative and referendum brought up by some of our delegates at each one of our conventions and so far each convention has decided against it.

**FOUNDRY EMPLOYEES**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, three years. Laws enacted by convention. Opposed to the system of electing officers of the A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum.

**FREIGHT HANDLERS**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by convention. The use of the initiative and referendum in our

organization in electing officers of the A. F. of L. would be unwise. Many of our members are not at all acquainted with or even have not possibly ever seen the name of many very worthy men in the labor movement who might aspire to be and would fill the positions creditably of officers of the A. F. of L. The delegate system, we believe as far as our organization is concerned, is preferable to the initiative and referendum system, as the men we send to conventions of the A. F. of L. are more in touch with the labor movement than the average member of our organization usually is and can have a better idea of the fitness of men aspiring for office in the Federation than if left to the rank and file.

**GARMENT WORKERS, UNITED**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by referendum. Less than 1-3 of membership voting. Opposed to election of officers of A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum. The men best fitted to make laws and elect officers for any international organization are the men who act as delegates to convention. They are usually the workers and know what is best for the organization.

**GARMENT WORKERS LADIES**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by convention and referendum. The election of the officers of the A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum is not practicable and not desirable, for the following reasons: the difficulty in getting an honest counting of the votes. The smaller organizations have no chance of having their wishes and desires attended to as they are swamped by the large vote of the larger locals. The difficulty of changing officers is very great since the new men are unknown outside of their locality, while the old officers can retain their position through their influence. It is absurd for people to vote for officers whom they have never seen and know absolutely very little about.

**GLASS BOTTLE BLOWERS**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, one year. Laws enacted by convention. Our Association believes that the same policy should be continued in electing the officers of the American Federation of Labor as has been the custom in the past.

**GLASS WORKERS, AMALGAMATED**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by referendum. No report on attitude toward initiative and referendum.

**GLOVE WORKERS**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by convention. Believes that a practical system of election of officers of A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum can be established the same as it has been established by other large organizations.

**GRANITE CUTTERS**—President elected by initiative and referendum; other Executive Council members elected by branches where headquarters are located; term of office, President, four years; members Executive Council, one year; 50 per cent of membership voting; 25 cents fine for not voting. The failure or shortcoming of the initiative and referendum in the election of officers is that popular men are supported for election, irrespective of their ability to perform their duty. In the initiative and referendum in municipal, State or national elections voters have generally co-equal knowledge of the personnel, ability and adaptability of candidates for election. This knowledge is reduced in national or international elections of officers of trade or labor associations, because members of a branch or local, far remote from the locality where a candidate may live, have less opportunity of knowing the personnel, ability or adaptability of candidates for election. They may know of them if they have a trade journal, and the candidates have been frequent writers therein, but otherwise they have not the same opportunity of knowing their status as if the election were discussed in the daily press every day for months before election, and where the private and public life of nominees is laid bare with the virtue of giving nominees and their friends daily opportunity for reply. The utility of the first named idea would be further reduced in election of officers of the A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum. If there were quite a number of nominations for each office, each affiliated association might or might not name a well known officer of its own organization who might be well known to the membership of that organization, but to an

other organization might be almost unknown, especially as to his ability to deal with detailed as well as general questions of the great labor movement. If nominating and electing A. F. of L. officers were to be by wide open initiative and referendum, any affiliated organization might have from one to fifty nominees for each office. This would be cause for a qualification that one affiliated organization should be limited to one or two nominees for each office, and should in the first place decide in that association who its limit of nominees would be; or it would require perpetual motion in election of officers, for if a majority vote were essential, it would take too long to elect, and if a majority vote were not required a man might be elected who only represented a small minority. Then again, what would a Tampa cigar maker, for instance, know about a building tradesman in Vancouver; or what would a shingle weaver in the northwest know about a metal tradesman in New England?

**GRINDERS, POCKET KNIFE BLADE**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, one year. Laws enacted by Executive Board and convention. No report on attitude toward initiative and referendum.

**HATTERS, UNITED**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, four years. Laws enacted by Board of Directors and referendum. No report on attitude toward initiative and referendum.

**HOD CARRIERS AND COMMON LABORERS**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, five years. Laws enacted by initiative and referendum and convention. Voting is not compulsory. Doubts practicability of election of officers of A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum. Reports would not be complete, or rather only a part of the membership would return votes.

**HORSE SHOERS**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, one year. Laws enacted by convention. Does not approve of election of officers of A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum.

**HOTEL AND RESTAURANT EMPLOYEES**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by initiative and referendum and convention. Voting is not compulsory. The introduction of the

election of officers of the A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum would entail an expense entirely unwarranted. There is no demand on the part of our members to engraft such a method on the A. F. of L. We do not elect our own officers by referendum and probably never will. Our experience with what we call referendum voting has been rotten. We have used every known device except penalizing our members to secure a fair measure of action and votes, but we have failed miserably.

**IRON AND STEEL WORKERS**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, one year. Laws enacted by convention and referendum. The last convention of the Association instructed its representatives to favor the initiative and referendum in the election of officers of the A. F. of L. The Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers having adopted the initiative and referendum at their last convention held in Chicago, Ill., May, 1912, and the same never having been put into operation, it is impossible to give an opinion as to its workings in the organization.

**JEWELRY WORKERS**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, one year. Laws enacted by referendum. No report on attitude towards initiative and referendum.

**LACE OPERATIVES**—Officers elected by referendum; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by initiative and referendum. No report on attitude towards initiative and referendum.

**LATHERS**—Officers elected by referendum; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by convention and initiative and referendum. Cost of referendum system in election of officers in 1911, \$467.65; about 1-3 of membership voting. Voting not compulsory. It would not be practicable to undertake to elect officials of the A. F. of L. through the referendum. If the officers of the A. F. of L. were to be elected, through the referendum, the election of all organizations should be held on the same date or there should not be more than a week's leeway in which the different organizations could register their votes. Under a referendum the A. F. of L. would have no means of knowing who of those that cast ballots were eligible for that purpose; it would be

dependent absolutely upon the fairness of the national officers of each national organization as well as the local officers of every local union from which votes are sent in, and it is our experience that locals will take a chance of having votes get by and allow men to vote who have absolutely no right to cast a vote. There is no demand or sentiment calling for the election of A. F. of L. officers through the medium of a referendum, at least I have never heard of any such expressions from the men with whom I have associated in recent years.

**LAUNDRY WORKERS**—Officers elected by referendum; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by initiative and referendum. Cost of referendum system to organization, \$100; 75 per cent of the membership voting. Making voting compulsory is left to locals. A well attended convention is the proper place to elect officers, but in case an organization cannot hold a representative convention the referendum is preferable.

**LEATHER WORKERS ON HORSE GOODS**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by initiative and referendum and convention; 30 per cent of membership voting. Voting is not compulsory. Do not believe it possible for our members to intelligently determine the fitness or to acquire a general knowledge relative to the qualifications, habits of the numerous candidates for office, if the initiative and referendum was adopted in the election of the officers of the A. F. of L. We do not wish to be understood as casting any reflection upon the intelligence of the members, but we cannot conceive of any effective means whereby this defect could be overcome.

**LEATHER WORKERS' AMALGAMATED**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, one year. Laws enacted by convention. If the system of election of officers of the A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum was inaugurated by the A. F. of L. it would increase the work of the Secretary to a considerable extent. It would be necessary for all candidates aspiring to office to have their names sent to the Executive Board or to the Secretary, at least four months previous to the convention, in order to have their names printed on the ballot, have those for-

warded to each local and have them returned to the Secretary before the convention. I believe this matter should be left to the decision of the Executive Board. I believe that the delegates who attend your convention have always used their best judgment in selecting its officers as has undoubtedly been proven.

**LITHOGRAPHERS**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, one year. Laws enacted by referendum; 60 per cent of membership voting. Voting not compulsory. No report on attitude towards initiative and referendum.

**LITHOGRAPHIC PRESS FEEDERS**—No report on attitude towards initiative and referendum.

**LONGSHOREMEN**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, one year. Laws enacted by convention. Do not believe it possible to procure a representative expression by a referendum system in the A. F. of L.

**MACHINE PRINTERS AND COLOR MIXERS**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, one year. Laws enacted by initiative and referendum and convention. Should it become necessary to put in practice the initiative and referendum vote in the election of the A. F. of L. officers, it could be granted to such affiliated bodies as are in good standing, for all of those members to vote a ballot for any candidate the voter thought a proper and fit party for such office, the votes having the seal of local union attached.

**MACHINISTS**—Officers elected by referendum; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by referendum. Cost of referendum system to organization, \$1,050. Nearly 50 per cent of membership voting. Voting not compulsory. Favorable to election of officers of A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum.

**MAINTENANCE OF WAY EMPLOYEES**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by convention. Do not believe election of officers of A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum would be practicable to obtain a result within a reasonable time owing to the fact that our people are continuously on the move and we are unable to communicate directly with many of them without considerable delay.

**MARBLE WORKERS**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, one year. Laws enacted by convention. Think election of officers of A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum could be arranged for if necessary, but would not get full vote.

**MEAT CUTTERS AND BUTCHER WORKMEN**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, four years. Laws enacted by initiative and referendum. Voting not compulsory. Thinks it is absolutely impossible to get a fair expression. Our experience with the initiative and referendum in legislative matters has been that less than 20 per cent of our membership will vote. The attempt to elect the officers of the A. F. of L. by the initiative and referendum would prove an absolute failure. While the more highly skilled crafts may have a system whereby they can operate the initiative and referendum successfully, those like the Butcher Workmen, which is composed of 90 per cent common labor, and a large proportion of those made up of foreigners entirely ignorant of these methods, makes it absolutely impossible to have a successful initiative and referendum. On the propositions that have been sent out from the general office to be voted on by the membership, not 20 per cent of the membership voted; in fact only about 40 per cent of the locals paid any attention to them at all; hence the present system of the election of officers of the A. F. of L. is far preferable to attempting the initiative and referendum.

**METAL POLISHERS**—Officers elected by referendum; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by convention. Cost of referendum system to organization, \$500; 70 per cent of membership voting. Voting not compulsory. No report on attitude towards initiative and referendum.

**METAL WORKERS, SHEET**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by convention. Deems plan of election of officers of A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum altogether impracticable. Delegates in convention are surely in better position to judge as to a man's fitness than is an individual member whose acquaintance and vision is limited to his own organization.

**MINE WORKERS, UNITED**—Officers elected by referendum; term of office, two years. Laws enacted

ed by convention. Cost of referendum system to organization, \$5,362.26; 60 per cent of membership voting. Voting compulsory in some districts. Our conventions have pledged its membership to the principle of the election of the officers of the A. F. of L. by the initiative and referendum.

**MINERS, WESTERN FEDERATION**—Officers elected by initiative and referendum; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by initiative and referendum and convention. Cost of referendum system to organization, \$356.43. Voting not compulsory. Believes the election of officers of A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum would be practicable, although is of the opinion that better results would be obtained by nomination being made by convention and those receiving the two highest number of votes to be considered as candidates.

**MOLDERS**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, three years. Laws enacted by convention. Opposed to election of the officers of the A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum.

**MUSICIANS**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, one year. Laws enacted by convention. Election of officers of A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum impracticable. Who would pay the expenses and work out the details for holding such a referendum? What is to prevent a few officers casting the entire vote of the organization, as is often done now in local referendum? How would unwilling members be compelled to vote?

**PAINTERS**—Officers elected by convention when held, and by referendum otherwise; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by initiative and referendum and convention. Cost of referendum system to organization, \$5,000. Voting not compulsory. Election of officers of A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum regarded as entirely practicable. The trade union movement stands first, last and all the time for democracy, the right of the membership to rule. Every objection that can be raised against the election of the officers of the American Federation of Labor by the initiative and referendum can be raised against the election of city, state and national officers of our legislators and congressmen by popular vote and can be advanced against the principles of

the initiative and referendum in political affairs as advocated in the platform of the American Federation of Labor and as subscribed to by the rank and file of the trade union movement.

**PAPER MAKERS**—Officers elected by referendum; term of office, indefinite. Laws enacted by initiative and referendum and convention. It would be possible to make it a practical system in the A. F. of L. if all organizations adopt referendum for electing their own officers.

**PATTERN MAKERS**—Officers elected by referendum; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by initiative and referendum and convention. Cost of referendum system to organization, \$100. Opposed to election of officers of A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum; would not be practicable.

**PAVERS AND RAMMERMEN**—Officers elected by initiative and referendum; term of office, secretary, two years; directors, one year. Laws enacted by convention; 33 per cent of membership voting. Voting is not compulsory. Opposed to election of officers of A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum.

**PAVING CUTTERS**—Officers elected by referendum; term of office, one year. Laws enacted by referendum. The election of officials of the A. F. of L. by the initiative and referendum would not be practicable. The rank and file of our members do not know nor would have any means of knowing the personality or qualifications of those who would naturally be called upon to serve in those important offices. Such a system would ultimately lead the labor movement into politics and turn it into a political organization.

**PHOTO-ENGRAVERS**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, one year. Laws enacted by convention. No report on attitude toward initiative and referendum.

**PIANO AND ORGAN WORKERS**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, four years. Laws enacted by initiative and referendum and convention. Opposed to election of officers of A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum.



**PLASTERERS**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by convention. No report on attitude toward initiative and referendum.

**PLATE PRINTERS**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, one year. Laws enacted by convention. Do not use the initiative and referendum system in their organization. Because of the complex nature of the American Federation of Labor as organized, do not see the wisdom of applying the referendum in the election of officers. The rank and file is too far removed to have the requisite knowledge of the personality of the officers to be as well equipped as a delegate who has attended one or more conventions in estimating the fitness of the man for the office. The organization favors the present method of electing the officers of the A. F. of L.

**PLUMBERS**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by convention. The system of initiative and referendum is impracticable and consequently not expected to give best results. Have no method for such a system of election and would be compelled to create some system which would meet the requirements, although it would be a most difficult task to undertake.

**POST-OFFICE CLERKS**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, one year. Laws enacted by convention. The election of officers of the A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum will stimulate the interest of the rank and file in the labor movement and such system will be practicable in every way.

**PCTTERS, OPERATIVE**—Officers elected by referendum; term of office, one year. Laws enacted by initiative and referendum and convention. Cost of referendum system to organization, \$17.65; 38 per cent of membership voting. Voting not compulsory. The success of election of officers of the A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum would depend on interest aroused to get out vote.

**POWDER AND HIGH EXPLOSIVE WORKERS**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, one year. Laws enacted by convention. When an organization has membership enough so that the

cost per capita is not too great the initiative and referendum is the most practical way of electing officers.

**PRINT CUTTERS**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, one year. Laws enacted by convention. This organization does not use the referendum system. The rank and file of the members could not be induced to give the matter serious enough consideration to get out an intelligent vote; only members attending meetings should be entitled to vote on any subject, as the stay-at-homes do not seem to care, and in fact are generally the forced kind of union members.

**PRINTING PRESSMEN**—Officers elected by referendum; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by convention. Cost of referendum system to organization, \$30; 33 1-3 per cent of membership voting. Making voting compulsory is left to locals. Would not deem it advisable to elect officers of the A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum.

**PULP, SULPHITE AND PAPER MILL WORKERS**—Officers elected by convention. Laws enacted by convention. No report on attitude toward initiative and referendum.

**QUARRY WORKERS**—Officers elected by branches where seat of government is located; term of office, International President and Committee, one year; International Secretary-Treasurer, two years. Laws enacted by convention. Cost of referendum system to organization, \$8.00. Voting not compulsory. Election of officers of the A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum can be done and prove satisfactory. Would favor the A. F. of L. furnishing individual ballots to each international or local affiliated; proper officers or committees of said bodies to canvass vote, seal and preserve same and forward proper certified returns to the Secretary of the A. F. of L., he to tabulate same and hold them in readiness for canvassing committee; result to be made known at following convention. Would favor having each candidate furnish an itemized account of all money expended in furthering his election or nomination, either by himself or friends with his knowledge, and any member spending or allowing to be spent

on his behalf more than \$40.00, shall be disqualified for office for a term of three years.

**RAILROAD TELEGRAPHERS**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by convention. This organization does not use the referendum system; the system is not practical for the election of the officers of the A. F. of L.

**RAILWAY CARMEN**—Officers elected by convention; terms of office, from one convention to the next. Laws enacted by initiative and referendum. Voting not compulsory. Does not use referendum system for election of officers. Our delegates at the last convention discussed the question of electing officers by the initiative and referendum, but the proposition to elect officers in this manner was defeated, the delegates being of the opinion that it would be better to elect them at each convention, as they considered that they could get together and become personally acquainted with the men they desired to elect to office. So while the initiative and referendum was adopted for the making of laws, etc., the election of officers was left for each convention.

**RAILWAY CLERKS**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by referendum and convention. No report on attitude towards initiative and referendum.

**RAILWAY EMPLOYEES, STREET AND ELECTRIC**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by convention. This organization does not use the referendum system. Have no means or machinery for carrying on referendum vote, and could not get a vote of their organization to elect A. F. of L. officers. Many of the international organizations have no arrangement for this election and the result would be that only a few organizations would vote upon this subject. Hundreds of local divisions would take no interest in the matter, and it is not practical or possible under the present arrangements and policies that are carried out by the different international unions that go to make up the A. F. of L.

**RAILWAY EXPRESS MESSENGERS**—No report on attitude towards initiative and referendum.

**ROOFERS, COMPOSITION**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, two years. Laws enacted

by convention. This organization does not use the referendum system. It would not be practicable in the A. F. of L. There would be far too many candidates for the offices and this would cause a great deal of confusion.

**SAW SMITHS**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by referendum. No report on attitude towards initiative and referendum.

**SEAMEN**—International officers elected by convention, district officers by referendum; term of office, one year. Laws enacted by convention, initiative and referendum. Cost of referendum system to organization, \$500 to a district; 25 per cent of membership voting in district. Election of A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum would be successful if international unions would have a uniform system of election.

**SHINGLE WEAVERS**—Officers elected by referendum; term of office, one year. Laws enacted by initiative and referendum. Cost of referendum system to organization \$35.00; 40 per cent of membership voting. Voting not compulsory. The establishment of the initiative and referendum in the election of the officers of the A. F. of L. would result in getting a very small percentage of the membership to participate in the election at the outset, but the educational possibilities in the direction of self-government would be incalculable, and in the end would be to the decided advantage of the labor movement. The belief that a representative of the people can make a wiser choice of officers than the people as a whole is sophistry of the idiest sort. What applies in this case to the people would apply with even more force to the members of labor organizations, because the latter have a larger percentage of intelligent units.

**SLATE AND TILE ROOFERS**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, one year. Laws enacted by convention. This organization does not use the initiative and referendum system. Resolution adopted by convention in favor of election of officers of the A. F. of L. by referendum vote.

**SLATE WORKERS**—Officers elected by branches. Laws enacted by referendum. No report on attitude toward initiative and referendum.

- SPINNERS**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, one year. Laws enacted by convention. It would not be possible to get a representative vote from all of the unions under the present system of organization. A large number of the union men would not be interested enough to vote, and a large number of the international unions have no system for referendum or initiative action. The present system of election is the best because the men who choose the officers are the best known men in the labor movement, being picked out by the different organizations to represent them, because of their ability and interest in the labor movement, in most cases being officers of their respective national organizations; they are better able to pick the right men for officers than the few that might vote under the referendum, who would know nothing about the caliber of the men who might be up for election.
- STAGE EMPLOYES, THEATRICAL**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, one year. Laws enacted by convention. Election of officers of the A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum absolutely impossible and impracticable.
- STEEL PLATE TRANSFERRERS**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by convention. Does not use the initiative and referendum system. It is not practicable for the officers of the A. F. of L. to be elected by initiative and referendum. Organizations like the United Mine Workers would be too powerful, while the technical branches outside of the Carpenters would be subject to the dictates of the organizations of "calling" in so far as the election or naming the officers of the American Federation of Labor. As it is now, the strong and able men are sent as delegates and they, in their wisdom, will as heretofore, select earnest, capable officers. While all workers mean well with their vote, they are hardly educated up to the standard of using it without sentiment.
- STEREOTYPERS AND ELECTROTYPERS**—Officers elected by referendum; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by referendum. Cost of referendum system to organization, \$100; 82 per cent of membership voting. Voting not compulsory. The election of the officers of the A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum can be accomplished without much trouble.
- STONE CUTTERS**—Officers elected by referendum; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by referendum. Cost of referendum system to organization, \$50; 65 per cent of membership voting. Voting not compulsory. The initiative and referendum system could be satisfactorily used in the A. F. of L.
- STOVE MOUNTERS**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by referendum. It would be practicable to elect the officers of the A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum.
- SWITCHMEN**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by convention. It would not be practicable. It would be a large expense on the organizations affiliated to elect the A. F. of L. officers by the initiative and referendum and it would perhaps require several elections to give the candidates a majority vote to save the expense of several elections that would be necessary to elect by a plurality vote instead of majority.
- TAILORS**—Officers elected by referendum; term of office, four years. Laws enacted by initiative and referendum. Cost of referendum system to organization, \$35; 85 per cent of membership voting. Voting is compulsory. The election of the officers of the A. F. of L. by the initiative and referendum is practicable in every way, and officers should be elected for two years or more.
- TEAMSTERS**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by convention. No report on attitude towards initiative and referendum.
- TEXTILE WORKERS**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, one year. Laws enacted by convention. This organization does not use the referendum system. For an organization like the A. F. of L., whose representatives meet in convention once a year, and whose membership is scattered over the entire United States and Canada, the present way of electing officers is preferable.
- TILE LAYERS**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by referendum, 35 per cent of membership voting. The election of the officers of the A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum could be successfully inaugurated if the referendum vote is

taken with the individual members and not local organizations, as a few so-called leading members most always determine the vote when taken through a local organization, the individual members seldom, if ever, have the right to use their own minds on the subjects submitted through the referendum.

**TIN PLATE WORKERS**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, one year. Laws enacted by convention. Whereas the rank and file bear all expense, why not have a voice in election of its officers?

**TIP PRINTERS**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, one year. Laws enacted by convention. No report on attitude towards initiative and referendum.

**TOBACCO WORKERS**—Officers elected by referendum; term of office, five years. Laws enacted by referendum and convention. Cost of referendum system to organization, \$500 to \$600; 96 per cent of membership voting. Voting not compulsory. The practicability of the method of initiative and referendum is open to serious question, and in addition an added expense will be imposed upon the various international unions. The introduction and use of the initiative and referendum in the election of the officers of the American Federation of Labor would not be feasible at this time, and in the present state and extent of the organization of the workers much confusion and expense would result. Let us rather devote attention to the organization and education of the workers along economic and political lines, this proposition is too far ahead of the day. Many international unions have not adopted the initiative and referendum in their unions, and with this method adopted for the American Federation of Labor these international unions would have to change their laws to fit the situation, and more than all, they would have to educate their members up to perfect points of the new method. In the interim, chaos would reign. A more seasonable time in the future is coming, the harvest is not yet ripe. Postponement seems now properly in order.

**TRAVELERS' GOODS AND LEATHER NOVELTY WORKERS**—Officers elected by convention or referendum when convention is not held; term of office, three years. Laws enacted by refer-

endum, 96 per cent of membership voting. Voting not compulsory. The election of officers by the initiative and referendum would bring more satisfaction than the present way.

**TUNNEL AND SUBWAY CONSTRUCTORS**—Matter taken up by referendum vote and are opposed to the election of the officers of the A. F. of L. by referendum, inasmuch as the most capable men could not be secured in that way. It has been demonstrated in our organization; a man can go among the rank and file of the organization and make promises that he never intends to fulfill, thereby gaining their friendship and support. The agitation he has started in claiming that the present officers are not doing their duty and he could gain a great deal more for them if he was in power, has been proven to be a detriment to the organization, and it also creates dissension with the employers whom the organization has dealt with for years.

**TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION**—Officers elected by referendum; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by convention and referendum, four-fifths of membership voting. No report on attitude towards election of officers of A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum.

**UPHOLSTERERS**—Officers elected by convention or referendum if another convention is not held within two years; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by referendum. Cost of referendum system to organization, 1-3 of a cent per member; 60 per cent of membership voting. Voting not compulsory. The practicability of electing the officers of the A. F. of L. by the initiative and referendum would depend upon the time allowed for voting after the time set for closing nominations. If at least three months were allowed in order to permit the membership at large to get acquainted with the record and reputation of the nominees for the different offices, it would be quite feasible to nominate and elect by popular vote. This form of electing officers will create more interest among the membership at large in the affairs of the A. F. of L. They will better understand the aims and objects of the body. The men whose interests the officers of the A. F. of L. represent are well qualified to select who shall be their representatives. The referendum form of voting

permits the individual members of affiliated unions to select the candidate who in his opinion is best qualified to fill the office.

**WEAVERS, ELASTIC GORING**—Officers elected by referendum; term of office, one year. Laws enacted by branches and convention. Cost of referendum system to organization, printing and postage; 50 per cent of membership voting. Voting not compulsory. Initiative and referendum works good with us because we are a small organization, but could not express an opinion as to how it would work with the A. F. of L.

**WEAVERS, WIRE**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, President, one year; Secretary, two years. Laws enacted by initiative and referendum if considered advisable. Do not favor election of A. F. of L. officers by initiative and referendum. Too expensive and not at all practicable for so large an organization.

**WHITE RATS ACTORS**—Officers elected by referendum; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by referendum. It is the opinion of the officers of this organization, also the delegates from our organization who have attended the conventions of the American Federation of Labor, that the method in vogue in electing the officers of the American Federation of Labor is the only manner in which said election should be conducted. The reason for making this statement is that although the initiative and referendum is satisfactory to this organization we believe that the conditions which prevail in the American Federation of Labor are exactly the reverse of those of this organization as we are composed of actors who of necessity must travel all the while and therefore are different from every other craft in the labor movement.

#### Unaffiliated Organizations.

**BRICKLAYERS AND MASONS**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, one year. Laws enacted by convention. No report on attitude towards initiative and referendum.

**LOCOMOTIVE FIREMEN AND ENGINEMEN**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, three years. Laws enacted by convention. Doubts the advisability of the referendum system in the election of international officers,

because few of the members called upon to vote, would have any knowledge of the relative ability or merits of the candidates. Under the present method each lodge sends a representative to the convention, which representative sits for nearly three weeks assisting in the transaction of the organization's business, and at the end of that time he should be in position to cast a vote, as representative of the members of his lodge, for each international officer with a much higher degree of intelligence.

**LOCOMOTIVE ENGINEERS**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, six years. Laws enacted by convention. Has never established the initiative and referendum system either in election of officers or in legislative matters. No report on attitude towards election of officers of A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum.

**RAILROAD TRAINMEN**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by convention. No report on attitude towards initiative and referendum.

**RAILWAY CONDUCTORS**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by convention. No report on attitude towards election of officers of A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum.

#### European Organizations.

##### GREAT BRITAIN.

**BAKERS AND CONFECTIONERS**—Officers elected by convention. Laws enacted by convention. In the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland there is very little interest taken by the workers generally in the initiative and referendum system of voting among the workers. Some of the trades unions adopt what is practically a second ballot in the election of their principal officers where a candidate does not obtain a majority over all other candidates, but we have never yet done so.

**BOOT AND SHOE OPERATIVES**—Officers elected by convention. Laws enacted by convention. No report on attitude towards initiative and referendum.

**BRASSWORKERS AND METAL MECHANICS**—Officers elected by annual conference except for National Executive which is by referendum. The only ballot

taken in this Society is for National Executive and the methods are as follows: Nominations are received from branches in the different districts, Northern, Midland and South and West. Ballot papers are then printed, sent to all Branches in each Division and every member connected with that Division records his votes on the ballot paper, seals the paper at the corners and hands same to the Branch Secretary who forwards all the ballot papers to the Central Office where the votes are counted by scrutineers who receive a nominal fee for their duties. The names of the successful candidates according to the number required are published to the whole of the Society through the various Branches. All the officers, except the General Secretary, are members working at their trade.

**ENGINEERS**—Officers elected by referendum. No report on attitude towards initiative and referendum.

**ENGINEERING AND SHIPBUILDING TRADES**—Officers elected by convention. Laws enacted by convention. No report on attitude towards initiative and referendum.

**PATTERNMAKERS**—General Secretary elected by referendum. Laws enacted by convention. No report on attitude towards initiative and referendum.

**PRINTERS WAREHOUSEMEN AND CUTTERS**—Officers elected by referendum. Laws enacted by convention. It is undesirable to compel members to vote. If they do not take sufficient interest in the union to vote without compulsion on any question, then you can take it their votes will not be cast for the benefit of the union, and on some critical question they will let you down.

**SMITHS AND HAMMERMEN**—General Secretary elected by referendum. Laws enacted by convention and referendum. Our rules are altered on the initiative of members in branches and if not frivolous they are referred to the whole membership to vote on, which the majority religiously neglect to do. Election by initiative and referendum simply a frost. The members won't vote for an advance of their own wages, so they won't bother about elections. I admire the Swiss attempt at initiative and referendum out of

course it is a failure. The idea is excellent but the practice is slow, cumbersome and unwieldy. The assembled intellects in conventions must know best who is fitted while members outside know only the candidate's name and frequently only a part of that.

**STOVE, GRATE, FENDER & GENERAL LIGHT METAL WORKERS**—Officers elected by referendum. Our organization is only a small one, totaling 1800 members, and any points we could attempt to give would be of little or no value where such big unions are concerned.

**RAILWAY WAGON AND CARRIAGE BULDERS AND LIFTERS**—Officers elected by referendum. Laws enacted by convention. No report on attitude towards initiative and referendum.

**GERMANY.**

**BAKERS AND CONFECTIONERY WORKERS**—Officers elected by convention. Have had no experience in elections by initiative and referendum.

**BOOKBINDERS**—Officers elected by convention. Laws enacted by convention. We refrain from giving an opinion as we are not well enough acquainted with American conditions.

**BUILDING LABORERS**—Officers elected by convention. Laws enacted by convention. We are of the opinion that the election of the officers of the American Federation of Labor by initiative and referendum is not to be recommended. The carrying out of such an election system is so very impracticable that in the end the desired result cannot be attained under any circumstances. Most of the candidates of the A. F. of L. elected by referendum vote are either entirely or practically unknown to most of the active members of the various organizations, and is it not unwise to bring up for election candidates with whom the electors are not sufficiently well acquainted? On the other hand, an election by representatives of local organizations who meet at a designated place for the purpose of voting is much more practical and wise, and is in keeping with the democratic principles—and as a sister principle of the democratic principle, having sufficient knowledge of the candidates, whether they should vote for or against them, is much

more preferable than an election by initiative and referendum.

**COOPERS AND HELPERS**—Officers elected by convention. Laws enacted by convention. We cannot recommend any definite election system as we are not in a position to know whether the election of the officers of the German organizations by the delegates to the convention, which has proved very successful here in Germany, is also to be recommended for the American organizations.

**CARPENTERS**—Officials of central committee elected by convention and district leaders appointed by Central Committee. Laws enacted by convention. No report on attitude towards initiative and referendum.

**COPPERSMITHS**—Officers elected by convention. Laws enacted by referendum. Do not care to give an opinion as we do not understand the exact workings of the A. F. of L. unions.

**FURRIERS**—Officers elected by convention. Laws enacted by convention. No report on attitude towards initiative and referendum.

**GLASS WORKERS**—Officers elected by convention. Laws enacted by convention. We consider an election for the officers of the centrals by the centrals as sufficient.

**GLAZIERS, PLATE LEAD FRAME GLAZIER AND GLASS PAINTERS**—Officers elected by convention. Laws enacted by convention. No report on attitude towards initiative and referendum.

**HAIR DRESSERS, BARBERS AND WIG MAKERS**—Officers elected by convention. Laws enacted by convention and referendum. No report on attitude towards initiative and referendum.

**HAT AND FELT GOODS WORKERS**—Officers elected by convention. Referendum tried but abandoned 12 years ago. Laws enacted by convention. Having abandoned electing of the full paid officials by all members we are not able to offer any proposals with regards to election by referendum. Only officials, sub-officially attending to their union affairs in the pay stations are elected directly by the members using vote tickets. This system has proved to be

satisfactory because our pay stations are not so very large, the largest one counts only 3,500 members.

**LEATHER WORKERS, GLOVE MAKERS TAN AND CHROME, TANNERS, ETC.**—Officers elected by convention. Officials of the central committee are elected by conventions. The district leaders are elected by the central committee and the local officials by members of the respective unions with a right of veto by the central committee. Laws enacted by convention. The system of direct election of the officials of the Federation by all members of the trades is not to be recommended. On occasion of election of the officials this system has not proven satisfactory in a single organization in Germany. A great many factors are to the disadvantage of the direct election by the members. First, only a certain number of the members participate in the election. In different places in many cases the best and most active members are prevented from voting. Also, it has to be considered that most of the members are lacking in knowledge of the abilities of the officials to be elected. A braggart, but a person of only a little practical knowledge and ability, has sometimes more chances to be elected than a quiet but otherwise very able colleague. There exists also the danger that this system is furthering the dependency of the officials upon the tempers of the members. Conditions often demand officials of trade associations to legislate against the will of the bulk, and this could result in disagreeable consequences at the election by the members. To delegates assembled, the necessity of such actions is easier explained than to the great bulk of the members. The system of the election of the officials by all the members is only seemingly democratic, otherwise it contains the defects and faults of the democratic system to the fullest extent.

**LITHOGRAPHERS, ENGRAVERS AND ALLIED TRADES**—Officers elected by convention. Laws enacted by convention. Consider election by initiative and referendum superfluous.

**MEAT CUTTERS AND BUTCHER WORKMEN**—Officers elected by convention. Laws enacted by convention. No report on attitude towards initiative and referendum.

**MINERS**—General Committee (7 members) elected by convention, rest of officials by General Committee. Important resolutions of the general meeting are subjected to voting if so desired. No report on attitude towards initiative and referendum.

**PAINTERS, VARNISHERS, PLASTERERS AND WHITEWASHERS**—Officers elected by convention. Laws enacted by convention and referendum. Consider it inexpedient for A. F. of L. to elect officers by initiative and referendum.

**PRINTING AND ENGRAVING HELPERS**—Officers elected by convention. Laws enacted by convention. Have had no experience with initiative and referendum.

**ROOFERS**—Officers elected by convention. Laws enacted by convention. Up to present time election of officers has always been by convention; system more simple than by referendum.

**SADDLER AND PORT FOLIO MAKERS**—Officers elected by convention. Laws enacted by convention and referendum. No report on attitude towards initiative and referendum.

**STONE SETTERS AND ALLIED WORKERS**—Officers elected by convention. Laws enacted by convention. No report on attitude towards initiative and referendum.

**TEXTILE WORKERS**—Officers elected by convention. Laws enacted by convention. Cannot recommend what would be advisable for American Federation of Labor.

**TOBACCO WORKERS**—Officers elected by convention. Laws enacted by convention. The initiative and referendum system is too difficult.

**DISTRICT AND STATE EMPLOYEES**—Officers elected by convention. Laws enacted by convention and referendum. No report on attitude towards initiative and referendum.

**METAL WORKERS**—Officers elected by convention. Laws enacted by convention. No report on attitude towards initiative and referendum.

## FRANCE.

**FURNITURE WORKERS**—Each district or branch of which there are 79, has one representative, of which 79 constitute the Federal Council. In any vacancy the branch elects another representative who is usually accepted by the General Council. Laws enacted by convention. Cannot answer questions as principle of initiative and referendum has never been put in practice by our organization.

## SWITZERLAND.

**METAL WORKERS**—Officers elected by referendum. Laws enacted by referendum. No report on attitude towards initiative and referendum.

**STONE AND CLAY WORKERS**—Officers elected by referendum. Laws enacted by referendum. No report on attitude towards initiative and referendum.

**WATCHMAKERS**—Officers elected by referendum. Laws enacted by referendum. Impossible to give opinion as to A. F. L.

## SWEDEN.

**MASONS**—Officers elected by convention. Laws enacted by convention. No report on attitude towards initiative and referendum.

## NORWAY.

**METAL WORKERS**—Officers elected by convention. Laws enacted by convention. No report on attitude towards initiative and referendum.

**TRAMWAY EMPLOYEES**—Officers elected by convention. Laws enacted by convention. Initiative and referendum system unknown.

**UNSKILLED LABORERS**—Officers elected by convention. Laws enacted by convention. No report on attitude towards initiative and referendum.

## DENMARK.

**SEAGOING DECK WORKERS**—Officers elected by convention. Laws enacted by convention. No report on attitude towards initiative and referendum.

**ALLIED TRADES**—Four officers elected by General Assembly, three nominated by Managing Com-



mittee. Laws enacted by convention. No report on attitude towards initiative and referendum.

**NETHERLANDS.**

**DIAMOND WORKERS**—Officers elected by referendum. Laws enacted by referendum. Knowing very little about internal working of A. F. of L., cannot express an opinion on the subject of election of officers of A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum.

The tabulated statement founded upon the replies from the organizations which we have given, shows the following condensed table of results:

Number of national and international unions which elect their officers by the initiative and referendum system .....	34
Number of national and international unions which elect their officers by the convention system .....	76
Number of national and international unions favoring election of A. F. of L. officers by the initiative and referendum system (representing 508,116 members) .....	23
Number of national and international unions against election of A. F. of L. officers by the initiative and referendum (representing 830,240 members) .....	52
A number of organizations representing 331,787 members have made no report or have expressed themselves as having no definite opinion upon the matter.	

We should say also that some international unions which have the initiative and referendum system of electing their own officers, have most emphatically declared that while that system is practical and successful within their own organizations, it would be impossible for practical application for the American Federation of Labor.

**Conclusion.**

We submit to your earnest, and we hope, favorable consideration, this report of our stewardship of the trust committed to our care.

Fraternally yours,

- SAMUEL GOMPERS,  
President.
- JAMES DUNCAN,  
First Vice President.
- JOHN MITCHELL,  
Second Vice President.
- JAMES O'CONNELL,  
Third Vice President.
- D. A. HAYES,  
Fourth Vice President.
- WILLIAM D. HUBER,  
Fifth Vice President.
- JOS. F. VALENTINE,  
Sixth Vice President.
- JOHN R. ALPINE,  
Seventh Vice President.
- H. B. PERHAM,  
Eighth Vice President.
- JOHN B. LENNON,  
Treasurer.
- FRANK MORRISON,  
Secretary.

## Third Day—Wednesday Morning Session

The convention was called to order at 9.30 a. m., Wednesday, November 13th, President Gompers in the chair.

**Absentees**—Kline, Barnes, Zuckerman, McNulty, Yount, Ford, Hannahan, Conway, Duche, Taggart, Bryan, Healey, Price, Holland, Tazelaar, Murphy, Whitehead, Halpine, Miller (J. F.), Gallagher (T. J.), Hanson, Huddleston, Welch, Holt, Swick, Darling, Laurentz, Campbell, Sause, Glidden, Tracy (M. F.), Landers, Burke, Hicks, Diehl, Weber, Doherty, Ferguson, Draper, Drackert, Pace, Morgan, Phillip, Stokes, Felio, Voll, Duffy, O'Rourke, Lawler, Lampa, McAndrews, Cunningham, Plasterer.

Vice President Perham in the chair.

### Supplemental Report of the Committee on Credentials.

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

To the officers and delegates of the 32d Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Your Committee on Credentials desires to report that they have received the following credentials and recommend that the delegates be seated:

Belmont County, Ohio, Trades and Labor Assembly, E. E. Tharp, 1 vote;

Lincoln, Nebraska, Central Labor Union, Clarence R. Elyea, 1 vote;

International Protective Association of Lithographic Press Feeders, William A. Coakley, 9 votes;

In accordance with the following requests, we recommend that the substitutes be seated:

Niagara Falls, N. Y., Trades and Labor Council, Joseph P. Hunter, in place of Harvey C. Berry;

American Brotherhood of Cement Workers, G. E. Strom in place of F. C. Genzenback;

Western Federation of Miners, M. J. Scanlan in place of Dan Holland.

Respectfully submitted,

EDW. J. MARK, Chairman.

DUNCAN McDONALD, Secretary.

W. A. NEER.

Delegate McDonald—I move that the report be adopted and the delegates seated. (Seconded.)

Vice President Alpine—I would like to suggest that one of the delegates whose name has been mentioned, Mr. Tasker, is an International Steam Fitter, and, inasmuch as his case comes in direct co-

operation with the subject matter set for special order at 10 o'clock, I would suggest that action on that particular case might well be deferred.

Delegate McDonald—The committee was not familiar with that fact. If it is satisfactory to the other two members of the committee, the request will be complied with.

Delegates Neer and Marx agreed to the suggestion that Mr. Tasker's name be withdrawn from the report.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee and seat the delegates, with the exception of Mr. Tasker, was carried.

President Gompers in the chair.

Vice President Perham—Delegate C. A. Mulhall, of the Railroad Telegraphers, being absent and Delegate Brown having been seated yesterday, I move that he be placed on the Committee on Education in place of Brother Mulhall.

President Gompers—If there are no objections that course will be pursued. Hearing none, it is so ordered.

At 10 o'clock the chairman announced that the hour had arrived to take up the special order of business, the report of the Credentials Committee on the protest entered by the United Association of Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters and Steam Fitters' Helpers against the seating of Messrs. John Mangan and T. J. Kinsella, representing the International Association of Steam and Hot Water Fitters and Helpers of America.

The Secretary of the Committee read the report, as follows:

"Credentials have been presented to the committee from John Mangan and J. T. Kinsella, representing the International Association of Steam and Hot Water Fitters and Helpers of America. The seats of the above named delegates have been contested by John R. Alpine, President of the United Association of Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters and Steam Fitters' Helpers. Your committee gave both sides a full hearing. President Alpine, in presenting his protest, cited the action of the Atlanta Convention, which instructed the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. to bring about an amalgamation of the two organizations, and the subsequent action of the Executive Coun-

cil on this matter. The representatives of the International Association of Steam, Hot Water and Power Pipe Fitters claimed that Section 12, Article 9 of the Constitution of the A. F. of L., which provides as follows, had not been complied with:

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

"The representatives of the International Association of Steam and Hot Water Fitters also claimed that they had not been notified to turn in their charter. Both sides presented able arguments before the committee. On account of the complications in connection with this matter, and believing that the matter will in all probability be discussed on the floor of the convention, no matter what action the committee should take, we refer the matter of seating John Mangan and Thomas Kinsella as delegates from the International Association of Steam and Hot Water Fitters and Helpers to the convention without recommendation, with the hope that this long drawn out controversy will be settled in this convention for all time."

Delegate Furuseth—I move you that the Steam Fitters' delegates be seated.

President Gompers—That motion is not necessary. That motion is before the house, and has been so stated by the chair.

Delegate Campbell—I move that the report of the committee be received; that the order of the Atlantic convention, and subsequent action of the Executive Council in the case be approved, and that in accordance with the orders of the Atlanta convention and the action of the Executive Council the representatives of the Steam Fitters are not eligible for seating in this convention. (Seconded.)

Delegate Leonard (E. W.), spoke at length in favor of the motion offered by Delegate Campbell. After the delegate had spoken for ten minutes a motion was made that his time for speaking be extended.

Delegate Furuseth—I move that Messrs. Mangan and Kinsella be given the privilege of the floor while this discussion is in progress, and that they be allowed to give their own side of the controversy. (Seconded and carried.)

Delegate Woll—I move that the two parties directly concerned in this controversy be permitted all the time necessary

to present their proposition to this convention, and not be limited by the ten-minute rule. (Seconded.)

Delegate McCullough (T. W.), stated that the rules should be suspended in order to give both sides ample opportunity to present their cases.

The motion offered by Delegate Woll was carried.

Delegate Leonard continued his discussion, going into details in regard to the relative strength of both organizations in various parts of the country. During the course of his argument he stated that a large majority of the steam fitters in the United States and Canada were connected with the United Association, and that the United Association protected them fully and adequately.

Delegate Williams (J.)—I arise at this time to make a motion, and I presume the delegates consider that I am in order. We have here attending this convention as a visitor a man who has led the fight in the interests of organized labor, a man who has done much, not only as an official of a labor organization but as a representative in Congress, and we hope soon to be able to call him the Secretary of the Department of Labor, Congressman Billy Wilson. I move that a committee be appointed to escort him to a seat on the platform.

The motion was seconded and carried, and Congressman W. B. Wilson was escorted to the platform by a committee appointed by the chairman.

Delegate Bonner spoke in opposition to the motion offered by Delegate Campbell. He dealt briefly with the history of both organizations and the work established by them in different parts of the country, and stated that the International Association members had always been loyal trades unionists whether the organization was in the American Federation of Labor or outside.

Mr. T. J. Kinsella, President of the International Association, discussed the matter at length. He opposed the pending motion and urged the seating of the representatives of the International Association of Steam and Hot Water Fitters. He quoted from the records of the Atlanta convention of the American Federation of Labor and discussed at length the action of the Executive Council in

reference to the controversy between the United Association and the International Association.

Mr. John Mangan, representing the International Association, discussed the matter at length. He read extracts from the proceedings of the St. Louis and Atlanta conventions of the American Federation of Labor and from the proceedings of the Building Trades convention, as well as from letters and documents bearing on the case. He opposed the pending motion, and urged the seating of the Steam Fitters' representatives.

Vice-President Duncan discussed the question and defended the course pursued by the Executive Council. He explained the action taken by the Atlanta convention in regard to the controversy, and stated that the Executive Council followed the instructions of that convention in every action taken by them in regard to the controversy.

Delegate Glover opposed the pending motion and spoke in favor of seating the delegates of the International Association. He referred to the connection of members of that organization with the Railroad Federation and of their loyalty to that movement during the long strike on the Harriman and Illinois Central lines.

Vice-President Perham discussed the question briefly, and replied to some statements made by Delegate Glover in regard to the attitude of the Railway Employees' Department of the A. F. of L.

Before the convention was adjourned the following resolutions were introduced and referred by President Gompers to the various committees:

Resolution No. 39—By Delegate Paul Scharrenberg of the San Francisco Labor Council:

WHEREAS, It is now generally recognized that the millions of so-called migratory, unskilled or common laborers of this country must be organized and brought within the protecting fold of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, Immeasurable assistance can be rendered in this work by the members of all organized skilled crafts if they will give every possible assistance and moral encouragement to those workers who have been falsely led to believe that the American Federation of Labor is mainly interested in the further advancement and uplifting of the crafts already organized; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Thirty-second Annual Convention of the American Fed-

eration of Labor that we urge upon all affiliated unions, and particularly upon the rank and file of same, to constantly impress upon the unorganized, unskilled workers with whom they may come in contact that all workers are welcome in the organized labor movement under the banner of the American Federation of Labor; further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council is hereby directed to prepare a series of educational articles for general publicity, and particularly for publication in the labor press, setting forth the duty and obligation of the already organized workers as indicated in these resolutions and explaining the benefits to be derived by all workers through the thorough organization of the migratory, common and unskilled laborers.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 40—By Delegate Paul Scharrenberg of the San Francisco Labor Council:

WHEREAS, It is a deplorable fact that in many of the universities of this country, which are financially supported by the people, the educational work is confined solely to the comparatively few who are able to give their entire time for a number of years in acquiring a so-called college education; and

WHEREAS, State-supported universities can make returns to the people who pay the bills in two ways: first, by creating in all the people the realization of their educational needs and to provide the facilities for satisfying that need—university extension; second, by making its graduates useful members of the state, who realize their obligations to the state and to the people who provided for their education; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the thirty-second annual convention of the American Federation of Labor that we most heartily favor a popular system of university extension similar to the one provided by the State of Wisconsin; further

RESOLVED, That we urge upon all state federations, central bodies and organized labor generally to make every effort in their respective states to cause such changes to be made as will bring the work of state-owned universities nearer to the needs of the working people.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 41—By Delegate Harvey Garman of the Denver Trades and Labor Assembly:

Amend Article XI of the Constitution, by adding thereto a new section, to be known as Section 11, to read as follows:

Section 11. Local central labor unions, state federations, or other central body of delegates, shall incorporate into their constitutions the following provisions: Questions may be decided by division or a show of hands, but if a call of the yeas and nays is demanded by one-tenth of the delegates present, each delegate shall cast one vote for every one

hundred members or major fraction thereof he represents. The secretary of each local central body, state federation or other central body of delegates, shall prepare for use of each such organization, printed roll call lists, containing the number of votes the delegates are each entitled to, based upon the membership upon which per capita tax has been paid during the year by their respective unions.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 42—By Delegate R. H. White of the Birmingham Trades Council:

WHEREAS, The field is ripe for the work of organizing several branches in the district of Greater Birmingham; and

WHEREAS, Believing that sending an organizer to the Birmingham district will accomplish much good; be it

RESOLVED, By the Thirty-second Annual Convention of the A. F. of L. that the Executive Council send an organizer to the Birmingham district and said organizer be William E. Terry.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 43—By Delegate Paul Scharrenberg of the San Francisco Labor Council:

Amend Section 12 of Article IX to read as follows:

Section 12. The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall only have power to revoke the charter of an affiliated national or international union, a central labor body or a state federation when the revocation has been ordered by a two-thirds majority of a regular convention of the American Federation of Labor, by a roll-call vote.

Amend Section 1 of Article XI to read as follows:

Section 1. No central labor union, or any other central body of delegates shall admit to or retain in their councils delegates from any local organization that owes its allegiance to any other body, national or international, hostile to any affiliated organization, or that has been suspended or expelled by, or not connected with a national or international organization of their trade herein affiliated, under penalty of having their charter revoked by the next convention, as provided in Section 12 of Article IX.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 44—By Delegate Paul Scharrenberg of the San Francisco Labor Council:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has at previous world's fairs exhibited a display illustrating the aims and aspirations of organized labor as well as recording the great achievements in the various phases of our movement; and

WHEREAS, The Panama-Pacific International Exposition will be held in San Francisco, Cal., in 1915, to commemorate the opening of the Panama Canal; and

WHEREAS, Said Exposition will give a splendid opportunity to make the world at large more familiar with the great work constantly being done by the American Federation of Labor for the amelioration and uplifting of the country's toilers; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the thirty-second annual convention of the American Federation of Labor that the Executive Council is hereby directed to bring up to date and prepare for shipment and exhibition to the Panama-Pacific International Exposition at San Francisco the display herein referred to.

Referred to Committee on Labels.

Resolution No. 45—By Delegate James P. Holland of the Central Federated Union of Greater New York and vicinity:

WHEREAS, The Central Federated Union during the past ten years has interested itself in matters pertaining to the welfare of the organized actors of this country, and during that time has had many committees act upon legislation affecting the actors as a class, and during that time has been actively interested through special committees appointed for the purpose of bringing about harmony and concerted action between the two theatrical organizations, the Actors International Union, which was affiliated with the American labor movement and the outside association, known as the White Rats of America; and

WHEREAS, During that time the American Federation of Labor, through the Executive Council, has asked the Central Federated Union to assist in bringing about an understanding between the two mentioned organizations, and therefore consider that they are vitally interested in the welfare and success of the eventually amalgamated association, known as the White Rats Actors Union, to which President Gompers requested a committee of the Central Federated Union to appear at the first conference held for the purpose of bringing about harmony between the two contending organizations, therefore the Central Federated Union, from a close knowledge of the internal affairs affecting the new amalgamated organization, believes that action must be taken at this convention to preserve the identity of that organization within the labor movement for the following reasons:

First. There is a considerable defection of members who are dropping out of the organization on account of general dissatisfaction of the present aim and purposes of that order, and an absolute feeling of general discontent;

Second. That every principle and condition of the so-called agreement of amalgamation has been violated, not alone in spirit but in each and every vital section; and

Third. That from an investigation, we believe that the organization as constituted at present is not a union in any sense of the word; that it assumes powers

through its governing board to legislate without consideration to the general welfare of its members; furthermore, assuming, through its board of directors, to wholly control its funds and investments without any consultation at any time with its general membership; and furthermore controlling a vital and important part of its membership the female branch, who have no say in any way, or no representation at any time, or no information at any time, of the conduct of their affairs, financial and otherwise; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor shall, in obedience to the decision of the Executive Council, at its meeting held in Atlantic City, which says, "Cognizance of any violation of the terms of the amalgamation agreement, which will show a division in the ranks of the White Rats Actors Union will be given by the American Federation of Labor;" and be it further

RESOLVED, That the complaint and charges, as herein contained, shall be properly investigated by this convention, and a proper and equitable decision rendered that will tend to protect the actors and actresses of this country, who really desire a protective organization conducted on trades union lines, and given that protection guaranteed by the law, constitution and usages of the trades union movement, as recognized by the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 46—By Delegate James P. Holland of the Central Federation Union of N. Y.:

WHEREAS, The Hebrew Variety Actors Union, an organization of actors affiliated with the American Federation of Labor for over ten years, through its Chartered membership as a subsidiary local of the Actors International Union and for the past two years a component part of the White Rats Actors' Union an amalgamated association of the Actors International Union and the former White Rats of America, an independent actors organization until such amalgamation was effected during November 1910; and

WHEREAS, During the affiliation of the Hebrew Variety Actors Union with the American Federation of Labor it has continuously held its membership and representation in the Central Federated Union of New York City an American Federation of Labor Central Labor Union and has at all times obeyed any and all mandates of the organized labor movement as submitted to them through their direct affiliations; and

WHEREAS, The Hebrew Variety Actors Union did sanction and agree to the amalgamation of the Actors International Union and The White Rats of America upon the positive promise that their standing and rights as individual members of the trades union movement should not in any way suffer any change by the combination of these two theatrical associations that they should be members in full benefit and entitled to all

the rights, benefits and privileges as enjoyed by them during their affiliation and membership in the Actors International Union, in the new amalgamated organization with no interference as to their jurisdiction and local autonomy rights; and

WHEREAS, Since such amalgamation has been effected the Hebrew Variety Actors Union has been denied every chartered right granted to them by their original affiliation with the Actors International Union, they having been denied the right of any representation in the governing body of the Chartered Union, thereby forcing a condition of taxation without representation; their denial of their right of vote upon any question affecting the order as a whole, the denial of any right to vote at any general election for officials to control the affairs of the general order, the absolute elimination of their standing as members of the order entitled to all the rights, benefits and privileges as members thereof, their designation as only a branch of the general order with the sole right to pay an increased per capital tax in advance; and

WHEREAS, The governing board of the White Rats Actors' Union have attempted to interfere with their union conditions fought for and maintained at considerable expense during many years of activity and have aligned members of the order in opposition to one another in an effort to reduce wages and general satisfactory working conditions surrounding their employment, and the only answer to repeated complaints against the action of the Board of Directors has been threats of expulsion from the trades union movement of this country; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor held at Rochester, N. Y., shall take cognizance of this complaint and charges of violation of agreement upon amalgamation between the Actors International Union and the White Rats of America, following the official decision of the Executive Council at the quarterly meeting held at Atlantic City during August, 1912, which says:

"Cognizance will be given any violation of the articles of agreement upon amalgamation, which would show any division in the ranks of the White Rats Actors' Union;" and be it further

RESOLVED, The present charter of affiliation of the White Rats Actors' Union be investigated, and it calls for a form of national organization enjoyed by all other affiliated national unions and it is being willfully perverted to a single union form of organization without any local representation or rights, and former local representation and rights denied without legal authority by either the terms of amalgamation or warrant from the general membership and a report upon their complaints and charges to be submitted to the convention with a recommendation thereon.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 47—By Delegate Joseph Morton, of the Chicago Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, There is seated in the Chicago Federation of Labor an organization known as The White Rats Actors' Union of America, incorporated, which organization is affiliated with the American Federation of Labor as a national union; and

WHEREAS, During an investigation of this organization by the Central Federated Union of New York City, a communication was submitted by the said White Rats Actors' Union of America, incorporated, from President Samuel Gompers, disqualifying the representation of this organization in any Central Labor Union, by stating that the White Rats Actors' Union of America, incorporated, did not locally exist and therefore, he specifically states "that which does not exist cannot be represented"; and

WHEREAS, The Chicago Federation of Labor did institute a thorough investigation of this organization upon complaint of a committee of resident members of the aforesaid organization, who made claim, that the form, conduct and law of the said White Rats Actors' Union of America, incorporated, did not in any way conform to the law, constitution and usages of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The Chicago Federation of Labor upon the conclusion of an investigation of the claims as submitted did upon Sunday, July 21, 1912, submit its report and findings of the Grievance Committee, which was unanimously adopted, which findings are as follows:

From evidence presented, your committee finds that the White Rats Actors' Union of America is a "membership corporation" operating under the state laws of New York.

We also find connected therewith as subsidiary corporations:

The Associated Actresses of America,  
The White Rats Publishing Company,  
The White Rats Realty Company,  
The Associated Actors Company (theatre proprietors),

The Keystone Amusement Company (theatre proprietors),

And the Lancaster Amusement Company, who are part and parcel of the order.

As to the Associated Actresses, we find they pay initiation fees and dues, yet have no voice or vote on affairs affecting them, or an accounting of their money.

We find that there is no "local union" form of organization within this "membership corporation," with the exception of "German" and "Hebrew" locals, who have "local autonomy."

We also find that "branches" are established in various cities of the "country," with a representative in charge chosen by the New York officials.

When meetings are held, no measures of importance can be adopted without the approval of the "Board of Directors" in New York City. All discussion on "Local Autonomy" is strictly prohibited and

members have been summarily expelled for advocating same.

We find that where charges are preferred against any member of the "order," the member so charged is compelled to appear (either in person or by representative member), in the City of New York, to stand trial, at their own expense—irrespective of their residence—and if found guilty there is no recourse except through the courts.

We find that legislation for or against local conditions must be referred to the New York officials of the Order for final action thereon.

The complainants in support of the "local union" form of government stated that there were upwards of 2,000 resident actors in Chicago and vicinity who "book" in and out of this city. Similar conditions exist in other large cities of the country.

They further contended that the best interests of the organization would be protected in having "local autonomy."

The defense claimed that the actors were "here to-day and gone to-morrow" and maintained that to be successful they must travel from city to city, giving this as one of the main reasons why "local autonomy" could not be established in the "order."

From the evidence presented, your committee believe that the future best interests of the White Rats Actors' Unions of America can best be served by the establishment of "Local Autonomy" and other changes necessary to conform to the "fundamental laws" of the A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, President Gompers has officially notified protesting members of the White Rats Actors' Union of America, incorporated, in Chicago, that "all letters and documents would be turned over to the coming convention at Rochester, N. Y.," and

WHEREAS, Signed charges are submitted in connection with these resolutions, certifying to the violation of the terms of agreement of amalgamation between the White Rats of America and the Actors' International Union, which charges are signed by members of the aforesaid White Rats Actors' Union of America incorporated; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this annual convention of the American Federation of America, held in the city of Rochester, N. Y., does hereby instruct its President to select an impartial committee of three, who shall make complete and thorough investigation of the charges and findings as set forth in these resolutions, they shall submit their findings to this convention with the proper recommendation thereon.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 48—By Delegate James P. Holland, Central Federated Union of Greater New York and vicinity.

WHEREAS, The ultimate aim of the labor movement is industrial emancipation, which means the abolition of wage-slavery and voluntary servitude;

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor and its affiliated state federations have devoted their energies to the

enactment of national, state and territorial labor laws as well as to the embodying of provisions for the protection of labor in several state constitutions;

WHEREAS, The decisions of the United States Supreme Court in injunction and labor cases have conclusively shown that there are provisions in the Federal constitution which have erected a wall for the protection of capitalist interests as against the interest of the toiling millions, and that no thoroughly effective and beneficial labor legislation can be secured unless the United States constitution be so amended as to wipe out the two classes of master and servant, as provided thereunder at present;

WHEREAS, Logically and inevitably the next great step in the struggle of the oppressed to secure the recognition of rights to which the toiling millions of our country are justly entitled, is the demand and propagandism for a labor amendment to the United States constitution, ordaining that neither wage-slavery nor voluntary servitude shall exist within the United States or any place subject to their jurisdiction, and embodying the legislative demands of the American Federation of Labor, which shall bring about the industrial emancipation of all toilers; and

WHEREAS, A petition to Congress, bearing primarily a petition to the American people, is circulated and has been endorsed by the representative bodies of organized labor in New York City and New York State, which petition reads as follows:

The Honorable, the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress Assembled.

Gentlemen:

The undersigned constituents petition your honorable bodies to propose to the legislatures of the several states the following article as an amendment to the constitution of the United States.

And your petitioners will ever pray, etc.

#### ARTICLE XVII.

Section I. Neither wage-slavery nor voluntary servitude shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

Sec. II. The Congress shall have power:

1. To acquire all lands, forests, watersheds, lakes, rivers, mines, oil wells, quarries, railroads, ferries, bridges, marines, telegraphs, telephones, express services, and all movable, and immovable, means of production, transport, exchange, distribution and communication.

2. To regulate private services, agriculture, intrastate commerce, imports and exports; and to provide for the occupation of all persons who are able to work in such work as they are qualified to perform, and for the care of all persons who are unable to work.

3. To establish the prices of all commodities, a uniform work day, a uniform scale of compensation for work and services, a uniform educational, and sanitary system, so as to prevent the jeopardy of

life and limb, and to protect the health, of all persons engaged in agricultural, industrial, commercial, and vocational pursuits; but sumptuary legislation shall be prohibited within the jurisdiction of the United States.

4. To regulate all money, banking, savings, and insurance institutions; but the delegation of power to issue currency shall be prohibited, and all treasury notes of the United States shall be legal tender.

5. To establish a uniform rate of interest, not exceeding two per centum per annum, and to regulate the payment of all interest-bearing public and private debts, loans, liens, and mortgages; and thereafter all interest-bearing debts, loans, liens, and mortgages shall be prohibited.

6. To restore to the people all lands and franchises alienated from the people; and thereafter the alienation of lands and franchises from the people shall be prohibited.

7. To establish uniform rules for all National, State, County, Communal, and Industrial, elections; but the right of the citizens of the United States, being twenty-one years of age, to vote shall not be denied or abridged on account of race, color, creed, or sex.

8. To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and for enforcing the provisions of this article.

Resolved, By the American Federation of Labor in the thirty-second annual convention assembled, that the representatives in Congress be and hereby are authorized to introduce in Congress said petition for a labor amendment to the United States constitution, when offered them by their signers.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 49—By Delegate Edw. C. Streile, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders:

WHEREAS, The policy of the American Federation of Labor is to further legislation in the interest of humanity, and the better education of the children of America; and

WHEREAS, The education of the child is conducted by the State; and

WHEREAS, Uniform school books, properly selected, with a consequent state course of study, tend to a higher degree of efficiency at a reduced cost to the taxpayers; and

WHEREAS, State uniformity of school books, in connection with the Federal copyright law, aids in the control of the school book monopoly; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in its 32d Annual Convention assembled, endorse State uniformity of school books, whether furnished free or by individual purchase, and hereby instructs its Executive Council to further and support, by all honorable means, all just laws, in the interest of the people, and not in the interest of the publishers.

Referred to Committee on Education.



**Resolution No. 50—By Delegate Oscar F. Nelson of the National Federation of Postoffice Clerks:**

WHEREAS, The last session of Congress enacted into law provisions that have liberated not only the postal employees but the 400,000 workers in the civil service of the Federal Government from the Executive orders commonly known as the "gag" rules, which deprived them of their rights as American citizens; and

WHEREAS, By the enactment of such provisions not only were the Executive "gag" orders nullified and our right of free speech restored but the right to organize and affiliate with such organizations as the A. F. of L. was established as a statutory provision of our Federal law; and

WHEREAS, The National Federation of Postoffice Clerks recognizes with deep gratitude the fact that the enactment of such provisions together with the notable achievement of the enactment of a law providing for an 8-hour workday for the postoffice clerks and letter carriers were the direct result of the moral support given by the American Federation of Labor and the efficient and effective work done by President Gompers, Secretary Morrison, Arthur E. Holder and John Moffitt of the Legislative Committee of the A. F. of L. in appearing before committees of Congress in behalf of such provisions; and

WHEREAS, The National Federation of Postoffice Clerks, now that the right of affiliation has been established by law, conscious of the fact that all remedial legislation that the postal employees have ever received has come either directly or indirectly by the assistance of the A. F. of L., and recognizing the common interests of all wage-earners whether in public or private employ, are conducting a vigorous organization campaign among the Postoffice Clerks; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, do hereby, through our officers, instruct all organizers of this body and advise all central bodies that they assist in bringing about a closer federation of all postal employes by inviting the rank and file of the letter carriers, railway mail clerks and rural carriers to become affiliated with their fellow workers in the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

**Resolution No. 51—By Delegate Oscar F. Nelson of the National Federation of Postoffice Clerks:**

WHEREAS, The National Federation of Postoffice Clerks in convention assembled has instructed its officers to endeavor to have the law classifying their salaries amended so as to provide a wage that will permit them to maintain decent living conditions for their families and themselves; and

WHEREAS, The Postoffice Clerks are wholly without redress for themselves or families in the event they are injured or killed in the performance of duty in that they cannot sue the Government and have therefore instructed their officers to seek to have established by law a provision that will establish the Government's liability and provide compensation in cases where they are injured or killed while on duty; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, do hereby instruct our Legislative Committee to assist the officers of the National Federation of Postoffice Clerks in every way possible to have such legislation enacted into law.

Referred to Committee on President's Report.

**Resolution No. 52—By Delegate Fred Brockhausen of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor:**

WHEREAS, A number of State branches favor bi-annual conferences for the purpose of concerted action in the matter of State labor legislation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council is hereby instructed and authorized to assist in the arrangements of a conference of representatives of State branches to be held at a centrally located point of the country some time between August 1 and December 31 of the year 1913.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**Resolution No. 53—By Delegate Fred Brockhausen, of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor:**

WHEREAS, The Constitution of the United States guarantees trial by jury; and

WHEREAS, This guarantee has been set aside because of usurpation by our Courts; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council and the Legislative Committee shall demand of Congress to set aside the ruling of the Courts and restore to the people the Constitution as guarantee.

Referred to Committee on President's Report.

**Resolution No. 54—By Delegate Fred Brockhausen, of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor:**

RESOLVED, The Executive Council is hereby instructed and authorized to secure from all its directly and indirectly affiliated organizations having labels, trade marks or shop cards, all items of expense in maintaining, operating and defending such labels, marks or cards, covering a period of twelve months between January 1911 and January 1912; and further

**RESOLVED**, That the result of this investigation be compiled in detail and reported in printed form to the next convention.

Referred to Committee on Labels.

Resolution No. 55—By Delegates Edw. V. Wood, Syracuse, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Assembly; Homer D. Call, Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen; E. A. Bates, Utica Trades Assembly; Henry Prinz, New York State Federation; Daniel Harris, Cigarmakers International Union; James C. Brower, Poughkeepsie Trades and Labor Council; J. P. Coughlin, Brooklyn Central Labor Union:

**WHEREAS**, The Executive Council of the A. F. of L. has recommended a Labor Forward Movement as outlined by Samuel Gompers in the October Federationist and submitted to this body in the report of the Executive Council; and

**WHEREAS**, Since the issue of the October Federationist, three cities in the state of New York have started to put the suggestion into practice; and

**WHEREAS**, The field for organization in this section is large and fertile; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That this 32nd Convention of the American Federation of Labor approve and it hereby does approve the recommendations for a revival or Labor Forward Movement as outlined and recommended by the Executive Council; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That this convention authorize and it does hereby authorize the inauguration of the Labor Forward Movement in the state of New York as the starting point of the country-wide movement, to be started as early in January, 1913, as it is possible for arrangements to be made and be conducted under the supervision of the State Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 56 — By Delegate Sol. Sontheimer, Hartford, Conn., Central Labor Union:

**WHEREAS**, There are several local unions in the city of Hartford, Conn., to wit: the painters, decorators and paperhangers, the sheet metal workers, the slate and tile roofers, the bridge and structural iron workers, the tile layers and helpers, the wood, wire and metal lathers affiliated with their internationals, which are in turn affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and with the Building Trades Department of the A. F. of L. and with the Building Trades Council of this city, and there are other local unions that are eligible, namely, those of the United Association of Plumbers, Gas

Fitters, Steam Fitters and Steam Fitters' Helpers and of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, but which persistently refuse to affiliate with the local Building Trades Council; and

**WHEREAS**, The local Council has, for more than two years, used every endeavor to get these locals to affiliate, having had the co-operation of the Building Trades Department of the A. F. of L. and of the American Federation of Labor itself, which delegated Special Organizer Henry Streifer to assist in persuading these delinquent locals to affiliate and yet they persistently refuse to do so, meeting every friendly advance with contempt; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That we report said action on their part to the convention of the American Federation of Labor and request that a strong protest be sent directly from the convention of the A. F. of L. in session at Rochester, N. Y., to the delinquent locals, condemning them for their reactionary attitude towards the local Building Trades Council of the Building Trades Department of the A. F. of L.; and be it

**RESOLVED**, That we request the said convention to urge the forthcoming convention of the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor to take drastic measures with said delinquent locals, to the end that they may be shown that in the event of their more persistent non-affiliation with the local Council, their charters shall become endangered.

Referred to Committee on Building Trades.

Resolution No. 57—By the Lynn, Mass., Central Labor Union:

**WHEREAS**, There are from eighteen to twenty thousand members of independent and dual organizations to the A. F. of L. who are continually adding to their membership in Lynn, Mass.; and

**WHEREAS**, There is a large plant in the western part of the city known as the General Electric Company, employing fourteen thousand of the following trades: painters, carpenters, steam fitters, electricians, machinists, pattern makers, molders, engineers, and others who are unorganized; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the A. F. of L. send an organizer to the city of Lynn, Mass., to assist in the organizing of this plant; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the convention urge upon all national and international organizations having jurisdiction over the above mentioned trades to send an organizer to take up immediately the work of organizing this plant.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

At 12:30 the convention was adjourned, to reconvene at 2 p. m.

## Third Day—Wednesday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2 o'clock p. m., Wednesday, November 13th, President Gompers in the chair.

**Absentees** — Noschang, Klapetzky, Kline, Barnes, Zuckerman, Yount, Ford, Harnahan, Dolan, Conway, Dyche, Taggart, Bryan, Healey, Price, Tazelaar, Sheret, Murphy, Whitehead, Malin, Miller, Gallagher, Ryan, Taber, Huddleston, Welch, Tobin, Swick, Darling, Sullivan (James) Laurentz, Tharp, Campbell, Sause, Glidden, Landers, Burke, Hicks, Diehl, Elyca, Doherty, Evans, Ferguson, Face, Morgan, Stokes, Voll, Lampa, Cunningham, Beckman, Plasterer, Labbee.

Secretary Morrison read the following telegram:

"Washington, D. C., November 13, 1910.  
"Samuel Gompers, President American Federation of Labor,  
Rochester, N. Y.

"Following cable from Porto Rico repeated:

"Porto Rico Labor Federation extends fraternal greetings to you and delegates in convention assembled, and wish great success. We earnestly request the convention to pass strong resolution asking the United States Senate to pass pending bill granting American citizenship to Porto Ricans. Organized labor in the Island will progress wonderfully with definite status of our people.

"Santiago Igelsias, President Porto Rico Federation of Labor."

Discussion was resumed on the motion pending at the time of the adjournment, in regard to seating of the representatives of the International Association of Steam and Hot Water Fitters.

Vice-President Alpine spoke at length in favor of the pending motion and opposed seating the representatives of the International Association. He referred at length to the work of the United Association and of the protection afforded by that organization to all members of the pipe fitting trades. He referred briefly to the past history of both organizations and the controversy that has existed between them for years. He quoted at length from proceedings of former conventions and from various letters and documents in regard to the case.

Delegate Furuseth spoke at length in opposition to the pending motion and

urged the seating of the representatives of the International Association.

Delegate Holland (J. P.) opposed the pending motion and spoke in favor of seating the representatives of the International Association.

Delegate Short, President of the Building Trades Department, discussed the question briefly and defended the action of the conventions and the executive councils of both the American Federation of Labor and the Building Trades Department.

On a question of personal privilege Mr. Mangan was given the floor to reply to some statements in regard to himself made by one of the speakers.

Vice-President O'Connell in the chair. President Gompers discussed the question at length. During his discussion he referred briefly to the action of the Atlanta convention of the American Federation of Labor and the action of the Executive Council.

On motion of Delegate Campbell debate was closed.

On a question of personal privilege Mr. Kinsella was given the floor to make a brief reply to a statement made by Delegate Alpine.

The motion offered by Delegate Campbell was read by Secretary Morrison.

Delegate Furuseth—I ask for a division of the motion. It is capable, I think, of being divided. It contains two points, one an endorsement of the action of the Executive Council, for which I would like to vote aye; the other a denial of the right to a seat to the Steam Fitters, on which I would like to vote no.

Chairman O'Connell—The chair rules that the motion is not subject to division; that it covers one question.

Delegate Furuseth—Does the adoption of this motion mean the expulsion, or the cancellation of the charter of the Steam Fitters?

Chairman O'Connell—The question is not mentioned in the resolution.

Delegate Furuseth—I want to understand what I am voting on. Am I voting

to expel the Steam Fitters, or to revoke their charter, or am I voting to endorse the action of the Executive Council?

Chairman O'Connell—You are voting on the seating of the delegates of the Steam Fitters in this convention.

Delegate Furuseth—Does that mean their charter is revoked already or that this convention will revoke it.

Chairman O'Connell—The provision of the law requiring the revocation of a charter would require an entirely different vote from what is now being taken.

Delegate Furuseth—In other words, there will be another opportunity in this convention, presumably, to vote on whether the charter shall be revoked.

Chairman O'Connell—The chair is not in a position to state what action will be taken later by the convention.

A viva voce vote was taken on the motion offered by Delegate Campbell.

Chairman O'Connell—The motion seems to be adopted.

Delegate Furuseth—I would like to have a roll call on that.

The request was not supported by a sufficient number of delegates to warrant the calling of the roll.

President Gompers—I would ask the division by a show of hands.

The suggestion of President Gompers was complied with, and a count by the Secretary and Assistant Secretary showed that 192 votes were cast in the affirmative and 31 in the negative.

The chairman announced that the motion offered by Delegate Campbell was carried.

Resolution No. 53—By Delegate Henry Prinz, New York State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The Hat and Cap Leather Sweat Band Cutters Union, No. 11,307, of New York, on account of its isolation as a federal union from all affiliated unions connected with their craft, are unable to displace non-union sweat bands from union made hats; and

WHEREAS, The A. F. of L. has declared for one organization for each trade, which we heartily endorse, and which would greatly benefit this union; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the A. F. of L. use its influence to the effect that the Hat and Cap Leather Sweat Band Cutters Union become part of the United Hatters of North America, or the Hat Trimmers Union, as a subordinate body in order to

secure relief that is absolutely necessary for the maintenance and existence of their organization.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.  
Resolution No. 53—By A. A. Myrup, Henry Koch and J. Goldstone of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers International Union of America:

WHEREAS, The label of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers International Union of America represents bread and other bakery and confectionery goods made under fair and sanitary conditions, honest wages, living hours and by union men; and

WHEREAS, The label of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers International Union of America is the only means of distinguishing union from non-union; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, re-endorse the label of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers International Union of America; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That every member of each affiliated union be, and is hereby requested to ask for the union label on all products he or she may purchase, thereby showing or proving his or her loyalty to the cause of unionism in a substantial manner.

Referred to Committee on Labels.

Resolution No. 60—By A. A. Myrup, Henry Koch and J. Goldstone of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America:

WHEREAS, The Bakery and Confectionery Workers International Union of America for the past nineteen months has been engaged in a life and death struggle against the non-union monopolization of the bread industry by what is known as the bread trust, which is composed of the various gigantic baking concerns, such as the Ward Baking Company, operating in localities of such cities as New York, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Boston and Providence, and are the non-union manufacturers of what is known as the "Tip-Top" bread, and another component part of the bread trust known as the General Baking Company, operating at present in the localities of over thirty of the larger cities and are the non-union manufacturers of various brands of bread, such as "Pan Dandy," "Butter Crust," "Mighty Nice"; and

WHEREAS, Persons financially backing this bread trust and the methods used by this combination are identical with persons financially interested in the steel trust, and the methods used (such as the welfare plan) are a duplicate of those used in the steel industry to successfully exterminate organized labor; and

WHEREAS, The intended non-union monopolization of the bread industry, if successfully accomplished, will not alone

mean the exclusion of all organized labor from the bread industry, but will also thereby place at the mercy of the magnates of the Bread Trust the bread-consuming public and dictate to them under which terms and at what prices they shall eat bread, the main staff of life; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor, in Convention assembled, denounce this intended monopolization of the bread industry, and that it endorses the anti-bread trust fight now being waged against the bread trust by the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor pledges itself to do all it consistently can to assist the Bakery Workers to create a healthy public sentiment in opposition to this non-union bread trust monopoly, to which end the President of the American Federation of Labor be directed to issue a letter containing this resolution to all international and national unions, state and city central bodies, and affiliated unions, the labor press, and to the organizers of the American Federation of Labor, requesting that they give their assistance and support to the Bakery and Confectionery Workers International Union of America in the anti-bread trust fight conducted by this organization.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts.

**Resolution No. 61—By H. P. Corcoran, State Federation of Labor, West Virginia:**

**WHEREAS**, Thousands of men are employed on the industrial field engaged in the manufacture of stogies, one-half of whom are organized; and

**WHEREAS**, Through the effort of organization we have secured a higher standard of wages and better working conditions, which is also characteristic of the cigar making trade; and

**WHEREAS**, We believe that an amalgamation of the cigar and stogie trades would result in the elimination of much of the non-union product now being sold; and

**WHEREAS**, Conferences have been held at various times between the executive officers of the International Cigar Makers Union and the National Stogie Makers League for the purpose of amalgamating the two branches, at which conferences they were not able to arrive at a basis of amalgamation, satisfactory to both sides; and

**WHEREAS**, These conferences were held in conformity with the policy of the A. F. of L. with reference to the two organizations combining, and failure on the part of both organizations in arriving at a satisfactory solution of the problem which has been resultant in the application of the Stogie Workers being refused a charter from the A. F. of L., and being refused, we still believe that further efforts should be made to bring the two organization together; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That this convention take some action looking towards a better and more thorough organization of both branches of this industry in the interest of those dependent upon the industry and in the interest of the general labor movement.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

**Resolution No. 62—By Delegate James Wilson, Pattern Makers League:**

**WHEREAS**, There is now pending in the Senate a bill which has passed the House of Representatives, creating a separate Department of Labor with a Secretary at its head who shall be a member of the President's Cabinet; and

**WHEREAS**, The men selected by the Presidents to serve as secretaries of the various departments have almost invariably been lawyers, professional or business men, whose environment, interests and standards are usually not in harmony or sympathy with those of the working people; and

**WHEREAS**, The contemplated department cannot be representative of labor, unless the Secretary who directs its operations and determines its policies is cognizant of labor's purposes and the forces that have shaped them, and is thereby fitted to be labor's spokesman in the Cabinet of the President of the United States; and

**WHEREAS**, This Secretary cannot be truly representative of labor unless selected by the only agency by which the working people as such have the means of giving expression to their wishes; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That this Convention of the A. F. of L. instruct its authorized representatives to use every honorable means to have this bill enacted into law; that members of all affiliated organizations be urged to use their influence with their respective Representatives and Senators to the same end; and furthermore, that the A. F. of L., in Convention assembled, do demand the appointment of a recognized representative member of organized labor for the office of Secretary of the department to be created, and do authorize and direct the Executive Council to present names to the President of the United States from which to select a secretary for the said department.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**Resolution No. 63—By Delegate Agnes Nestor, International Glove Workers Union of America:**

**WHEREAS**, A controversy has existed between the Saranac Glove Company of Littleton, N. H., and the Glove Workers Union of that city since October, 1910, because of the discharge of a number of men, all of whom had been employed by the company for a number of years, for refusing to give up their membership in the Glove Workers Union; and

WHEREAS, The Atlanta Convention of the A. F. of L. adopted a resolution instructing the Executive Council to endeavor to effect an adjustment of the question in controversy; and

WHEREAS, Repeated efforts have been made since that time by representatives of the A. F. of L. and the International Glove Workers Union to reach an agreement with the Saranac Glove Company, but without success; and

WHEREAS, The product of the company is sold largely among the working people, particularly railroad men; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That another effort be made by the Executive Council to reach an agreement and if this is not effected within sixty days, that the Executive Council be authorized to thoroughly advertise the attitude of this company, among the organized workers of the company, particularly the railroad workers and unions in the district where this product is sold.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

At 4:45 p. m. the convention was adjourned, to reconvene at 9:30 a. m., Thursday, November 14th.

## Fourth Day—Thursday Morning Session

The convention was called to order at 9:30 a. m., Thursday, November 14th. President Gompers in the chair.

**Absentees**—Noschang, Klapetzky, Thoman, Gengenbach, Tracy (Thos.), Zuckerman, Yount, Ford, Feeney, Rosenberg, Nestor, Bryan, Healey, Price, Hannah, Leonard, Murphy, Whitehead, Miller, Hanson, Huddleston, Grimshaw, Welsh, Carolan, Swick, Smith (Frank), Sause, Glidden, Burke, Hicks, Burns, Elvea, Doherty, Ferguson, Morgan, Stokes, Voll, Duffy, Lawler, Lampa, Beckman.

### Report of Auditing Committee.

Rochester, N. Y., November 11, 1912.  
To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, Greeting:

The undersigned Auditing Committee, who were selected to audit the books and accounts of Secretary Frank Morrison and Treasurer John B. Lennon, beg leave to submit their report, as follows:

### RECEIPTS.

Income from October 1, 1911, to September 30, 1912:

Per capita tax .....	\$153,433.89
Supplies .....	9,508.51
Interest .....	4,591.32
American Federationist .....	17,240.19
Assessment United Hatters .....	653.36
Defense Fund, Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions .....	19,336.26
Premiums on bonds of officers of affiliated unions .....	2,710.07
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>\$207,373.60</b>
Balance on hand September 30, 1911 .....	189,579.56
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>\$396,953.16</b>

### EXPENSES.

Expenses from October 1, 1911 to September 30, 1912, inclusive:

General expenses .....	\$183,361.53
Defense Fund for Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions .....	67,455.33
American Federationist .....	18,731.77
Assessment for United Hatters .....	5,841.45
Premiums on Bonds .....	2,089.15
<b>Total expenses for the year ..</b>	<b>\$277,479.23</b>

### RECAPITULATION.

On hand October 1, 1911 .....	\$189,579.56
<b>Total receipts .....</b>	<b>207,373.60</b>
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>\$396,953.16</b>
Disbursements .....	277,479.23
<b>Balance on hand September 30, 1912 .....</b>	<b>\$119,473.93</b>
<b>In General Fund .....</b>	<b>\$33,810.66</b>
<b>In Defense Fund for Local Trade and Federal Unions ....</b>	<b>85,663.27</b>
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>\$119,473.93</b>

The above sum of \$119,473.93 is distributed as follows:

McLean County Bank certificate of deposit bearing 3 per cent interest:

Certificate No. 2655 .....	\$10,000.00
Certificate No. 2702 .....	5,000.00
Certificate No. 2703 .....	5,000.00
Certificate No. 2704 .....	5,000.00
Certificate No. 2705 .....	5,000.00
Certificate No. 2706 .....	5,000.00
Certificate No. 2707 .....	5,000.00
Certificate No. 2708 .....	10,000.00
Certificate No. 2709 .....	10,000.00
Certificate No. 2710 .....	10,000.00
Certificate No. 2711 .....	10,000.00
Certificate No. 2712 .....	10,000.00
Certificate No. 2714 .....	10,000.00

<b>Total .....</b>	<b>\$100,000.00</b>
McLean County Bank in name of John B. Lennon, subject to check .....	17,473.93
In name of Frank Morrison, Riggs National Bank, subject to check, September 30, 1912 ...	7,623.20
<b>Outstanding checks .....</b>	<b>\$125,097.13</b>
<b>September 30, 1912, balance on hand .....</b>	<b>\$119,473.93</b>

In auditing the accounts your committee were shown every courtesy by Mr. Morrison and his assistants, and we take this occasion to compliment him and his very able assistants for the creditable manner in which the accounts are kept and the affairs of the American Federation of Labor in his office conducted.

Respectfully submitted,

EDW. J. MARX, Chairman,  
W. A. NEER,  
DUNCAN McDONALD, Secretary.

On motion the report was adopted.

Secretary Morrison read the following telegrams:

"Globe, Arizona, November 13, 1912.

"Samuel Gompers, President:

"The Arizona State Federation of Labor in session at Globe extends its best wishes for the deliberations of the A. F. of L.

"J. C. PROVOST,  
President,

"H. F. DEWINTON,  
Secretary."

"New Haven, Conn., November 13, 1912.

"Samuel Gompers, President American Federation of Labor, Convention Hall, Rochester:

"The Cigar Makers Union 39 of New Haven, Conn., in meeting assembled, extends fraternal greetings to the delegates composing the convention and expresses the hope that their deliberations and actions will result in advancing the progress toward the final emancipation of the working class of this continent.

"F. A. GRUBE,  
"Financial Secretary-Treasurer."

## Report of Fraternal Delegates to the British Trades Union Congress.

To the American Federation of Labor in Convention, Rochester, N. Y., November, 1912:

**GREETINGS:** In response to the honor and instructions conferred by the American Federation of Labor, your delegates to the British Trades Union Congress beg to submit herewith for the consideration of the labor movement of North America as expressed through the medium of the American Federation of Labor, their report.

We submit to the convention only those matters that especially attracted our attention and which in our opinion would be of the greatest interest to our movement generally.

The British Trades Union Congress convened at Newport, Wales, Monday, September the second, the convention being called to order and presided over by Mr. Will Thorne, M. P., and Secretary of the Gasworkers and General Laborers' organization. The Congress, like the movement generally throughout all the nations of the world, showed a marked increase in membership, it being reported as the largest Congress that had ever been held in the history of the forty-five years of the Congress' existence. At the session of 1911 the membership totaled 1,662,133; the delegation in the 1912 Congress represented a membership of 1,871,109, showing a net increase for the year of 208,976. This increase eclipsed all records in the history of the English movement with the exception of the year 1890. From our point of view this remarkable gain in numerical strength is primarily due to the especial activity displayed by the organizations affiliated with the Congress, and their struggles and successes in the past two years. While the general improvements resulting from the campaigns have not been entirely satisfactory, yet the evidence of strength found in collective action has encouraged the workers to greater efforts of organization and their loyalty to the trades union movement.

It is hardly necessary for your delegates to draw a comparison between the standard of wages of the workers of England and the compensation received by the

workers of our country, this phase of the movement having been reported on so often in the past. It is, however, worth noting that the increased cost of living while much lower there than in our country, shows a gradual advance from the standard existing in 1911. The unrest is of natural consequence increasing and the margin or profit of even the best paid artisans of England is less than the profits above the necessities of living received by the workers of our country. In the unskilled trades and among the women workers the wages received are far inferior to the standard set in this country and indeed it is hard to realize how the unskilled workers in miscellaneous trades are able to work out an existence from the compensation received. It is noteworthy, however, that the women in the textile industry under the very able leadership of former delegates to the American Federation of Labor from England, Messrs. Mullin and Crinlon, receive a higher compensation than the workers in the same industry in this country, but this we found as a general exception and it was freely acknowledged that there are two millions or more of women workers in Great Britain receiving less than 10s, or \$2.40 per week, covering a work-day of from twelve to fourteen hours.

The hours of labor of the workers of many industries in England, organized and unorganized, are as long as the wages are low. We were greatly impressed with this phase of the economic situation because in the opinion of your delegates it established the answer to the unemployment conditions of the large industrial centers of that country. We are pleased to announce, however, that the agitation for a shorter work-day is received with greater consideration by organized labor and its sympathizers in Great Britain today than it has ever been in the past, and we may expect within the very near future efforts renewed, and with greater determination, for a more equitable arrangement of the work-day. Your representatives to the Congress laid especial stress upon this phase of the situation, urging that the greatest possible effort be



put forth in the better distribution of the work among the workers and those who would work if it were possible to do so.

In referring to the miscellaneous trades and the unorganized workers, your representatives to the Congress urged the adoption of a union label to the end that the purchasing power of the organized workers of England might be directed into channels that would assure the producers a respectable livelihood and a work-day of reasonable length. As has been reported by former delegates to Great Britain, there is little known of the union label and its possibilities. A great many of the delegates to the Congress, however, whom we met, in private conversation expressed great interest in the possibilities of the union label and evidenced the keenest interest in our label campaign advanced by the American Federation of Labor through the instrumentality of the Label Trades Department and label leagues. While to some of the delegates a label campaign seemed like an insurmountable obstacle to overcome at this late date, yet others were of the opinion that it could be inaugurated on even a more substantial basis than the label movement in America, and in this belief your representatives joined, because it would be possible to establish greater uniformity in the label and thereby a better understanding of its representation, in that there are no conflicting labels in use at the present time.

Your representatives were especially interested in the mode of procedure of the convention and in many ways a superiority was evidenced. This was particularly noticeable in the facilitation of the business of the convention through the arrangement of an agenda in advance and served upon the delegates elect, prior to the convention. There are no permanent officers other than the secretary. The Parliamentary Committee, however, acts between conventions in about the same capacity as our Executive Council, except that all industries are represented on that body by whatever officers or members the unions having jurisdiction in the respective industries select to act for them. There is no president on salary, as we have. The man who presides over the Congress is selected by the Parliamentary Committee under the rule that no one will act in that capacity more than once until all of the organizations represented in the Parliamentary Committee shall have had that honor. The International Mining Congress operates on about the same plan. There seems to be a growing sentiment and tendency in favor of one organization having jurisdiction over each industry and all workers in any industry belonging to one organization.

As has been referred to by previous representatives to the Congress, consideration of political action forms one of the most important departments of the Congress and of the movement in England, the Labor Party being an offshoot, or in reality a department, of the British Trades Union Congress. There can be no denial of the fact that the Labor Party

under the direction of the Congress has made remarkable strides in forcing home needful legislation for the workers of that country. At the present time they have forty-one representatives in the House of Commons. Their leader, Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, has shown exceptional ability, and he, in common with the full representation in the House of Commons, commands the fullest respect of the workers of Great Britain as well as of the liberal thinking citizenship. During strikes, on account of having their own political party, they have readier access to and more influence with the government than they had previously, and through government investigations and otherwise making public the situation from a worker's point of view, substantial assistance has been rendered towards getting the disputes settled favorably to the unions.

In the Congress, also in the Miner's Executive Board meetings and conventions and in the meetings of the local unions, they discuss and agree on a course of action on the political questions with the same freedom and to the same extent in detail that they do the questions of wages, hours and conditions of labor. This, we understand, is also true of the other trade unions of that country. Because many of the political questions and remedial laws affect seriously the health, safety, hours of labor and even the wages of the members, as well as the care of their children and their education, also their own living, in case of incapacity through injury, disease or old age, the members of the unions there are intensely interested in seeing that everything is done that can be done for themselves by the use of their votes. The organization of their political party, the success achieved by it, and the continual exchange of views among the members, as well as the work of education carried on by the Labor Party, have done an immense work in educating the workers politically. Old prejudices and superstitions on this subject have been eliminated, and a great impetus has been given to the labor movement in its every phase. The workers have been inspired with a stronger faith in themselves and they have been given greater hope than ever before that they will accomplish the things which as trade unionists they set out to do, and which must be done before they have solved the labor problems of their time in such a way as to give them and their families the best living that the application of their labor power in the most intelligent manner, along with the utilization of all inventions and discoveries made, together with the natural resources of their country, can give them.

Through the combination of the Liberal Party, the Irish Party and the Labor Party a liberal government is now in power, and while the Labor Party is not expected to secure the fullest consideration, yet there is evidence already that practical results can be expected in greater proportion in the future than have been in the past. In July of this year (1912) there became effective

a National Insurance Act, applicable six months later (January 15, 1913). This act is very largely of a compulsory nature, and with certain exceptions applies to all persons of either sex and of any nationality between the ages of sixteen and sixty-five. The minimum benefits to be derived from the Insurance Act are medical, sanatorium, sickness, disablement and maternity. The medical benefit insures free medical attention and medicine. The sanatorium benefit insures free treatment for tuberculosis or other diseases at the various sanatoriums to be established, also tents, shelters, or through the medium of home dispensaries as the case in question may warrant. The sickness benefit is paid to those coming within the scope of the law and rendered incapable of work by some specific disease or by bodily or mental disablement after notice has been given in accordance with the plan as outlined by the act; the benefits to be paid for a period not exceeding twenty-six weeks—the person receiving the benefit must have actually ceased work and received a doctor's certificate to the effect that he is suffering from the disease or disablement stipulated. The rate paid for the sick benefit arrangement is: Men, 10s., or \$2.40 per week; women, 7s. 6d., or \$1.80 per week. The benefits for young persons under 21 and unmarried are: Men, 6s., or \$1.44 for the first thirteen weeks, and 5s., or \$1.20 for the second thirteen weeks; women coming under the unmarried arrangement, 5s., or \$1.20 for the first thirteen weeks, and 4s. or 96c for the second thirteen weeks. The disablement benefits provide 5s. or \$1.20 per week for men and 4s. or 96c per week for women, the only provision being that the person to be entitled to the disablement benefits shall have been a weekly contributor for 104 weeks. Arrangement for additional benefits is provided immediately upon the fund reaching certain proportions; these additional benefits are tabulated and the memorandum of same, while not being a part of the law, is recognized as the established plan of procedure in the event of such surplus. A provision of the act also provides that a future Parliament may extend the benefits beyond the tabulated additional benefits if there is still further surplus from the funds. The funds are raised from, first, a direct appropriation from Parliament; second, compulsory contributions from employers; third, compulsory contributions from the employes; and fourth, from the regular contributions by Parliament upon each individual contributor. Every working man is required to pay 2½d. or 5c per week, and every employer is required to pay on each and every employe in his employment the same amount as the workmen, and Parliament is required to pay one-third of the total contributions received from employers and workmen during each year. The rate indicated above is for workmen above the age of 18. In case of a workman under the age of 18, the employer and the employe are required to pay 1d., or 2c per week.

There can be no question as to the great importance of the Insurance Act to the

poor. Indeed, it is the most effective blow that could be given to poverty in the congested industrial districts of a very congested country like England. It is claimed by those members of the Congress with whom your representatives discussed the matter, that statistics show that at least 30% of all pauperism in their country could be attributed to sickness, and the fact that over fourteen millions of people will be brought under the free medical act, is substantial proof of the claim. There can be no doubt that the act will do much in the elimination of contagious diseases, particularly consumption, because the possibilities for immediate treatment of the diseases of the workman are established, and he will more willingly seek medical advice when he knows of the protection derived through the disablement benefit for his family. There are, of course, in the enforcement of the act possibilities detrimental to the economic condition of the worker; while your representatives are not able to report on any specific abuse, yet a reduction in the wages by the employer to meet the payment of the insurance is possible. While under the law the employer is not entitled to deduct from the wages or to recover in any manner the payments on the workmen, yet there is no provision that would prevent the discharging of a workman and his re-employment at a reduced wage, and while after all the Insurance Act is a most happy arrangement for the masses of Great Britain, a strong economic organization is needed in order properly to protect it and to compel the employing classes to pay from the industry the contributions intended by the act.

Another matter which we consider of sufficient importance to mention, is the significance of the recent victory on the part of the Miners' Union of Great Britain in getting a minimum wage law established. Although it is not quite satisfactory in its present status, in that in order not to jeopardize the chances of men for getting work who are partially incapacitated by injury, disease or old age, provisions were made exempting these unfortunates from its operation, and also in some instances the coal operators are trying to make the minimum wage the maximum wage, still as a whole the miners are large gainers by its operation, and the ones who were the most helpless and needed it the worst made the greatest gains. Outside of all this, however, the most important phase of this exceedingly important question is the extent to which it applies to the miners. The nation through that law has gone on record to the effect that employers have not the right to force men to work for less than a living wage, which, in effect, broadly interpreted, also means that the government has declared that every able bodied man who is willing to work is entitled to a living for himself and his dependents. The Labor Party was of substantial assistance to the Miners' Union in this struggle.

It is quite possible that in the coming House of Commons, labor's representatives will introduce a bill regulating the

work-day in all industries on an eight hour basis. This action will be the most advanced step taken by the labor organizations in demanding from the government economic improvements. It is argued, however by many of the leaders of the Congress, that if it is competent for the government to establish a Minimum Wage Act, a Compulsory Insurance Act, and an Eight-Hour Day Act in government works, it is also competent for the government to establish a shorter work-day that will assure better distribution of employment. The efforts of the Congress in this direction, we are sure, will be watched with the greatest interest by the workers of our country as well as the other nations of the world. Various other demands upon the government will be made in the coming session of Parliament by organized labor; many of them having been reported upon by former delegates to the Congress a reiteration we deem unnecessary at this time.

One matter, however, that will be advanced with renewed vigor, will be the Home Rule Bill, which was given unanimous approval by the Congress with instructions to force it through the third passage. The complexion of the House of Commons has not been materially changed since its last passage and your representatives are firmly of the opinion that it will become a law, as it is generally conceded that the King will grant its enactment because of the popular demand for it. While the conditions of Ireland are somewhat unsettled at this time, due to the protest of the citizens of Belfast, yet it is quite evident that the basis of the protest against the Home Rule Bill emanates from the industrial captains of Belfast, the railroad magnates and the land barons of that country who fear the establishment of an Irish Parliament, not so much for the encroachment upon their religious principles as for the fear of an equitable system of taxation, a division of the land, and, possibly to their slight personal disadvantage, an improved economic condition for the workers of Ireland.

The Congress approved of the plan submitted by the Parliamentary Committee for the establishment of a bank to be controlled by the unions. The Congress also endorsed a plan for the establishment of daily newspapers to present the cause of labor. It is with great pleasure that your representatives are able to report the establishment of two daily papers of considerable magnitude in England controlled entirely by organized labor; and in this movement the Congress was as a unit because of the recognition of the absolute necessity of having a medium through which the truth as to labor's position might be disseminated. The position of the capitalistic newspapers of Great Britain is not unlike that of the same class of publications that are constantly misrepresenting labor and its efforts in our country. Our Federation, in the opinion of your delegates, could well follow in the footsteps of the Congress by the establishment of daily publications wherever possible.

The report of the Parliamentary Committee on their success in amalgamating organizations of the various industries into federations was made, and the Committee was congratulated by the Congress on bringing together the building trades organizations into one joint Federation; the plans were unanimously agreed to by the representatives of the various unions and 116,550 ballots were sent to the membership for a vote upon the program agreed to. It was not possible for your delegates to receive full information as to the outcome but from the reports received on our departure, applications and general approvals from the unions were as follows:

	Votes.
Carpenters and Joiners.....	55,000
Operative Plumbers.....	11,350
United Builders' Laborers.....	3,000
Builders' Laborers, National Association .....	4,500
Operative Bricklayers, Manchester Unity .....	1,600
Operative Bricklayers .....	24,000
Operative Stone Masons.....	8,000
Painters and Decorators, London and Provincial .....	600
Plasterers .....	7,600
Street Masons and Pavers.....	1,000

It will be seen by the above that the deepest possible interest is being taken in this movement looking to federation. Other organizations now discussing federations are the Boot and Shoe Operatives, Bakers and Confectioners, Tailors, the Furnishing Trades Organizations and the Printing Trades. The federation of the organizations has already resulted in additional strength and many improvements. This has given encouragement to the cause for joint action. While the Congress unanimously approved of the federation of unions of industries, and unanimously condemned the system of union men working with non-union men, they at the same time administered a severe rebuke to syndicalism, as represented by sabotage, disregard for contracts or laws, general dishonest and destructive methods and general strikes as a panacea for all evils, although the latter action was taken after a heated debate, many, mistaking organization by industries for syndicalism, fighting the resolution until they learned their error.

One of the very important matters before the Congress and a subject which your delegates referred to in their message, was the matter of prevention of war between nations. At the Newcastle session of the British Trades Union Congress, a resolution was adopted requiring the inauguration of a movement to establish peace between the nations of the world. From the resolution developed a petition which is now being circulated among the organized workers and their sympathizers of Great Britain, and which met with the fullest support of the Congress. The petition is to be directed to the Third World's Peace Conference. Your representatives would urge upon the convention of the Federation that favorable consideration be given the

movement for world-wide peace. In all the countries visited and the various conventions that your delegates were fortunate enough to be able to attend, there was an undivided sentiment toward the establishment of a universal brotherhood, and it is the opinion of your representatives that the American Federation of Labor should take the initiative in this great work and invite a conference of the representatives of organized labor from all of the nations of the world, to discuss and devise plans for the assurance of peaceful relationship between the nations, the elimination of the burden of warfare, and the preparation for it. This your representatives would recommend to the convention of the American Federation of Labor.

The Congress in consideration of the growth of the Canadian movement, made provisions by which they will in the future be represented by a delegate in the same manner as is the American Federation of Labor. The first delegate selected was Mr. Will Thorne, Chairman of last year's Parliamentary Committee.

One of the things that attracted our attention while in Great Britain and Ireland was the enormous proportions to which the co-operative movement had grown in those countries. According to the Co-Operative Wholesale Society's Annual for 1911, the total sales for forty-seven years, prior to and including 1908, were approximately \$9,768,901,945. The total profits for the same time returned to the workers themselves as dividends were \$927,716,240. According to the report of the Forty-third Annual Co-Operative Congress, held at Bradford, England, June 5, 1911, there had been employed directly by the Co-Operative Association of Great Britain and Ireland for the year 1910, 122,000 persons, and these employes had received better wages and been given more favorable conditions of employment than even the trade unions had been able to force the private employer to give their members. If it had nothing else to recommend it, the fact that it had benefited those 122,000 men and women workers to that extent would have justified its existence.

These workers were not only employed in the retail branches of this great institution but also in its wholesale concerns, farms, shipyards, factories, etc. The productive establishments owned, controlled and operated by the Wholesale Co-Operative Association of Great Britain produced and sold during the year 1910, 20,000,000 pounds sterling, or \$100,000,000 worth of commodities. The gross sales for all commodities for 1910 were 111,532,779 pounds sterling, or \$557,913,875. The profits which the workers drew in dividends for that period were 12,024,816 pounds sterling, or \$60,124,080.

These figures almost stagger one, and they answer conclusively the cry that the people are not able to manage business and industry intelligently and successfully. This was done in those small countries which are not much greater in area than Illinois. They not only saved themselves \$60,124,080 in that one year

and got it into their own homes and used it for the betterment of themselves, their wives and children, which otherwise would have gone to the middlemen and profitmongers, but also by reason of the influence of the "Co-Op.," as it is familiarly called over there, the private concerns were compelled to furnish purer goods and they dare not combine and raise the price above the cost of production as they are doing in our country. Incidentally it is developing on the part of the workers the capacity and ability to do their own business successfully in every branch of industry. In times of strikes or industrial depressions it is also a powerful influence for the good of the workers, as it does away with the credit system and develops greater self-reliance among its members besides enabling them to save something to strike on. It also has educational bureaus, and a tremendous work is being done in that direction among the working people. It is also the largest single donor, in a charitable way, except possibly the trade union movement itself, to alleviate misery amongst the ranks of the toilers of those lands. In every conceivable way it is working toward the betterment and for the advancement of those who earn their bread in the sweat of their brow. This movement, if established in our country, would be a most efficient corollary of the label movement.

Your representatives desire to express their great appreciation for the honor conferred upon them in making it possible to carry the message of fraternity to the workers of the old country. We profited greatly by the opportunities which the Federation accorded us, not only to secure a fair understanding of the general movement, but we were enabled to secure a detailed understanding of the respective trades that we in our movement here are associated with. We desire to transmit through this report to the various fraternal delegates who have visited England, the kindest felicitations of those who are in the movement there and we returned to America with the sincere hope of a unanimous movement for the success of the workers of the North American continent. The saddest part of our mission as your representatives was the farewell greeting to those whom we met on the other side, those whom we learned to like in our short stay, because of their unyielding devotion to the cause that we sponsor here. It was sad because, in many ways and possibly in all, it was a good bye in its fullest sense, but with that let us again assure this convention that it would not be possible for a deeper feeling of friendship and of brotherhood to exist in England than does exist at this time for our movement in America.

Respectfully submitted,

G. L. BERRY,  
Delegate.

J. H. WALKER,  
Delegate.

Delegate McCullough (T. W.) moved that the report be adopted and made part of the proceedings of the convention.

(Seconded.)

Delegate Proebstle moved as an amend-

ment that the recommendations in the report be referred to the proper committees. (Seconded.)

Delegate McCullough accepted the amendment, and the motion as amended was adopted.

## Report of Fraternal Delegate to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress

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

Greeting:

The Twenty-eighth annual convention of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada was opened Monday morning, September 9, 1912, by W. B. Parker, President of the Guelph Trades and Labor Council. In welcoming the delegates, he said he did so on behalf of the Trades and Labor Council of the Royal City of Guelph. He predicted that it would be the best convention in the history of the Congress.

Geo. J. Thorpe, Esq., Major of the City of Guelph, welcomed the delegates on behalf of the Royal City, telling the delegates they prided themselves on being one of the first cities to run their utilities along the line of public ownership of public utilities.

Addresses of welcome were made by Frank Howard, of the Reception Committee of the Guelph City Council, Hugh Guthrie, M. P. and H. C. Schofield, members of the Provincial Legislature.

In a brief and appropriate address, President Watters responded to the addresses of welcome, and then declared the Twenty-eighth convention of the Trades and Labor Congress, open for the transaction of business that will legally come before it.

Mr. Keir Hardie, representing the British Labor Party, and your Fraternal Delegate, were called upon by President Watters to make a few remarks, after which the Committee on Credentials, made their report to the convention, which was adopted. Seating two Fraternal Delegates, two from Federations of Labor, fourteen delegates representing international unions, forty-eight delegates representing Trades and Labor Councils, and 108 delegates representing local and Federal Labor Unions, a total of 254 delegates, the high water mark in the history of the Congress.

The Executive Committee's report, covered all questions of interest to the workers in Canada. The most important were the Lemieux Act, or the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act, war scare Parliamentary Representative, United States affairs, free speech workers in the far eastern provinces, bi-monthly payments on railroads, Provincial Federations of Labor, Labor College, the Kruz

case, which pertains to the workmens' compensation, old age pensions, immigration, workmens' compensation, British labor affairs, labor struggles. Each one of these questions was handled very carefully, and in an able manner by the Executive Committee of the Congress. Reports were also made by the Executive Committee of the different Provinces. The organizers of the Congress reported on work done by them in the interest of the Congress and affiliated unions.

Secretary-Treasurer P. M. Draper was unable to attend the Congress owing to severe illness. The following resolution bearing on the case was unanimously adopted:

That this Congress express its sincere regrets that the honored Secretary of the Congress, P. M. Draper has been unable to attend the opening session of this convention owing to a serious and trying illness, and express the hope that he will have sufficiently recovered to join us before the convention closes, and that the feeling of the Convention be communicated to Brother Draper by the acting Secretary, James Simpson.

Report of the Secretary-Treasurer showed an increase of membership during the year of 8,869 members; the total receipts from all sources, including the balance from last year's revenue are \$15,699.79. The total expenses are \$10,219.82, leaving a balance of receipts over expenses of \$5,479.97.

Brother C. L. Balne, General Secretary of the International Boot and Shoe Workers Union was introduced to the convention, and in a brief address, emphasized the growth of the trade union movement on the North American continent during the present year. Brother Balne's remarks were well received by the delegates to the Congress.

Brother Edward Flore, International President of the Hotel and Restaurant Employee's Alliance and Bartenders League of America, was invited to the platform and in a brief address congratulated the Congress upon the splendid work it was doing for the organized workers of the Dominion. He extended the best wishes of the organization he represented.

One hundred and six resolutions were introduced in the Congress, covering every subject to the interest of the workers in Canada. Resolution No. 2, introduced by a representative of the United Brotherhood

of Carpenters and Joiners: Whereas, There now being two rival organizations of carpenters and joiners, each being now affiliated to this Congress, it is considered now to be contrary to the interests of these workers, and furthermore, that the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners having now had its charter revoked by the American Federation of Labor, it is moved by Delegate Arcand, seconded by Delegate J. A. Hibbins, representing local union 1244 of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, that the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners be the one union affiliate, and acknowledged by this Congress. Committee non-concurred in the resolution. Quite a number of delegates took part in the discussion on this resolution. A roll call was demanded, and the result showed 124 for adoption of the committee's non-concurrence recommendation, and 76 against.

This resolution was something new for the Congress, and in my opinion the roll call vote taken will not settle it, as the question will come up in the next Congress stronger than ever.

The report of the committee on labels showed that the Congress is alive to the label question, and much good work is being done in Canada for the labels of all crafts.

The special committee to whom the Lemieux Act was referred to after holding three meetings and going into the matter exhaustively, have unanimously decided to refer the question to the Congress as a committee of the whole to take what action they may deem most expedient. Resolutions Nos. 42 and 85 were submitted with this report without recommendation. It was also carried that the committee on officers' reports also report their recommendations on that section of the officers' reports dealing with the Lemieux Act. After a lengthy discussion, in which quite a number of delegates took part, the convention adopted the recommendation of the committee on officers' reports, which was as follows:

The right to strike is the one thing which distinguishes the free workman from the chattel slave, and as this most powerful weapon still is absolutely necessary unimpaired to the workers of Great Britain or any other country, your executive committee recommends that as nothing has happened to change our attitude, this convention instructs the incoming executive committee to communicate to the British Labor Party our expressed attitude on the question, hoping that they will fight to the last ditch against any infringement of the right to strike when they please, however wrapped up in the infringement is in honeyed legislative phraseology.

The election of officers for the ensuing year resulted in the election of James C. Waiters as president, Fred Bancroft, vice-president, and P. M. Draper as secretary-treasurer. Fraternal delegate to the American Federation of Labor, John W. Bruce, of the United Association of Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters and Steam Fitters' Helpers.

Fraternal delegate to British Trades Union Congress, P. M. Draper, Secretary-Treasurer of the Congress.

Thus ended the greatest convention in the history of the Congress.

Useful information as to the working conditions of our Brothers in Canada was gained by all delegates present at the convention, including your fraternal delegate. They are doing a great work, and should be encouraged by the American Federation of Labor and all affiliated bodies. If this is done in the proper spirit, it will place the Congress in a better position to meet its liabilities and continue the good work in which it is engaged.

The Congress has decided to have their president devote his full time in the interest of the Congress, and I predict a glorious future for the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

In conclusion, I most heartily thank the delegates of this great American labor movement for the honor conferred upon me. I was most royally received by our Brothers in Canada, which is conclusive proof to me that they honor and respect the American Federation of Labor.

Respectfully submitted,

JOHN T. SMITH,

Fraternal Delegate.

The report was received and made part of the convention proceedings.

#### Addresses of Fraternal Delegates.

President Gompers—It is a great pleasure to present to you this morning the fraternal delegates from the British Trades Union Congress and from the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress. It is one of the great pleasures that comes with each recurring convention. Receiving, as we have received this morning, the reports of our fraternal delegates to these respective congresses, we now receive in return the message of good will, fraternity and hope of the organized workers of Great Britain and Canada. I am sure there is no one thing that goes to make up the sentiment, the feeling and the principle of unity and solidarity and brotherhood as comes from the exchange and the interchange of fraternal delegates.

In accordance with the wishes of the two fraternal delegates from the British Trades Union Congress, Mr. Smillie will address this convention first. I take pleasure in presenting to you Mr. Robert Smillie, the President of the Federation of Miners of Great Britain, and fraternal delegate from the British Trades Union Congress.

Fraternal Delegate Robert Smillie spoke as follows:

Mr. President and Fellow Trades Unionists: I need hardly say that I considered myself highly honored when appointed along with my colleague, Mr. Seddon, to carry fraternal greetings from the British trades union movement to the representatives of this convention of the American Federation of Labor. We have had some experience in international work through our Mining Federation and through other labor organizations in Great Britain. We meet from time to time in a business capacity or in a social capacity with delegates representing labor in the continental countries of Europe, and I need scarcely say that somehow or other there is a feeling of closer brotherhood, a closer relation, between the people generally speaking of Great Britain and the people of the great American continent than there is even between us and our friends and comrades on the continent of Europe. This is quite a natural feeling because to a very large extent we are descended from a common stock, and also men holding the views which I hold and which my colleague holds here that the labor movement is universal, and that under its banner should march forward the workers of all nations, independent of creed or color. There is sometimes a sentimental feeling of fellowship between those of a common stock which holds a stronger place in our feelings than can be extended perhaps to those to whom we cannot claim a common kinship. We bear to this great convention to-day, this convention representative of organized labor in America, the hearty greetings of organized labor from Great Britain. We feel that you are like ourselves engaged in one of the noblest works in which men and women can be engaged, for the uplifting of our class, for advancing their interests economically and socially, and ultimately I hope our aim is, as our President this week has said, for the absolute elimination of poverty from the nations of the earth.

Since my colleague and I arrived in America we have had a few opportunities of close intercourse with delegates representing several of the important unions which are represented in this room to-day. We have met the business agents and delegates of several very important trades. We have had the opportunity of speaking to those business agents, addressing a few words to them, and have had the opportunity of learning from them some of the difficulties with which you are face to face in organizing the workers of this great country, and to some extent we had heard of those difficulties before from fraternal delegates who attended our conferences on the other side, or from some of our own work people who had spent some time in America and who had returned, or from reading, but I can assure you that we had not fully realized the difficulties standing in the way of organizing labor in this country, and especially in the

larger cities and industrial centers of this country, until we came amongst you and went amongst your people. The language difficulties must be a terrible difficulty to overcome, and the fact that large numbers of our fellow workers come from all parts of Europe and all parts of the world where they have downtrodden and treated men more as beasts of burden than as human beings, and that their ideals and their desires do not stand as high perhaps so far as living is concerned as do the aspirations and feelings of those who have been raised in this country. Those two difficulties must make it sometimes an almost hopeless task to organize solidly all the workers of the United States, yet enthusiasm and earnestness and ability can do a great deal to overcome those difficulties, and the fact that we see represented in this hall to-day practically two million organized workers in America is a proof that to a great extent those difficulties have been faced and have been overcome, and of the determination which exists to-day not to be contented with two million members enrolled in your great American Federation, but to go on until you double and treble that number and until you bring all labor into organization and all organized under the banner of your great Federation.

After the very exhaustive report presented by Messrs. Walker and Berry of their mission to Great Britain to the Trades Union Congress there, and the exhaustive manner in which they have dealt with many of the problems with which we are struggling at the present time, it leaves very little to be said by Mr. Seddon or myself on the present position of matters in Great Britain. I believe that you will be well pleased to hear that trade, generally speaking, is in an excellent condition throughout the length and breadth of Great Britain at the present time. Unemployment has been eliminated. There is only one thing which the Britisher, whether he be Irish, Scotch or Welsh, is always hunting for, and that is work. I have heard it said about some single individuals whom I knew in my early days working in the pit, that they were looking for work and praying fervently to heaven that they would not get it, but generally speaking, the Britisher is a devil for work. In the past they have been more concerned in looking for work and working when they found work than they were concerned in finding out what they were going to get for the work when they performed it, and so keen have they been for work many times that they have performed two men's work independent of the fact that a brother might be idle because of their performing two men's work. At the present time I believe they are not so fond of work as they used to be. Their sole desire does not seem to be entirely in finding work. They inquire now very closely what is to be the reward for the work where they do secure it. Trade is good, employment is regular, and as a consequence slight increases in wages have been secured by

voluntary arrangements without strike in many of our industries in Great Britain. Trades unionism is still improving, extending numerically, and I believe is advancing in intelligence. In Great Britain as in America there is still plenty of room for the extension of trades unionism, and in our country it is the most helpless—those who most require organization—who are disorganized up to the present time, and I feel and I think that the British trades union movement is rapidly coming to the conclusion that it is the duty of organized labor, of the organized skilled trades of our country, to see to it that the unskilled workers and the sweated woman worker of our various cities should be organized in order that their conditions may be improved, so that I believe within the next few years greater attention will be paid to assisting in the organization of the unskilled male workers and of the female workers of our various industrial centers.

During the past year, as reported by Messrs. Walker and Berry, we have had some lively times in the shape of series labor disputes. We had first a labor dispute affecting a very large body of the railroad workers, a dispute which threatened at one time to cover the whole railway system of Great Britain, but which ultimately was settled on mutual terms more or less satisfactory to the workers employed. Since then we have had a mining strike which was more universal in its application than any strike of a similar nature which has ever taken place in any industry. The mining industry with us is essentially a fighting organization and right through from the early history of organized mining in Great Britain they have always been at any time ready to fight, but those of us who have been taking an active part in the mining movement for many years have had a feeling that it was our duty to organize the whole mining industry under one common banner and into a common organization. It took some years to accomplish this end, but we saw its realization some two years ago when we secured the adherence of Durham and Northumberland, the two important northern mining counties of Great Britain, into membership with the Miners' Federation of Great Britain. For many months we had an agitation going on in the mining districts for securing what is known amongst us as full payment for abnormal places, which is a technical thing that I need not go into at any great length here further than to say that coal getters, generally speaking, are paid by results, and that it is only if they produce a certain amount of material, that fixes the amount of wages. Sometimes they meet with difficulties in their working places which make it quite impossible for them to produce the normal quantity of material, and through no fault of their own they find that their wages are curtailed by one-half or by two-thirds. In many cases, many districts, agreements have been drawn up which protect the workmen under circum-

stances such as this, but in tens of thousands of cases the working miners were face to face with those conditions and had no agreement to protect them and found themselves going home at the end of the week or fortnight, as the case might be, with one-half or one-third of their normal wages. Well, we met the employers after fully considering this matter, and asked the employers of Great Britain, mine owners of Great Britain, to enter into an agreement for the setting up of machinery to prevent men working day after day under conditions such as those without adequate payment; the mine owner refused to enter into this agreement internationally. We knew perfectly well if a general stoppage came it would not come on the abnormal places alone, but that other matters would have to be settled. The mine owners refused to act on this question. The miners had to reconsider the matter, and after fruitless negotiations with the employers, they decided on a general strike in order to secure a minimum rate of wages for boys employed on the ground, in order to secure a minimum rate of wages for men employed on the ground, and to secure a minimum rate of wages for the men employed at the coal face and paid by results. We balloted our workmen on the question of a general stoppage, and I would like to put this point here, that our claims did not affect twenty-five per cent of the underground workers. We believed that not twenty-five per cent of our people would be benefitted by the claims put forward by us and by the claims which stood between us and a settlement of our disputes, but our movement thought that the time had come when something should be done for the worst paid part of our underground mine workers in Great Britain. Men were working underground for wages as low as three shillings per day, boys of fourteen years old were working underground for wages as low as one and six pence and one and eight pence per day. Now the general mining movement thought that the time had come when the power of their organization could not be tried on a more noble object than on behalf of those two grades of workers and have a minimum wage fixed. That was the cause of our stoppage and we balloted on the question and we fixed a day on which we would stop work. To me this is the most interesting part of that great struggle, that on the day fixed for stopping work, every man and boy employed in the mines of Great Britain, right from the South of Wales to the North of Scotland, every man and boy ceased work on the day on which it was agreed to stop, and every pulley, every wheel of every coal mine in Great Britain was stopped from that day so far as coal-getting was concerned. The membership of our Union, organized membership, was about 640,000, but in our stoppage over 950,000 persons stopped work in connection with our dispute, and during the six weeks which it lasted, the loyalty and enthusiasm of our members was shown by the fact that



I don't think a single picket was required from one end to the other of the coal field so long as the strike continued.

Our commercial newspapers are exceedingly anxious to have spicy bits to present to their readers, in the interests of the sale of their papers and advertisements, and believing that in such a strike as the miners' strike there was bound to be fun in the mining districts, there was bound to be attempts at black-legging, and consequent trouble with the police, and ultimately with the soldiers, with the shooting down of the miners, nearly one hundred special press men were sent into the various mining districts with instructions to write up all the good copy they could get in connection with the riots and the calling of policemen and everything of that kind. Well, those hundred good men and true sharpened their pencils and went down to the mining districts, and they had to admit at the end of four weeks that there was nothing for them to do, and they had to come back to London again without any reports at all. I do not for a moment suggest that the press men who went down to those mining districts were anxious to see a number of our men shot down or killed for the sake of getting copy, I feel sure that they were not, they were sent there to write up whatever special incidents they could see, and I dare say would have done that, but I would not like it to be thought that I feel that the press men of Great Britain are so careless, have so little friendliness for their own class, that they would desire to see rioting merely for the purpose of getting copy out of it. Be that as it may, there was no copy so far as rioting was concerned. All they could say was that the miners in every district seemed absolutely happy, happier than they had been at any time probably for the previous three or four years, because they were getting a good holiday and they were engaged in fun, and they were not concerned about when a start was to be made again. That was the kind of an army we had behind us in our great struggle. The struggle went on for six weeks and ultimately the government took the matter in hand and introduced a minimum wage bill, a mines minimum wage bill in the House of Commons. Well, I want to show you how quickly the House of Commons and the government can change its mind. Some three or four weeks before our dispute the Labor Party had a measure before the British House of Commons, a very modest proposal that it should be fixed by law that no adult male worker employed in any industry of Great Britain should be paid less than thirty shillings per week, that a minimum wage of thirty shillings per week should be the lowest wage worked for and that the law should declare it. When it went to a test I do not think that there were more than sixty members cast their votes in favor of the principle of a minimum wage. The opinion of the government and the opinion of the opposition was that Parliament had

nothing to do with fixing of wages and should not interfere in wages, especially in fixing the minimum wage. That was the opinion of the British House of Commons six weeks before the strike of the miners, but after the miners' strike had been on foot for four weeks, the government suddenly changed its mind and the Prime Minister and the other government officials thought the time had come when the government should bring in a bill proposing to fix a minimum wage for the mine workers of the country, and the House of Commons by a large majority passed the various clauses of that bill, which did affirm the principle that Parliament was entitled under certain circumstances to lay down that employers of labor were bound to recognize a minimum rate of wages for their adult underground workers.

The act when it became law was not by any means satisfactory to organized labor in Great Britain, and especially to the miners, but it is a step in the right direction. It has affirmed the principle that Parliament is entitled to interfere in matters of this kind. Efforts have been made to prove that that measure has not conferred any benefit on the mining community. Well, a representative miner who probably knows as much about this matter as any one there in Great Britain or anywhere else said, and I feel it is true, that it has conferred very considerable benefits on large numbers of lads employed underground, it has conferred very considerable and lasting benefit on unskilled adult labor employed underground. It has been computed by Mr. Vernon Hartshorn, one of the active leaders of the South Wales miners, that in South Wales alone, that in that part of the British coal field, the minimum wage act will make it necessary for the employers to pay two million dollars extra per year in wages to the workers above what they were paying them previous to our dispute. It may be taken that what is true regarding South Wales is true also regarding the other parts of the British coal field. The Miners' Federation are not going to content themselves with the minimum wage act of the present time, they are going to go on with their agitation until they secure a minimum wage act which will confer on every underground worker and every mine worker, either above or below ground, a guaranty of sufficient wages to keep them and their families in a state of comfort.

Now we have learned one or two things from that strike. We have heard a great deal of the general strike as a panacea for all evils. Well, we came as near the general strike in our last mining struggle as any industry ever came before. We not only stopped nearly a million of workers working in and about the mines, but as the result of our stoppage over a million of workers in other industries were thrown idle within a few days of the mining stoppage. The railway companies, which are manipulated by the same class

of people as the mines are manipulated by, took sides with the employers and threw off nearly one-half of their regular train service within a few days of the miners' stoppage. That naturally threw a very large number of railway servants idle, and a very large number of iron workers and steel workers were thrown idle in all of the great industrial centers. Well, when you come to count the cost the first thing you ask is, Did your strike in any shape or form injure the mine owners of Great Britain? Frankly, I admit here and now that I do not think it in any shape or form injured the mine owners. The chief injury fell upon our own class, the working class. I believe the mine owners financially benefited by our six weeks' strike. For two months previous to the strike they ran up the price of coal by four, six, eight and ten shillings per ton. During the strike coal was being sold from six to fifteen shillings higher than it had been previous to the strike, and for several months after the strike was ended the consumer was paying all over the country from four to ten shillings per ton higher for coal than he had been previous to the strike, and I believe when the dividends of the mine owners are declared next year it will be found that the mine owners of Great Britain made millions of pounds out of the miners' stoppage. Our stoppage brought very considerable suffering and hardship upon the poorest of our people, who could least afford to pay high prices, and who were thrown out of employment through our dispute. Well, that is one lesson. There is another lesson that the miners have learned from it, and I sincerely hope the workers of Britain have learned this lesson, that it is not safe, it is not in the interests of our nation, it is not in the interests of the workers of our nation, that the coal mines of Great Britain should remain in the hands of private individuals, to be exploited for profit and not in the interests of the whole of the people. We have given this matter very serious consideration. We have drafted a bill which proposes to nationalize the mines of Great Britain, that the government should take over the mines from the present owners, and should work the coal mines in the interests of the whole community and not for private profit. We propose that the government should pay a certain value for the mine and the stock there, a value which we fix by a certain computation which we consider fair, but we do not propose that the government should pay the land owners any compensation for the minerals which lie in the bowels of the earth. We are going to set on foot an agitation—the whole labor movement, organized labor in Great Britain, will join us in this agitation—and I venture to say that within ten or fifteen years the probabilities are that the coal mines of Great Britain will be owned by the community and worked by the government in the interests of the whole community of Great Britain.

The railway servants at the present time have been considering the question of a bill to nationalize the railways of Great Britain. They are also of opinion,

and I agree with them, that it is not in the best interests of the community that the railways of Great Britain should be held by private owners and merely to make money out of, and not in the interests of the whole community. The mines and the railways are closely allied, and with them is the land of Great Britain, which in my opinion and the opinion of the British labor movement should be held by the state as a common inheritance of the people of Great Britain.

During the past fifteen or twenty years there has been a forward movement amongst the trades unionists of our country. There was a time when the labor movement, and the trades union movement of Great Britain, speaking generally of them, felt that the price of commodities produced by labor should fix the reward of labor. Taking coal as an incident, or any other commodity—the feeling was known as the Manchester school of thought, of economics—the feeling was that the price secured for labor products should govern the wages paid to labor for the production of it. Well, a change has come over the line of thought of trade unionists and their view now is that the wages of labor should be a first charge on any industry in which wealth is produced and that the wages should be first fixed and the cost of the commodities should be fixed after wages have been first secured. That has largely taken hold of the trade union movement of Great Britain, and the probability is that as the outcome of that feeling, wages in the near future will not be governed by the price secured for the commodity produced, but that the price of the commodity produced will be governed largely by the reward already paid to labor. But there is another growing feeling in Great Britain, call it what you like; there is a feeling, as I have said, that the land and the mines and the railways of our country should be held by the government on behalf of the whole of the people. That feeling has gone further, it has gone the length that the whole of the industries of Great Britain should be held in behalf of the people and worked in the interests of the whole of the people. That is called Socialism, I understand. That is the name that for twenty years I have recognized—Socialism—that movement and that feeling is rapidly permeating the British trades union movement. You cannot find any conference of any important trades union holding sessions in which a resolution for the nationalization and public ownership of land, mines, railroads, means of production, will not be carried almost unanimously in almost any trades union movement in Great Britain. In our Trades Union Congresses I remember a few years ago that any one who rose to move a resolution of that kind was howled down, was hooted down; the same in our Miners' Federation a few years ago. To-day there is no opposition to it, it is carried unanimously from year to year in the British trades union movement. Some people fear the nationalization of the mines, railroads and lands, not on the ground of the confiscation question or anything of that kind, not on the ground that it is robbery, but many fear

nationalization of those industries because we are not sufficiently strongly represented in Parliament to secure fair conditions to the workers in those industries in the event of their being taken over, and we are pointed to France and Germany and Belgium, and it is said that there, the state employes are worse off than those working to private employment. That is only partially true. I do not find that in the state mines of Germany, and I do not find that in the state railways of Germany, it is only partially true, but I think that something in our country at least requires to be nationalized in addition to the land, mines, railways and means of production. We intend to nationalize the British House of Commons in the very near future. I quite admit that we could not secure justice for the workers from our House of Commons as at present constituted, because whatever name our politicians may give themselves and their parties, they represent the exploiting classes all the time in both sides of the House of Commons. To nationalize railways, the workers would not get a fair chance from a legislature such as ours is at present composed, but side by side with preaching the utility and the necessity for the public ownership of the mines we are preaching the necessity of full representation of the common people of our country in the legislature of our country, and we are very hopeful that in the very near future we will be able to strengthen our forces, because organized labor has given up all hope of any substantial legislation, any social or economic legislation, from the two political parties, and our only hope is the formation of a party of our own.

John Walker said that it was simply amazing, the extent of our co-operative movement, the turn over in our great co-operative movement in Great Britain, but it proved, he said, to him and his colleague, that it was not true to say that the common people could not conduct the industries of our country as well as the upper classes. Your own great Federation, our great trades union labor movement proves that there are men of the highest skill and ability in our own ranks, men of enthusiasm, men of intellect, and men who are prepared to sacrifice themselves in the interests of the class to which they belong. We, I think, are perfectly capable of forming our own party and of working out our own salvation without depending, at least home with us, without depending on either of the two political parties. We have been deceived quite long enough by the promises and non-fulfillment of the pledges which have been given to us in the past by the political parties, who have ridden into power, either one party or another, on the shoulders of the working classes, time and again. The pledges they have never intended to redeem and which they never have redeemed, and which they never will redeem. It is pointed out that the Liberal Party has given you old age pensions, which gives your old men and women the magnificent sum of five shillings per week when they reach the age of seventy, and there

is only a very small percentage of our old men and women in the industrial class that have any hope of reaching the age of seventy. It is well known that because of the multiplication of the machinery in our industries, because of the fact that men of forty-five and fifty years now are looked upon as too old to be able to keep up their place in the workshop, and that year by year the age at which men can find employment in our industries is being gradually reduced, and that many of our industrial poor who have been steady and sober during the whole of their lives, have not been able to save sufficient to keep them many weeks from the time they are thrown out of employment, but they have to hang on if they are able to seventy years of age and then they will get five bob a week. They have told us that they have given us an improved workmen's compensation act, an eight-hour mining bill, they have given us a mines minimum wage act, and they have given us now, through Mr. Lloyd George, an insurance act. The reason why they have given us those things is that the agitator has been abroad for twenty-five or thirty years agitating those things. It is not of their good will that they have given us those things, it is because the labor agitator of the trades unions on the street corner for twenty-five years has been agitating old age pensions, improved compensation acts and those other things, and because we have pledged members of both political parties, who knew that they could not find their way into the House of Commons unless they pledged themselves individually for those things, it is because of this that we have carried those reforms, not because of the good will of a political party.

In our new insurance act—which, by the way, the trades union movement of Great Britain did not want to be contributory, they wished that act to be non-contributory, they had a feeling that the workers should not pay anything to a scheme of that kind from their already too scant wages—but it is a contributory act and one part of it provides sanitariums for those who have the misfortune to contract tuberculosis, and the labor movement of Great Britain is of the opinion that we are beginning at the wrong end with tuberculosis. We think there is no use setting up at the expense of the employers and the workers in the employment, sanitariums for the cure of tuberculosis, while we allow our shameful housing system to exist in our cities, which is breeding more tuberculosis every day than all the sanitariums that could ever be erected could possibly cure. We have been asking for improvements in our housing conditions for the last twenty-five years. The government is aware of the fact that tens of thousands of the houses in which the British working class, men, women and children, are herded, are insanitary and are killing off our little ones like flies before their time, but no attempt has been made up to the present time, by the government at least, to improve our housing conditions. It is admitted that at the present time, even at the present time when trade is booming—trade has never been as good in the whole history of our country before—but it is

admitted that even at the present time one-fifth of the population of Great Britain is continually on the verge of starvation, within a week or a fortnight or three weeks of abject starvation in the event of their being thrown out of employment. I think your President said in the course of one of his addresses that you are in this country securing a greater proportion of the social wealth created than you ever were before. If that is so I am glad to hear it. It is not true, however, that in Great Britain the workers are securing anything like a fair proportion of the increased wealth produced from year to year by labor applied to our national resources. The wages of labor are practically stationary and have been for very many years, but the wages of invested capital and the wages of the landlord class have gone up by leaps and bounds every year. The power of labor to produce wealth has increased and multiplied by the multiplicity of machinery has increased and multiplied from year to year. The amount of wealth produced per head of the population has increased enormously, but it has not gone to the worker in the shop by increased wage, it has gone to those who have their money invested in the industries of Great Britain and to the landlord class, and I as one protest against this state of matters and say our workers are entitled to expect that if labor in Great Britain—and when I say labor, I mean the work of hand or brain—when labor applied to the natural resources of our country is able to produce enough and to spare of the commodities necessary for comfortable life for our people, that it is a shame and disgrace to the people of Great Britain that one-third of our workin-class population should continually be on the verge of starvation, that our children in the slums of our cities and in our industrial centers, the children of respectable, sober, earnest, skillful parents, are dying for want of fresh air, for want of sunshine and for want of proper surroundings. We say this is a disgrace to our country, and it is our duty, the duty of every thinking man and woman to band themselves into the great labor movement in this country and in our country for the purpose of wiping out this disgrace and for the purpose of eliminating and getting rid altogether of the poverty mentioned by our chairman during the course of his remarks. I am glad to say that the feeling in our advance movement is not entirely confined to the working classes. A very large body of the educated classes of Great Britain, a large body of the comfortable and wealthy classes of Great Britain, are as tired of the present shameful state of matters as the working classes themselves are. Every good-hearted and pure-minded man and woman must be on our side in this struggle, whether they are wealthy or not, and a very large number of educated people are in our movement, without anything which they can personally secure from it, but for the pleasure of knowing that they are on the right side and doing good. Our movement is being consolidated and I look forward to the time when we will be able to secure, not merely an

old-age pension to our people when they are unable any longer to provide for themselves, but we will be able to procure the full results of labor, the full wealth produced by labor.

Now, just one moment, Mr. Chairman. I want to deal briefly with the subject which I know my colleagues will go into rather fully. Our mining movement in Great Britain is connected through federations with the mining movement of America and all the countries of Europe, we have a federation in which is represented every year at our annual conference the mine workers of France, of Belgium, of Austria, of Germany and of the United States. We find that there are many questions which we are dealing with, common questions applicable to all of our countries, that we have been able to improve the conditions legislatively and otherwise of the whole of the miners of the continent because of our closer connection together. We are hopeful that that movement will be extended until the miners employed in every part of the world are connected with that common organization, that the differences in languages or a sweep of sea between us should not prevent our getting into closer touch and brotherhood, but I find that the same sentiment prevails in Germany, in France, in Belgium, as prevails largely amongst the workers of America and of Great Britain, that war between nations is a curse, that the labor movement should do everything in its power to prevent unjust and unnecessary war, that the workers of the nations have no cause, have, generally speaking, no cause of quarrel with the workers of other nations, and that it is the workers of the nations who have to pay in the first place in blood and in the second place in taxation for all the wars of the past, and we have discussed the matter at our miners' conference. We find the Germans, the French, the Belgians, and the Austrians unanimous with us and we have come to the conclusion that in the event of danger of war arising between the nations of Europe that it would be the duty of the committee of the mining movement to call a conference, and if that conference were of opinion that the war should not go on, that there was no good cause why it should go on, if the war was not in the interests of a downtrodden nation of people who were suffering injustice at the hands of a stronger nation, but if it were for the purpose of looking after the interests of the financier, that the miners should stop work in every part of Europe. I venture to say that a modern war will not be carried on very long if the coal miners of the world stop work. That at least is the feeling of the International mining movement at the present time. I notice there has been a labor conference called on the Continent for the purpose of discussing whether or not a general strike should not be entered into if the delegates feel that war is likely to become general in connection with the Balkan States war at the present time. This we believe to be true brotherhood.

In conclusion I wish to give you my personal greeting, my personal love, and

to wish to you God speed in your great movement. There is a great work to be done by you here. You have probably the richest country in natural resources that exists on the face of the earth today. You have a strong, willing, enthusiastic people, prepared to develop the resources of your great nation, and if you get the opportunity to do so, if you are not prevented from doing so by the trusts and the owners of the capital of this great country, your people are willing to do it. In the first stages of that development you will be under the wages system and it will be the duty of your great Federation to look after the interests of your organized workers, to secure to them the best possible returns for their labor, the shortest possible hours of labor, looking forward to the time when the people of your nation will not only be united in their trades unionism, but united in a true brotherhood in which the full resources of your country will be developed and used for the whole of the people, and that you will be living in a brotherhood, each for all and all for each, and know a thousand times more happiness than it is possible to secure under the present state of matters here.

President Gompers—I have now the pleasure of presenting to you the representative and officer of the Shop Assistants' organization of England and the co-representative from the British Trade Union Congress to the American Federation of Labor, Mr. James A. Seddon.

Fraternal Delegate James A. Seddon spoke as follows:

Mr. President and Fellow Trades Unionists: My first words must be words of thanks for the very cordial and hearty welcome that we have received in your great country. When I first arrived at New York along with my friend Smillie we were met by a band of workers who gave us hospitality, gave us kindly greetings, and since we have been here that has been continued and has grown in volume, and in fact to-day, were it not for the home ties of a wife and three children, I could very reasonably suppose I was amongst those whom I had known for long years. I have had the opportunity of fraternizing with many of the delegates, including your worthy President, and I claim that so far as outlook is concerned, so far as efforts and desires go, there is very little to choose between the American and those who come from Great Britain. My friend Smillie has given you a review which makes my path exceedingly difficult. He has referred to the movements which are occurring and to some of the things that have been done, but I have one little consolation, he has not referred, not even by name, to that body which I represent of the trade unionists. Mr. Gompers has told you I belong to the shop assistants. In American phrase that means that I am a retail clerk. Now I find unfortunately that the retail clerks of Great Britain and America have one thing in common; they are infernally snobbish. We have a very difficult task in our country to get them to understand that they, too, are the

victims of changing conditions, that the operation of organized capital is just as brutal and tyrannical to the shop worker as to the coal digger, but during the last eighteen years we have been making some steady, slow and sure progress. Something like twenty years ago our union came into existence. We were then told by the orthodox politicians that we were a helpless class, that our isolation made organization impossible and that we should be the children of concern to the orthodox politician and some of the harsh conditions of the distributive trades should become the consideration of the masters and the statesmen of Great Britain. We thought, some of us, that we, being the same flesh and blood, belonging to the working classes, might attempt to organize. It was under very distressing circumstances that we started, but in the period of eighteen or twenty years I am proud to say that today, notwithstanding all our vicissitudes we have something like one hundred and fifty thousand organized retail workers throughout the length of Great Britain. We not only began to organize, but we lined up with our fellow trades unionists. We, too, saw the utility and the desirability of using the political means. Some seven years ago I had the privilege of being returned as the first retail worker to the British House of Commons. It was my duty to bring before that assembly, along with my colleagues of the labor party, some of the conditions under which the retail clerks worked in Great Britain, and I am glad to know that in this year we so brought into operation an act of Parliament that gives to the retail clerks and the bar men and the bar maids and the waitresses a statutory half-holiday each week commencing at 1 o'clock, and a schedule for meal times that will go far in building up the health and strength of the shop assistants of Great Britain. We are glad to have done this little work, but it has been done through and by our association with the great trades union movement, and I want to say, if the representatives of the retail clerks happen to be here this morning, if they feel despondent and discouraged by the slow progress which is going on in organizing that body, who I suppose think themselves superior to ordinary workmen—in our country the shop assistant who is outside the association still has that antiquated idea, that he is above the working man—he is in collars and that is all, and to my own class who are seeking to organize the retail clerks in America I would say be of good cheer because the success that we have attained is not impossible so far as this great continent is concerned. The trade union movement in Great Britain is healthy and strong today. Some of the fights that we have had in the past have ceased to exist, some of those questions that sharply divided one school from another have passed into limbo, and generally speaking, organized labor in Great Britain is working continuously towards a common object which has been ampli-

fed and expressed by my colleague and comrade Smillie.

During your deliberations several references have been made to the question of an eight-hour day. I am glad to know that you have through the Federation of Labor forced the hands of your government to secure to those engaged in government employment an eight-hour day. In England we are going along the same lines, and during the last twelve months the Trades Union Congress has held a series of meetings in all the great centers of industry, where thousands of our fellow workers have congregated together, and unanimously resolutions have been carried for a universal eight-hour day to apply to every worker throughout the length and breadth of Great Britain. It is true we have not yet forced the politician to accept our demand, but as sure as the night follows the day the success of the miners in getting their eight-hour day is only an augury of what will happen to the rest of the workers if they continue zealously for that great movement as we have been doing up to the present time. Then again we are happy to know that something is being done to alleviate the conditions and improve the lot of the unskilled and badly paid workers. There has been established in Great Britain wages boards and those wages boards will have a powerful effect upon throwing the searchlight upon the worst conditions of labor, in enlightening public opinion, and we believe will do some little towards raising the standard which is so abominably low at the present time amongst seamstresses and other sweated workers throughout the length and breadth of Great Britain. Reference has been made to the insurance act. The insurance act was hailed as a kind of new Hosannah. We were told that a new Moses had arisen to lead us into the promised land, Mr. Lloyd George, the Chancellor of the Exchequer. He conceived the noble idea but he incumbered it with very sordid conditions. The health of the nation ought to be and must be the concern of our statesmen. If it is wise to attend to your drains to prevent epidemic and disease, it is equally wise for the State to see that when any member of the community has been stricken with disease he shall have the best possible skill that science can afford to restore him to health and vigor. We thank the present Chancellor for the idea that it is the concern of the state that the individual shall have his health attended to either by sanitaria or the best medical experts possible, but we have in Great Britain powerful vested interests. We not only have the landlord, but we have other lords of capital and the great insurance companies who grow rich beyond the dreams of avarice, who exploit the working classes in helping them to protect themselves against the risk of death, who build up huge fortunes, they sent danger in the National Health Bill. Originally the government intended that the operation of this scheme should be entirely in the

hands of the trade union movement and the great friendly societies. That did not suit the capitalist interests that controlled insurance in Great Britain. They began to operate and use their great power inside and outside of the House of Commons, they began to argue, and very logically argue, that if the government today were going to undertake the preservation of health or the restoration of health tomorrow, they might get a step further and insure the people against death, and in doing so would destroy the huge operations that are making millionaire insurance brokers in Great Britain. The result was that the Chancellor of the Exchequer allowed these people to come in, and today we are building up another vested interest, and I suppose it will mean that when we come to nationalize the land, the railways, and the minerals, we shall have also to nationalize the health insurance scheme and pay compensation for the policies and mistakes of the present Chancellor of the Exchequer in Great Britain. However, we accept the insurance scheme, not as our claim, but as a recognition of our demand that the health of the nation is the concern of the statesman and the nation as a whole. I am not going to review, because it would be simply repetition, many of those great questions that are peculiar to Great Britain itself. I want just briefly to refer to those international questions that have an interest for the worker, no matter whether he lives in the United States, whether he lives in Canada, or any other part of the civilized world. Our trade union act in Great Britain has done much to lift the standard of living for the industrial toiler in our country. It has given many of our men powers of administration, executive ability, which has stood them in good stead, not only in their co-operative movement but inside the British House of Commons itself.

I remember in the year 1906 when the governing classes and the British aristocracy received a rude shock, when, for the first time, 29 toilers from the shops, the factory and the mine, presented themselves inside the House of Commons. There was a state not only of consternation but very marked curiosity, they wanted to know what we would do, how would we deport ourselves, whether we would add dignity or whether we would bring disgrace upon the House of Commons, and after a few months it was stated amongst the orthodox politicians that we were not such a bad lot after all, in fact, some of the oldest members said we had brought a new atmosphere into that chamber—God knows it wanted it!

The Labor Party was a creation of the trades union movement, it is its child today and is working together unanimously for the great problems that confront the industrial workers in Great Britain today. The Labor Party in the House of Commons began, as it was natural it should begin, by directing the attention of those politicians who generally have their eyes in the ends of the earth and their hands in the workers'

pockets, we began to point out to them that it did not matter very much whether the sun never set on the Empire or not if it did not shine in our alley; we began to remind them that the industrial population of Great Britain were the wealth-creators and were entitled to some of the joys of life as well as those who toil not, neither do they spin, and we forced the British House of Commons, we forced them even against their will, to give time and attention to those problems that touched more closely the home and life of every worker throughout the length and breadth of Great Britain. Our first duty was to amend the Workmen's Compensation Act. That was filled with absurdities, it had many anomalies and was capable of inflicting hardship and cruelty upon many of those who should be benefited by it. We forced them to give attention to the Workmen's Compensation Act, and the result of our first effort was this: That in amending that compensation act something like two or three million sterling extra goes to the English worker which was denied them before the Labor Party entered the British House of Commons. We have also had passed in the House of Commons—my friend Smillie did not refer to it at any great length—but we have had a measure affecting his class that will go a long way to protect the life of the miner engaged in Great Britain; the coal mines act is the direct work of the Miners' Federation and the trade union movement of Great Britain. Many other questions affecting industrial democracy have been successfully piloted through the House of Commons, but we are not satisfied, we know full well that under present industrial conditions this mending here and patching there will not solve the great problem that stands in front of industrial democracy. The Labor Party is conscious that we are coming to the end of the old road, and we are asking ourselves whether it will be a turn into a new road or whether it will be a dip into a precipice that will destroy present civilization. Changed conditions are being recognized even by the orthodox politicians. We are forcing even the Tory party, the most reactionary body in Great Britain, we are forcing them to recognize that there is such a problem as child labor, there is such a problem as insanitary homes, there is such a problem as unemployment in Great Britain at the present time. The permeation of the principles of the Labor Party are forcing the old orthodox party, but no matter how we force them we know the pace they put on will never satisfy industrial democracy that it has new aspirations and ideals. New occasions teach new duties. My friend Smillie told you, and it may be a rude shock to some of you, that we all now believe that the land belongs to us, it does not belong to the baronial lords, as they try to think it does. We all now believe that the mines and the minerals shall be the joint property of the hewers of coal and the people as a whole and not a few exploiters and parasites as it is at the present moment. We

all believe that the railways, like the highway, shall be free to prince and peasant and each shall be according to his ability and not according to his use. These things are common, so far as the trades union movement of Great Britain is concerned, and now we are directing the whole of our energy, not to the extension of empire, for we know full well that empire and war do not mean any great improvement of the worker, they very often mean and increased burden so far as the workers of Great Britain are concerned. We started out with new ideals, new aspirations, new hopes, and during the last few weeks two events have happened in Great Britain that are destined to have most powerful and potent influences on the immediate future. In a great hall in London a few weeks ago there were gathered representatives of every trade union, representatives of progressive bodies, a great and mighty throng of men and women were gathered there with one object, and that was to inaugurate a campaign for the total abolition of poverty so far as our country is concerned. The echo of that campaign is reverberating right through the length and breadth of the four countries that make up the United Kingdom, and in every town and hamlet men and women are girding up their loins for this titanic struggle, for the overthrow of this curse which is caused by the present commercial methods as we know them today. In Great Britain commercial law is the law of the jungle. They have dehumanized industry. They have divided the people into hostile camps. Organized capital as we know it—I cannot speak of America, it would be presumption on my part to criticize your institutions—but I do say this, that so far as our country is concerned, organized capital is the most brutal power on God's earth. It has been well said, it has no body to kick or no soul to save. Organized capital in the hands even of alleged Christian men, delegates its moral responsibilities; the man who owns the stock does not control the concern. He throws the burden upon the manager. The manager very often is between the devil and the deep sea. He knows very well if he does not make profit his name is Walker, and by the first law of nature—(laughter) not that Walker—I meant walker so far as locomotion is concerned—he knows very well that if he does not make profit he must make room for somebody else. And today that delegated moral responsibility creates an appetite amongst the stock-holding ones that, like the leech, ask for more and more. It is dividend and dividend all the time, and in extracting that dividend they are destroying the possibility of a full life so far as industrial democracy is concerned. We are out to save democracy. We are not out to save capital. We are told sometimes that capital will leave the country. God speed to it. The only capital we know is the gift of mother nature in her rich storehouse, and labor applied, that is the only capital and we say the alleged cap-

Italists are parasites and they can take a vacation to Timbuctoo if they like. This campaign for the abolition of private capital is one of the great movements of modern times in Great Britain.

We have also inaugurated our own press, which will give to the people the point of view of labor and not the point of view which capital gives it, distorted and put out of tune. The effect of the press, the Daily Citizen, in Great Britain, cannot be calculated at the present moment, but I will only give you one instance to prove the necessity of having a press of our own. When the miners were going through their struggle, and I venture to say that never in the history of civilization was there a struggle that had so many redeeming features as the miners fight had; there you had an army of men something like a million in number standing idly by, no destruction of property, no destruction of human life, standing patiently waiting for the word of command to come from their leaders, and what did the capitalistic press do? To poison the minds of the general public against the miners in their demands, they not only sent their reporters down, but they concocted stories when they got there, or in the editorial office, I don't know which, and they told the poor unfortunates that had to pay something like twenty, thirty and even forty shillings a ton for their coal, some of whom could hardly afford to pay, they told these unfortunate people, the miners are vicious, they are idle, and they are selfish, and they will try to lead the other workers to believe that while the miners were standing there waiting to resume work, they were not only glad to have a strike, but they were going to meetings, they were riding motor bikes all over the country—I never saw them, and I live in a mining community—and every lie that could be concocted to injure the miners in their fight was retailed to the reading public of Great Britain. If there was no other reason than the experience of that struggle, we say labor has taken the right step in having its own papers to publish to the workers what are the real facts on every industrial fight and what are the aims and aspirations of industrial democracy. Not only are we out to abolish private property, but we are out to humanize our commercial life. We are out also as far as possible to ruralize our homes. Instead of our children living in slums and alleys we want them to live in God's pure sunshine, we want them to have the flowers in the fields, and we want science to give us all its help so that the people, not the privileged few, but the toilers and workers, shall have the benefit of pure air, which is denied to them up to the present time.

My friend Smillie put in words my own sentiments when he referred to the question of war. The trade union movement is ceasing to be local and we are becoming international. One of the great educational forces that has brought us help and assistance has been the coming of the fraternal delegates from your great country. From year to year we have fraternized with your representatives and that fraternization has given us a spirit

of kinmanship and a spirit of fellowship that has broken down some of our old stupid ideas. To-day the trade union movement stands for international solidarity; we stand for the total abolition of war. We say war as conducted to-day is simply an adjunct to profit. Patriotism to-day is merely a bastard term for selfishness. In our country, in Great Britain to-day, and what is true of Great Britain in a degree is true of every other civilized country; in Great Britain to-day we are spending three hundred and fifty million dollars for the implements of destruction. What could be done in social reconstruction if that three hundred and fifty million dollars were spent to uplift the lowly and give our people a proper chance? We know that every war means that we have got to pay, we have got to find the money and we have got to find the men. The tears and the blood belong to the common folk and we say the day has gone by when armies shall throw themselves against each other simply for profit and for the creation of human misery. Therefore, we come to you with the hope that this great federation of labor which stands for all that is best in industrial democracy in this country, will see its way clear to send back with us a message of hope and a message of good will, that the industrial toilers of this country are just as opposed to war as the industrial workers are in Great Britain at the present time. We know fully as well as you do that there are powerful interests against us. We have it in Great Britain, and we have the jingoism, from boy scouts upward. We know full well that the exploiting classes are trying to divert our attention to-day, as they have always done in the ages that are gone, they are trying to create ill will between us and other nationalities. Today it is Germany. I remember in my boyhood it was Russia, then it was France, then it became America, and every time a war cloud has passed away by the good sense of the people for every time they have got a bogie. I don't know whether you have got a bogie in America or not. I had some idea, I may be wrong, and probably I am wrong, but I had some idea when I reached New York that there was a faint, just a very faint, indication that jingoism was not entirely confined to Great Britain. I read in one of your daily papers quite a eulogistic story of a huge dreadnaught that has been launched, the biggest on earth. That is the first step towards jingoism, any occasion when you begin to boast about having the biggest implements for the destruction of human life. We say that the interests of the workers internationally is bound up with universal peace. I know no frontier, I know no boundary, every human soul, no matter what creed or color, is my brother, if he will line up for the fight for human rights. To you our message is one of good will and fellowship, and my friend Smillie well said we have much in common. Our blood commingled with many of the delegates. Reading down the names of the delegates represented here, one might reasonably suppose that the Green Isle had been transposed over here and hearing the various dialects expressed



and seeing the emblems behind us, almost Mr. Morrison is in danger of getting into serious trouble; he has given us hospitality and he has done all, he has even appealed to our national pride by giving us the Union Jack; he has gone a step further and he has displayed the flag of Ireland, but there is one thing he has forgotten and I hope he will repair it for the sake of his good name amongst the Scotchmen present, and we will see the flag of Scotland here as well. But humor aside, on every hand there are the indications of good will toward us from you. Honestly and sincerely we bring you fraternal greetings and good will. We know even from our short stay that some of your problems are not our problems, but we also know that the history of our class has been one of struggle. It is struggling to-day and it will be struggling tomorrow. We join with you in that struggle for the emancipation of democracy. We share with you the good and the ill, the shadow and the glory, and we wish you God speed in the work you have undertaken.

At 12.20 p. m. President Gompers announced that the addresses of the fraternal delegates would be continued upon the convening of the afternoon session.

**Resolution No. 64—By Delegates T. V. O'Connor, Thos. Harrison, Geo. E. Neesham and A. J. Chlopek of the International Longshoremen's Association:**

**WHEREAS**, The affiliation of all organizations of workers employed in the industry of transportation, such as longshoremen, seamen, teamsters, railroaders, freight handlers, street car men, boatmen, etc., will be of advantage to all concerned; and

**WHEREAS**, The developments of industry will eventually force the workers to organize and affiliate on industrial lines; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor take such steps as they may deem necessary for the formation of such a department, and that all transportation organizations be invited to join the Transportation Department.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

**Resolution No. 65—By Delegates T. V. O'Connor, Thos. Harrison, Geo. E. Neesham and A. J. Chlopek of the International Longshoremen's Association:**

**WHEREAS**, The Federal authorities and contractors persist in employing alien labor on certain work in the territory of Hawaii; and

**WHEREAS**, This action on their part is detrimental to our members and citizen labor in general; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to take this matter up with the proper authorities at once in order that citizen labor be given preference on all government work in the territory of Hawaii.

Referred to Committee on Education.

**Resolution No. 66—By Delegate Fred W. Holt of Arkansas Federation of Labor:**

**WHEREAS**, It has been demonstrated time and time again that it is absolutely necessary for the workers to be more closely united in order to more successfully combat the combination of the employing class; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That we declare for an amendment to the Constitution of the A. F. of L. that Article 2, Section 2, be amended by adding the following: "National and international trades unions shall have the right to amalgamate; such amalgamation must be endorsed by a referendum vote of the organizations affected, and a two-thirds affirmative vote of the members voting on such amalgamation in each organization shall be necessary to make the amalgamation legal and binding."

Referred to Committee on Laws.

**Resolution No. 67—By Delegates T. V. O'Connor, Thos. Harrison, Geo. E. Neesham and A. J. Chlopek of the International Longshoremen's Association:**

**WHEREAS**, The Allen Contract Labor Law has been almost entirely eliminated from the statute books of the United States by reason of the rulings and decisions rendered by United States Attorney Wickersham; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to draw up and introduce in the next session of Congress a bill that will prevent foreign seamen from performing the work of longshoremen on the wharves of the United States; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That this bill be drawn in such a manner as to also protect all American workers.

Referred to Committee on President's Report.

**Resolution No. 68—By Delegates T. V. O'Connor, Thos. Harrison, Geo. E. Neesham and A. J. Chlopek of the International Longshoremen's Association:**

**WHEREAS**, There is a bill before the Congress of the United States creating a National Department of Health; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, The 32d Annual Convention of A. F. of L. endorse said bill; and, be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the Legislative Committee of the A. F. of L. be instructed to use its best efforts to secure the passage of said bill.

Referred to Committee on Education.

**Resolution No. 69—By Delegate Fred W. Holt of the Arkansas Federation of Labor:**

**WHEREAS**, The Central Labor Union of Hot Springs, Ark., and the individual members of the different unions affiliated therewith have undertaken to interest organized labor throughout the country in the building and maintenance of a National Federation Sanatorium; and

WHEREAS, We believe such an institution would be one of the greatest helps toward the "uplift" of our people, and the greatest blessing that could be bestowed upon the sick or afflicted, and an onward step in the progress of our great movement; and

WHEREAS, We believe the "one spot" best fitted for such an institution would be the spot where the "God blessed" water flows, Hot Springs, Ark.; and

WHEREAS, The various affiliated labor organizations of Arkansas, assembled in annual convention, have pledged their financial support toward the building and maintenance of such an institution; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we the delegates assembled in this, the Thirty-second Annual Convention of the A. F. of L., subscribe ourselves to the ideas as set forth in this resolution, and that a committee of five be selected by this Convention upon the adoption of this resolution, whose duty shall be to devise ways and means towards the establishment and maintenance of a National Federation Sanitorium, said committee to report back to the Convention before final adjournment.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 70—By Delegate Frank H. McCarthy of the Boston Central Labor Union:

RESOLVED, That we urge that the money accumulated in the Postal Savings Banks be loaned to individuals in the community where deposited, preferably to laboring people striving to obtain a home.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 71—By Delegate Frank H. McCarthy of the Boston Central Labor Union:

RESOLVED, That we favor the imposition of a small tax on land values in place of some of the more burdensome tariff taxes.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 72—By Delegate Paul Scharrenberg of the San Francisco Labor Council:

WHEREAS, Members of the National Letter Carriers' Association have for many years past expressed a desire to join ranks with their fellow workers of other occupations who are organized under the banner of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The Postal Appropriation Bill adopted by the late session of Congress specifically legalizes affiliation of postoffice employes with the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Thirty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that we most heartily welcome the affiliation of the National Letter Carriers' Association; and be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council is hereby directed to convey these sentiments to the officers of the National Letter Carriers' Association; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a member of the Executive Council or a special representative designated by the Council be delegated to address the next annual convention of the National Letter Carriers' Association, which will meet at San Francisco, Cal., in September, 1914, with a view of bringing about the desired result.

Referred to the Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 73—By Delegate Paul Scharrenberg of the San Francisco Labor Council:

WHEREAS, The menace of Chinese labor, now greatly allayed by the passage and enforcement of the Chinese Exclusion Act, has been succeeded by an evil similar to its general character but much more threatening in its possibilities, to wit: The immigration to the United States and its insular territory of large and increasing numbers of Japanese, Koreans, Hindus and other races of natives of Asia; and

WHEREAS, The American public sentiment against the immigration of Chinese labor, as expressed and crystallized in the Chinese Exclusion Act, finds still stronger justification in the demanding of prompt and adequate measures of protection against the immigration of Japanese, Koreans and Hindus and other races native of Asia, on the grounds (1) that the wage and living standard of such labor are dangerous to, and must, if granted recognition in the United States, prove destructive of the American standards in these essential respects; (2) that the racial incompatibility as between the peoples of the Orient and the United States presents a problem of race preservation which it is our imperative duty to solve in our own favor, and which can only be thus solved by a policy of exclusion; and

WHEREAS, The systematic colonization by the Orientals of our insular territory in the Pacific, and the threatened and partly accomplished extension of that system to the Pacific Coast and other Western localities of the United States, constitutes a standing danger, not only to the domestic peace, but to the continuance of friendly relations between the nations concerned; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Thirty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that the terms of the Chinese Exclusion Act should be enlarged and extended so as to permanently exclude from the United States and its insular territory all races native of Asia and other than those exempted by the present terms of that act; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That these resolutions be submitted through the proper channels to the Congress of the United States; with a request for favorable consideration and action by that body.

Referred to Committee on President's Report.

Resolution No. 74—By Delegate Frank Butterworth of the Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers' Alliance:

WHEREAS, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor rendered a decision in the jurisdiction dispute between the International Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers' Alliance and the International Union of Steam Engineers, wherein the control of electrically operated machines, replacing hand labor in brickyards, was awarded to the engineers; and

WHEREAS, The International Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers' Alliance has filed a protest with the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. contending that the Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers had not agreed to any form of arbitration; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. be, and is, hereby instructed to reopen and thoroughly investigate the dispute between the two unions.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment:

Resolution No. 75—By Delegate Alice O'Rourke of the Badge, Banner, Regalia, Button and Novelty Workers, No. 14,065:

WHEREAS, We have exerted great efforts in an attempt to strengthen our organization, and are affiliated with the Central Federated Union of Greater New York and Vicinity and the Central Labor Union of Brooklyn, and the Central Labor Union of Hudson County, N. J., for the purpose of creating a healthy agitation for union made badges, banners, regalia, buttons and novelties; and

WHEREAS, We find that even with the hearty assistance of these bodies, we are not advancing and progressing as we desire and should; be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor directs the Executive Council to render all possible aid to the Badge, Banner, Regalia, Button and Novelty Workers No. 14,065, and request such international and national unions as have members employed in badge, banner, regalia, button and novelty shops to render ready moral assistance to this appellant union by urging workers in such shops engaged in this industry to join the said union of this trade.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 76—By Delegate H. J. Pfeiffer, of the Indiana State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Members of Machinists Local 161, International Association of Machinists, have been and are now on strike at the plant of the E. C. Atkins Saw Manufacturing Company of Indianapolis, Indiana, since August, 1911, for the right to organize and recognition of their organization; and

WHEREAS, Every honorable effort has been made by the Indianapolis Central Labor Union, the Indianapolis Building Trades and Metal Trades Councils, the Indiana State Federation of Labor, as well as the American Federation of Labor through organizer, John Lewis, to reach

an amicable adjustment of this trouble, but without success, this being due to the fact that the said firm of E. C. Atkins Saw Manufacturing Company through its president, Mr. H. C. Atkins, has positively refused on all occasions to enter into any kind of an agreement that carries with it the recognition of the unions, but he (Mr. Atkins) has on a number of occasions made the open declaration that he was running his shop on the so-called "open shop" basis, and that he intended to continue to do so in the future; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled pledges itself to do all in its power to continue to assist in this struggle for the right of the employees of the E. C. Atkins Saw Manufacturing Company to organize and the recognition of their organization, and that the Executive Council stand instructed to do whatever lies within its power to bring about the desired results and to carry this resolve into effect.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts.

Resolution No. 77—By Delegate Frank H. McCarthy, Boston Central Labor Union:

RESOLVED, That we favor embodying the Initiative and Referendum in the Federal Constitution, and the incoming Executive Council is hereby directed to use every possible effort to cause the enactment of the same.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions:

Resolution No. 78—By Delegate Frank H. McCarthy of Boston Central Labor Union:

RESOLVED, That the employees of the United States navy yards and stations should have Saturday half holidays throughout the entire year; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the incoming Executive Council be directed to use every effort possible to cause the enactment into law of the Saturday half holiday referred to above.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 79—By Delegate S. J. English of Central Trades and Labor Assembly of Watertown, N. Y.:

WHEREAS, For a number of years we have asked for aid from the American Federation and the duly constituted officials of the New York State Federation of Labor for aid pertaining to the reorganization of certain crafts in the city of Watertown, N. Y.; and

WHEREAS, There are a number of crafts already organized, but which are weak in numerical strength, because the international officials of these crafts have not given them the attention they should have given to make of them a vital and numerical factor in their trade; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates assembled at this Thirty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of

Labor, use our every endeavor to have organizers sent into this particular field to reorganize all delinquent locals and organize any new ones that may prove eligible under the laws of the American Federation of Labor as now understood.

Referred to Committee on Organization. Resolution No. 80—By Delegate Chas. P. Fahy of Nashville Trades and Labor Council:

WHEREAS, The contracts for convict labor in Tennessee will expire July 1, 1915; and

WHEREAS, The Tennessee Federation of Labor and the Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union of that state have endorsed a measure to be introduced in the Legislature, which meets the first Monday in January, 1913, which provides for the employment of the prisoners sentenced to not more than three years upon the public roads, thus reducing the competition of convict labor with skilled labor to some extent; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled that we most heartily endorse the proposed measure and request the Executive Council to do all in its power to assist the State Federation of Labor and the State Farmers' Union in Tennessee in their efforts to abolish the contract system of prison labor in Tennessee when the present contracts expire on July 1, 1915.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions. Resolution No. 81—By Delegates J. A. Franklin, M. J. McGuire and George W. Pring and Thomas J. Garvey of the International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America:

WHEREAS, On November 12, 1910, in the city of Indianapolis, Indiana, the duly authorized representatives of the Interna-

tional Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers and the International Association of Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America in conference agreed upon all work and disputes except the question of smoke stacks and breechings; and

WHEREAS, All work not mutually agreed upon was referred to Mr. James Duncan, first vice president of the American Federation of Labor, as arbitrator, whose decision should be final and binding upon both parties at interest; and

WHEREAS, The decision of Vice President Duncan was ratified by the St. Louis Convention of the American Federation of Labor, thereby settling all differences between the two organizations and constituting a bona fide agreement;

WHEREAS, The representatives of the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers have repeatedly refused to sign the agreement entered into in good faith and have and are now doing work that was conceded to the International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers and who refused to comply with the terms of the agreement; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this the Thirty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that the agreement entered into between the representatives of the two organizations at interest, including the award of Vice President Duncan, be and is hereby declared as binding upon both organizations; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the departments of the American Federation of Labor be requested to notify all local councils under their respective jurisdictions of the validity of the agreement as covering jurisdiction of the two organizations.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

At 12.30 p. m. the convention was adjourned, after receiving and referring resolutions, to reconvene at 2 p. m.

## Fourth Day—Thursday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2 p. m., Thursday, November 14th, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—Noschang, Klapetzky, Kline, Tracy (Thomas F.), Barnes, Conway, Zuckerman, Ford, Feeney, Comerford, Hannahan, Moser, Conway, Langer, Schwarz, Dyche, Nestor, Bryan, Healey, Coakley, Price, Leary, Walsh, Walker, Lewis, Holland, Valentine, Hendrick, Skemp, Sheret, Murphy, Whitehead, Miller (J. F.), Brown, Gallagher, Ryan (M. F.), Huddleston, Welch (M. R.), Williams (Thomas J.), Moyer, Swick, Sharp, Campbell (Geo. C.), Gladden, Woodman, Sause, Burke (Patrick), Hicks, Burns, Elyea, Doherty, Ferguson, Bryan (Frank O.), Pace, Morgan, Stokes, Niven, Snellings, Duffy (K.), Cunningham, Woodhouse, Labbee.

President Gompers—As has been the usual custom, resolutions will be received during the entire day, and after the close

of this session of our convention, resolutions handed in until 11 p. m. will be received, assigned and printed in the proceedings that will be distributed to-morrow.

### Supplemental Report of Committee on Credentials.

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

November 14, 1912.

To the Officers and Delegates of the 32d Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Your Committee on Credentials desires to report that we have received credentials from the following organizations and recommend that their delegates be seated:

Mineral Water Workers Union, No. 12, 674, Samuel Lebowitz, 1 vote;

Retail Clerks International Protective Association, H. J. Conway, 150 votes.

Respectfully submitted,

EDW. J. MARX, Chairman.

W. A. NEER,

DUNCAN McDONALD,  
Secretary.

On motion, the report of the committee was adopted.

President Gompers—I take pleasure in presenting to you John W. Bruce, Fraternal Delegate from the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

Fraternal Delegate John W. Bruce spoke as follows:

Mr. President and Fellow Workers: In having committed to my charge to carry the fraternal greetings from the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, I hope that I can carry the true spirit of fraternity along with me and convey to you heartily the fraternal greetings of your fellow workers across that imaginary line that is between us. To-day I am going to try and impress upon some of the international organizations the growing importance of that vast dominion, and in carrying the fraternal greetings it is with an idea that I can do something more to harmonize the spirit that is existing between the two countries as they exist today, but as far as their labor movement is concerned, only one, we knowing no distinction. In the labor movement there are many evidences of discord and it is like music, if there is discord, they do not produce that which we expect them to produce, and in our labor movement in Canada there are two causes of discord and we are doing all we possibly can as international trade unionists to harmonize them and bring them in accord with all of the international labor movements of the world with the hope of creating a solidarity of labor that will redound to the credit of the wage workers.

Jurisdictional fights have always been to the advantage of the employer and not to the advantage of the wage worker, and we, like every other portion of the civilized world, have to contend with jurisdictional fights. The formation of the Congress from its early inception until the present day has been more particularly of a legislative character and not for the settlement of jurisdictional disputes between the existing local unions. Jurisdictional fights have been left to this organization and we have always considered it consistent to enforce the mandate of this organization, but to-day there is an evident spirit prevailing amongst some of the workers in this congregation, and some of the workers in the international movement that we in Canada are not determined to live up to the mandate of the A. F. of L. I am going to try and prove to you that we are doing our evident best under the existing conditions in that Dominion to bring the workers in line with the policies of the American Federation of Labor. During the year you have had in this organization a jurisdic-

ditional fight, and according to the report of your delegates to the last convention, you heard read that we had refused by a large vote to unseat the Amalgamated Carpenters. The policy in that organization for years, as I told you, has been for legislative purposes and at different times in the history of our organization we have been told to keep ourselves absolutely and completely apart from jurisdictional fights if we wished to retain our Congress and make it of any effective use as far as legislative purposes were concerned for the Dominion of Canada. Here you see to-day that you have lost even one whole day yesterday on the question of a jurisdictional dispute, and we have tried to remain apart from that, and as I said before, jurisdictional fights have always been to the advantage of the employer and never to the advantage of the worker, and we have absolutely refrained from entering into them. Had the last delegate gone further than what he possibly did, probably it was a little oversight on his part, and showed you that we had made recommendations and an alteration in our constitution that provided for the non-seating of delegates who represented organizations that were not affiliated with their international unions and were not bona fide trade unionists in sympathy with the international spirit of the trade union movement.

Fellow workers, one of the great dangers of the Dominion is the vastness of its territory and our inability to cover it in the way that we would like to cover it, and then again we have a vast immigration policy of a character which you have not to contend with even here in the United States. During the last year the immigration to our country was 355,000 people, 138,120 being British subjects, 133,710 being American subjects and 82,400 were foreign subjects. You who have been in or studied the conditions in Canada know of the severity of our winters, you know that the building conditions or the operation of the building industry is in the limited period of probably seven months, and when you come to consider inside of that that forty per cent of the number that I have mentioned are of the artisan class, you can realize what a serious condition we have to contend with every year with the large influx of immigrants of the artisan class.

Coming down to the question of the amalgamation of the carpenters in the international movement, the majority of the men who are trying to lead the destinies of the wage workers in Canada realize that as vast as this continent is, that it is too small for two organizations of one craft, and we believe that under the existing conditions of industry, and the majority of the carpenters who come from the old land carrying cards of the Amalgamated Carpenters, that for our purposes there should be a spirit of toleration consistent only with the idea of allowing us to try and cement those two bodies into one consolidated organization of carpenters. We are not trying to defeat the will or the wishes of the A. F. of L., although some may try to lead you to believe such, but I can assure you that the international trades unionist in the

Dominion of Canada is just as firm today as he has ever been, he is just as determined that the labor movement is an international movement, and that if they wish to take part in that movement they have also to be international in their character.

There is another proposition, that is the electrical workers, and in speaking with the men of the electrical workers, in my duties carrying me across that continent, they are hopeful in the extreme that this body is going to rise to the occasion and do something to cement the two factions of the electrical workers into one grand organization for the protection of their own craft.

We come to a question that seriously affects the workers in the Dominion. When I spoke to you before of the marvelous rate of immigration, we come to the serious side of it. The Dominion is supposed to be purely and simply an agricultural country, but with the development of agriculture we find they have unearthed in that Dominion the finest natural resources of any country in the world, the natural resources of that country are unlimited, but what do we find? We find that in the immigration that has taken place through that country inside of the last ten years of over two million people, that it has been the tendency to increase the city population and not the rural. We find to-day in the Dominion of Canada that there are only fifty-four per cent of the people, of a supposed agricultural country, who are engaged in agriculture. We find that the other forty-six per cent are engaged in industrial pursuits in an urban district, and when you realize, any of you who have studied the proposition of population and the prosperity of countries, especially those which are supposed to be agricultural countries, you know that there cannot be any continued prosperity in any country where the rural population is of such a small percentage higher than the urban population. It is absolutely necessary as far as agriculture is concerned that they should compose at least from sixty-five to seventy per cent of the population. With the growing activity of the cities and the development of the natural resources, we find, according to the statistics published, that for every four days of their existence there is a creation of five factories in the industry, and during the last ten years the increase in those employed in those industries has been fifty-one per cent. You can realize with those conditions existing and the immigration policy as I have outlined to you, that we in Canada are up against a serious proposition. Just at the moment that we think that we have covered the ground and built a wall around ourselves by organizing our workers, we find that there is another influx of workers due to the changing seasons and the immigration policy. To defeat the will of the workers at particular times of the year, we find that the restrictions that are placed on immigration are removed. We believe that this country or this world is wide enough to provide for us all, but when men are de-

termined by force of economic circumstances in one land to fly for another land, man's material instinct is one of the first things, he looks for self-preservation, and he must look for some protection against the encroachment of these men on his economic position. It is absolutely necessary that he should do something to protect himself, and we from time to time have petitioned the Dominion government to do something along those lines, to help us out in the immigration policy. During times of strike we have found that instead of the act helping us in any way that it has been used to our detriment. There is the Alien Labor Law which we have found violated on every occasion, and men have been allowed to filter into our country and replace the men who are out on strike. And, therefore, I say to you that there should be some spirit of toleration with the existing conditions growing up and let us as best we can find a solution and overcome the present difficulties. Had any of you been in our country during the last campaign, you would have been impressed with one great fact that was used to blind the workers. During the whole of that campaign, it was not a question of the merit of the particular things that were put before the workers; it was the insane policy of the mind of the capitalist and the politicians to defeat the will of the workers by crying out for a British-born policy, that if they did not defeat reciprocity, we would become annexed to the United States. That policy, brothers, carried; won its way into the hearts of those men and they went to the booths in such numbers they caused a landslide that even the most optimistic of the politicians who invented that cry never dreamed of.

And the same thing applied in our labor movement to-day. If you start any policy that will start them to do anything, they will begin the same cry. The whole of our organizations are permeated with men narrow enough to take up that race and flag cry. Many of these men are determined to blaze the way, not only for a Canadian organization but for British institutions on British soil. It may not appear to you such a great danger as it does to me, but I have been engaged in this movement for many years and I know its dangers. I have studied the question in Australia. I have studied it in Africa. I have studied it in England, and on this continent, and I find exactly the same problem confronting the wage worker everywhere I have been. And when they appeal to that sentiment, I have been long enough in the movement to know that in the men coming from the British Isles there is a spirit that will cause them to fight for British institutions prior to and independent of anything else, whether there is merit in them or not.

Now, coming down to the work of our Congress, it will be interesting to some of you to hear what the Congress is doing. The Congress has grown in twelve years from 8,000 to 66,000 members. There are 42 international unions paying per capita tax on 55,000, representing \$19 local

unions. The other 11,000 are accounted for by representation through central bodies and federal unions, and post office employes. To-day we have in Canada, according to a government report issued, 1,531 international unions, representing 119,500 members, with 37 trade councils, as against the distinctly Canadian or National movement of 191 national or independent unions, representing 13,700, with three trades councils. And let me here mention that in that 13,700, they are not all of the distinctly Canadian variety. Some are men who have probably broken away from their international unions and formed independent unions, not with the idea of seceding, but with the idea probably of defeating the will of their organizations, perhaps on an administrative point; and these men I believe, with an aggressive policy, can be won back to this international labor movement.

In the last Congress, we found our troubles the same as yours. We have had to contend with the fight for free speech. During last winter, we had terrible conditions prevailing on the Pacific Coast, and in the city of Vancouver. There was a riot. Some people claimed it was brought about by the I. W. W.'s, but it was because the unemployed had congregated in a certain place to protest against the conditions existing, and the police tried to club them into submission. We find to-day that the workers were justified and their contention of free speech has been upheld. In the East, they have been up against the same proposition, and are fighting relentlessly for a free press and free speech. The case of the United Mine Workers, mentioned by Delegate Smith this morning, in his speech, might appear interesting to some of the brothers if outlined. There are provinces in the Dominion that have formed compensation laws, governing their own provinces. In the case mentioned by Delegate Smith, we find that the dependents residing in one province were not entitled to the compensation when the man was injured in another province. Through the efforts of the United Mine Workers of America and the Trades Congress, the case was taken to the Privy Council of England. The result has justified the Mine Workers and the Congress, because a decision was rendered that, no matter where the dependents lived, they are entitled to compensation.

We are trying, among other things, to control the Oriental immigration and limit their industry to themselves. One of our provinces has been so progressive as to make it an offense against the statutes for a Chinaman to employ white help in connection with the industry in which he is engaged. The constitutionality of that law is to be tested, but we hope the province will rise supreme and that the act will be upheld.

We had another fight during the year, and while we as wage workers recognize that the working class all over the world has to face the same economic problems, we do not believe they have to work al-

ways the same social problems. During the year, one of the great questions that arose was in regard to Hindu labor. The law relating to Hindu immigration provides that those who come into our country, must come by a direct route. With one or two exceptions there are no Hindu women in the Dominion of Canada. As a test case, they tried to bring in Hindu women. Emissaries of the Hindu race appeared before the government and before the various boards, soliciting sympathy, but I am glad to say that through the activity of the Congress and the trade unionists, we were able to defeat them. We hope that we will be able to make such stringent regulations that Oriental immigration will be limited.

A great deal has been said among the wage workers at different times in our history of the benefits of arbitration and conciliation. One of the governments of our country thought to meet the wishes of the workers by putting a bill on the statutes known as the Industrial Investigation Act. When the act was first proposed the Trades and Labor Congress favored it, although there were some who realized the seriousness of the proposition and wanted them to go easy in endorsing it. Now we find that after a few years of operation the act has not worked out to the satisfaction of the wage workers. When an appeal is made to a government for an investigation under the act, the law will apply, if you have a strong organization behind you; but if you have a weak organization and are not in a position to enforce your demands, you will find the Board is refused. There have been instances where wage workers have been able to get Boards under the act, but the employer has not been willing to live up to the award. Even when we find a weak organization of the Canadian element appealing for a Board, it is not granted. After an exhaustive hearing of those most directly concerned in the operation of this act, the Congress by a very large vote, determined to seek the repeal of the act, or seek a better administration of it. We stated that we were not opposed to arbitration and conciliation, if it were conducted with the intention of arbitrating and conciliating the disputes regardless of the strength of the organizations.

During the last two or three years the question of workmen's compensation has engaged our attention. Having studied this proposition a good deal, I am going to pay my respects to the State of Washington for the Workmen's Compensation Act they have secured. It is a splendid piece of legislation and it is up to the other states of this union to try to emulate the work of the Washington Federation of Labor and the various labor bodies of that state, that fought until they secured such a fine piece of legislation. In the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress we are fighting before the Ontario Commission of Investigation of Workmen's Compensation Acts, and if

we put the compensation law we want on the statutes, it will be finest act of its kind in the world. We are hopeful, in spite of the blue book that has been issued, that we can count on the sympathy to a certain extent of the man who is conducting the investigation. An admission was made by Mr. Boyd, of Ohio, who was brought there by the employers, that an industrial insurance act was absolutely necessary for the protection of the wage workers on account of the uncertainty of the present wage system. He made that admission when he was asked what he thought of workmen's compensation acts. Those are significant words if we consider the conditions under which the admission was made. We hope our efforts will be rewarded and that we may perhaps leave the world with the finest workmen's compensation act written in the statutes of this or any other country.

An industrial resolution has been carried in the Dominion Trades and Labor Congress that may be misunderstood. No piece of legislation is ever put on the statutes of states, provinces, or countries, without at least a certain amount of educational work having to be done before it becomes a law. Realizing the conditions existing in regard to the wage workers of the Dominion, thinking they could crystallize the thoughts of the workers, in the form of industrial unionism, and do something to offset the trouble being created at the present time by jurisdictional disputes in craft unions, that not only disrupt the craft unions but disintegrate the movement, the resolution was adopted. Some people have misconstrued the intent of the resolution. However, the intent of the resolution is exactly what has been enunciated on this floor in the last few days, that we are in favor of the amalgamation of trades and the consolidation of the various units of industry in which they are engaged and in no way support the policy of a concrete organization like the Industrial Workers of the World, with their inflammatory doctrines and propaganda.

That brings me to the question that was well taken care of last year in the President's report. I am sorry that there is nothing in that report this year, showing that any one has taken notice of it or made any progress in that direction. I refer to the migratory laborers. This is one of the propositions that is affecting the wage workers of the Dominion of Canada. During the harvest season, people come to our industrial centers and urge thousands of workers to go to the harvest fields. As a result we have a floating population of laborers engaged at one season in some of the industries, at another season in the harvest fields, and in the winter in the lumber camps. If you study the question of industrial unionism to-day as outlined by the I. W. W.'s you will find the only place they can make any progress with their inflammatory propaganda, is among large aggregations of uneducated or migratory laborers.

I am pleased with the preparations being made on the Pacific Coast in regard to such laborers. We find the officers of the Shingle Weavers Union have gone into the question with the hope of extending their jurisdiction to take in the men working in and around the lumber camps. I hope some more progressive policy will be adopted and some attention paid to the remarks of our President when he urged that something be done to organize those laborers and offset the work of the Industrial Workers of the World.

You will find the men engaged to-day in an industry of any craft that requires skill will not connect themselves with the I. W. W. If a craft worker realizes the seriousness of the situation he will make some effort in his own organization or in his central body to organize the migratory workers into an organization. They should be granted the privilege of traveling over the continent and engaging in any line of work they desire.

In the report of the Executive Council reference is made to the iron and steel industry. We have exactly the same condition prevailing in our iron and steel industry; in fact, I believe, it is somewhat worse. In the Dominion we find that the greatest industry in the country is the iron and steel industry, and absolutely the worst conditions for wage workers prevail in it. When the representatives of the Congress went before the government last Saturday they urged the necessity of the government conducting an investigation into the workings of the iron and steel industry. The Dominion Government, like the United States Government, is not willing to go into an investigation of an industry from which so many of them receive profits. We find there are over 6,000 people engaged in that industry in and around Cape Breton and that 60 per cent of them receive only \$1.40 a day. That is a revolting condition. The conditions under which these men work are so deplorable that you can only class it with the lowest condition prevailing in the uneducated portion of Southern Europe. There with a multiplicity of tongues and the environment created are conditions that are a disgrace to the Dominion, especially when we boast of so much prosperity.

Our brother from across the sea referred to the question of war and a war scare. I have been in a country where war was carried on in the last ten years, and if anyone wants anything in this life to impress upon him the terrible havoc and the devastating effect of war he should take a trip to that country. When you walk across a country where 150,000 wage workers are below the sod for the perpetuation of a capitalistic system it gives you an idea of what war has been brought about for. I was in South Africa after the close of the war, and if ever an iniquitous war was brought about by capitalistic interests it was that one. It was brought about for the control of mines by capitalists for their own profit. The Britisher in that country was urged to vote and sign a petition asking the



British Government to go into this war for the protection of the rights of the citizens; but as soon as the war was over a mandate was issued to bring in Chinese labor, and thousands of Chinamen were brought in. Later they themselves were compelled to pass legislation remedying that condition. The men who are working there to-day are receiving less than they were under the old Boer Government. And who was taxed for that war? Every one of the workers of the British Islands. Although \$300,000,000 was supposed to be subscribed by the States of that Commonwealth, they are not living up to that provision and the wage workers of the old country are being ground down under an excessive and unjust war tax.

In the Congress we were pleased to hear Kier Hardie, the British fraternal delegate. He brought to us the fraternal spirit of the wage workers of the old land. He urged us to unite with the wage workers of other countries to wipe out this system of war. The best way we can do it is to assert our rights and our manhood by determining that we are going to be one of the factors in deciding whether we shall have a war or whether we shall not have a war. And if it comes let us have a voice in it, when we stand up and say we will not give up our right to strike. Then is the time to demonstrate the solidarity of labor and strike with all our might against fighting our fellow workers in other lands to bring about a system that will oppress us further.

In this country you have your Sherman Anti-trust Law and we have our Combines Act, and one of the first cases brought up under the Combines Act brought about a very peculiar situation. During the year the United Shoe Machinery Company was summoned before the courts on account of having a monopoly of the shoe machinery, and therefore according to the statutes of the land they were guilty of conspiracy in restraint of trade. After an exhaustive hearing they were found guilty of conspiracy, but there is no judgment entered other than that they are given six months in which to readjust their business, although the Act specifically states they should be dissolved from the day the judgment is given and fined \$500 for every day they operate under the combine after ten days.

During the year we carried on an aggressive campaign and with the work of our convention we find there is a determined effort among the wage workers of our Dominion to make themselves heard and their efforts felt. With the evolution and changing conditions of industry to-day it is evident that the wage workers have to find some other form of organization or some completed form to combat those changing conditions. To-day when we find skill is eliminated from the various industries and men are made part of the machines, it is absolutely necessary for the wage worker to find some means of self-preservation. And we find on this continent the same conditions that

exist everywhere as far as the wage-worker is concerned. We are told in some instances the troubles of the wage worker in one portion of the world are not the same as the troubles of the wage worker in another part of the world. I have been around the world and have failed to find a place where the worker is not suffering exactly the same both economically and socially. Therefore we have to be in a united fight, we have to find some way to combat the encroachments of a system that is subjugating the worker and making him part of the machine.

We have heard something of the wages of the workers being raised. If we talk of normal wages we find the workers have received greater rewards, but if we speak of real wages then they are in exactly the same position or even in a worse position than they were twenty years ago. Wages is merely labor reproducing itself, and when the wage worker starts to learn that he is merely reproducing himself he will realize the seriousness of his position. There are many men within the sound of my voice who are in a conscious movement but their souls are not conscious of the class struggle. The class struggle is going on incessantly and grinding the workers, dragging them so low they must do something for self-preservation. Many of them have learned political economy, and to-day you will find many of them going out united, not only on the industrial field, but on the political field. And though some of the men here may disagree with me, as I know they do, I am going to tell you it is useless for us to think we can pass resolutions and mandates in this convention and not have the law with us. If we wish to put those laws into effect we must have the machinery of the State behind us to put the mandates of the workers into effect. You find it necessary even in this convention, when you make mandates, to go out and enforce them against your smaller bodies; and, as I said before, it is absolutely necessary when we make laws in our bodies to be in a position to write them into the statutes of the land and enforce them according to the dictates of the workers.

It is said that labor produces all wealth and that wealth should belong to labor, and the sooner we realize it, the sooner we get out after the wealth we have created, the better for ourselves and the better for the wage workers of the civilized world. To-day we as a body in convention assembled represent about three per cent of the population of this North American Continent. While I accept you as part of the labor movement, I do not accept you as the whole of the labor problem. There are thousands of others who have to be considered in this labor problem, and if they have no particular skill, do not lose the opportunity of educating these men politically to their own importance and utilizing them as one of the great factors in the fight that is going to bring to the workers the wealth they produce.

During the last few years many changes have taken place in industry, and we find

also that many changes are taking place politically. All over the civilized world we find an evident desire on the part of the workers to make an organization that is the political expression of the wage workers. And sometimes I hear it said that those who associate themselves with their political organization, forced there by the economic conditions prevailing, are detrimental to the trade union movement. I deny that for myself and I think I can deny it for thousands of others. They are heart and soul with you in this movement. There are many men on the floor of this convention to-day who probably have the same sentiments I do, and we are not antagonistic, as far as I am concerned and as far as they are concerned, to the trade union movement; but we go out and back up a political system that will bring some recognition of the efforts of the wage workers, and at least try to make a better and brighter life for the wage workers of this civilized world and of this continent in particular.

You have just gone through a campaign, and it is evident the wage workers were not asleep to the possibilities, and they are awakening to a greater realization of the power of the franchise, and when they awake to a full realization of the power of that franchise, the American Federation of Labor will go on and on to a realization of that dream of the workers when they will speak in no uncertain voice in their conventions, and you will find they will be recognized politically.

Now, brothers, I have to thank you for this opportunity of speaking to you, and although some of you may not agree with some of the sentiments I have expressed, they are my honest convictions. I am here determined to spend a life consecrated to the hope of the workers, and that is that the wealth they produce shall be returned to them.

President Gompers—I have now the pleasure of presenting to you Rev. Charles S. Macfarland, of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ.

Fraternal Delegate Macfarland — Mr. President and Gentlemen: It has been my pleasure during the year, as you may suspect, to attend a great many conventions where religious and moral questions were discussed, and I wish to bear witness and testimony this afternoon that during these past twelve months I have not attended a convention that has had a loftier moral tone than the session this morning, with its echo this afternoon in those splendid pleas of our brethren from across the water for an unending and international brotherhood. I would like to suggest that it would be pretty difficult for us here in this country to know with whom we would go to war without putting blood against blood and kin against kin.

A little while ago I addressed a gathering in England, and at the close of the address a member of that ornamental institution known as the House of Lords, who happened to be in the gathering—if the reference is invidious I beg pardon—I am encouraged to go on—a member of that ornamental and useless institution

arose and said, in reference to a description I had given of the splendid democracy of our public school system, "I would like to have you, sir, if you can, give a definition of what an American is." And I said, "Yes, sir. My father was born in Sweden. His father was born in Scotland. His mother was born in Denmark. My mother's mother was a French woman born in Canada. Her father was a German. Therefore I am an American." It is a little difficult for me to know with whom to go to war without warring against my own blood and kin.

In that classic masterpiece by Mr. Smille this morning, combining as it did—as I have seldom heard them combined—the elements of sympathy and power, of kindness and of the utterance of truth, of justice tempered with patience, he referred to the importance of educating and creating that sympathy on the part of what we call public sentiment. And if, therefore, I and those I represent have any task that is worth while, it is while your organizers are going about and organizing men into these fraternal unions, to go about if I can and organize an insight and sympathy on the part of those we call, for want of a better term, the public.

I have had some opportunity, I think, of noting the progress of that public sympathy, and I want to bear witness to-day that it has progressed, despite some sad things that have happened during the past year, despite the unfair use that has been made of a multitude of incidents, and, Mr. President, despite one other thing, and I am ready here upon the part of one hundred and fifty thousand churches I represent to protest against the absolutely unfair and unjust attitude of the public daily press of this country to the labor movement. I have known of cases, Mr. President, where you yourself have been attacked by those who wished through you to attack this movement and this cause. Statements have been made which were absolutely untrue. The President of this convention, to my knowledge, has made counter-statements, in which he proved conclusively the untruth of those previous statements, has sent his answer to the public press, and I, knowing it, have looked and watched and waited in vain for those responses to appear in that public press. And therefore if my constituents should accuse me of some inaccuracy in saying that the labor movement has not received fair treatment from a portion at least of the public press, I believe I should be able to deliver the goods, and if I were not ready I am sure the President of this organization could help me.

Despite these things I believe there is to-day a larger sympathy upon the part of what we term the public for this Federation and what it represents than there was one year ago. I believe I have come here representing the seventeen million members of our Protestant evangelical churches with more of their sympathy

behind me than I had one year ago. The churches are unwilling to be represented, if ever they have been, by the individual at the banquet in a luxurious hotel who, after hearing the portrayal by an eloquent speaker of the hardships and the sacrifices of the working man, arose and said at the close that something must be done, that his heart and his sympathies had been moved, and he proposed that three cheers be given for the working man.

There is coming to be a new vocabulary in the thinking of the public. Certain words are being transposed. Philanthropy is still used, but we are coming to use instead of the words magnanimity and generosity in our consideration of industrial relations the words justice and righteousness.

Last year I came here and spent nearly the entire time at the convention. It was one of the most educational periods of my life. During the time I was here I never missed a single session or part of a session, and that is more than some of the delegates can say. Yesterday and today that education has been continued, and I discovered, very much to my encouragement, that all the sectarianism in the world is not confined to the sectarianism of the church, and that it is practically the same problem to keep federations of labor together as it is to keep federations of the church together.

I said something about the task the Federal Council had committed to me a year ago, and I would like to indicate some of the work we have been able to do in our little and perhaps unobtrusive way. There are now employed by the Federal Council six secretaries who are engaged in this task of bringing about the right relation of the churches of the nation and these industries; and every one of these secretaries was selected from men who in their local communities and pastorates had been working harmoniously and earnestly with the organizations of labor of those communities.

Our campaign, which you so heartily endorsed last year, for one day in seven for all industrial workers, has made some progress. I have a record of over twenty thousand pastors who on Labor Sunday of this year preached on that subject and on child labor and similar themes. I have to report that probably there was never a time in the history of the Christian church when ministers were giving so much thoughtful and sympathetic study to your problems as they are today. The Federal Council lent its influence in behalf of the Federal Commission on Industrial Relations. A large proportion of the people outside your ranks know little about the situation. It is veiled in mysterious darkness, and good and thoughtful men and women sometimes say to me, "If we could only know the disproportion between dividend and wage, between sacrifice and selfishness!" And the disposition of the Christian church to-day, I believe, is to say, "There is nothing covered that shall not be re-

vealed, and nothing hidden that shall not be made manifest."

Last year in this convention I listened to the story of the industrial warfare at Muscatine, Iowa. Immediately upon my return, at a meeting of the Council, a committee was appointed to make a fair and frank investigation and report. We were disappointed that it did not secure a righteous settlement of that disaster, and yet I believe it had this value: We were able to give, by the issuance of some 40,000 of those reports a true knowledge of the situation to some forty thousand or more people.

The political parties this year fell over themselves, over and over again, in an attempt to climb upon the highest platform that they dared of social and industrial justice. Some question has been raised as to where they got the planks for their platform. I did not see a single plank in any one of the platforms that was really significant that had not been put in the platform of the American Federation of Labor years and years ago. I suppose that in a large measure those political platforms were taken from the report of the Committee on Standards of Living and Labor of the National Conference of Charities and Correction, and that platform was largely taken from the platform enunciated by the Federal Council of Churches in 1908 in Philadelphia: so that at least the church on that issue was ahead of the Conference of Charities and Correction and the political parties. At a meeting in Philadelphia of the Federal Council of Churches, over which Denis Hayes presided, that platform was adopted from the principles of the American Federation of Labor.

Now we are saying, and I believe much more confidently every year, when we are asked whether the Christian church should enter on the industrial situation: "Yes, let the church do it or give up her Lord and Master to the great industrial master with outstretched hands saying, 'Suffer little children to come unto me, and forbid them not, for of such is the kingdom of Mammon.' Let us do this or change the scriptures and say frankly, 'The Sabbath was not made for man,' she must get some higher critic to cut out the greater part of the teaching of Jesus and say, 'It is either one thing or the other—Barabbas or Christ, God or Mammon.'"

The only time when Jesus declared the moral determinance of human destiny was in the twenty-fifth chapter of Matthew when he uttered these scathing, severe words to us: "Inasmuch as ye have done it, or done it not, unto the least of these my brethren, ye did it, or did it not, unto me."

I read that chapter the other evening and then I picked up the report of the Bureau of Labor and read of the two millions injured and the thirty-five thousand killed in one year, largely by preventable disasters, and said: "Two million thirty-five thousand Christs!" I was in a factory the other day where there was less glow upon the faces of nearly 500 children than that which flashed upon the machinery of which they were a part,

and I could not helping saying: "Five hundred Christs!" As I walked the streets of Lawrence—thirty thousand Christs! Not long ago in a little city called Bethlehem, thousands of Christs working twelve hours a day, seven days of every week!

And so, Mr. President, this is the task we are trying to perform, to educate and to bring into rightful relations of sympathy the great mass of the people with whom we have the privilege of being. And to-day again, as I did last year, I repeat to you that greeting that came from the Federal Council four years ago. But first I want to say that I have a high regard for the Secretary of this Federation, and not only that but a personal affection, yet he sometimes sends out figures from the office of the Federation of Labor that are misleading; he sends out word that this Federation has a membership of something like two million members. The impression that creates upon unthinking minds is that this Federation only represents two million working men, and that is one of the saddest and most haggard fallacies that was ever uttered or thought.

And so I repeat the message, "To the toilers of America." Through you, I say, for in everything that relates to their economic and in a multitude of things that relate to their moral uplifting this Federation of Labor represents all the toilers of America; and, furthermore, the only difference between those two millions, in my personal opinion, and the other—whatever they may be, call it eighteen million—is this: That the two millions are lifting the twenty millions and the eighteen millions are being lifted without helping very much to lift themselves. Therefore, it was not an anachronism or an anomaly when the Federal Council four years ago sent this message to the American Federation of Labor:

"To the Toilers of America and to those who by organized efforts are helping to ameliorate the hardships and to uplift the dignity of labor, the Federal Council sends the pledge of brotherhood and of sympathy and of help in a cause that belongs to all who follow Christ."

President Gompers—I now take pleasure in presenting to you Rev. Peter Dietz of the American Federation of Catholic Societies.

Fraternal Delegate Dietz—Mr. Chairman and Fellow Delegates: I am delighted to be with you again. I have had a great many and varied experiences in the course of the year, and I speak the truth when I say that none gives me more genuine satisfaction than to come back here and to get the glad hand of the delegates of this convention. I am not going to make a report of the work that I have been trying to do along this line among the constituencies I represent. I do not have to come here to talk trades unionism to you gentlemen; I try to do that to the Catholic societies whenever and wherever I have the opportunity. They get plenty of sermons but not enough of trades unionism; you get plenty of trades unionism and perhaps not

enough of sermons, and therefore I have made up my mind to preach to you this afternoon just a short sermon with one or two points.

The first point I want to make is this: That mere economic strength is not a determining factor in industrial progress. Now that is a sentiment that has obtained altogether too much prevalence. There are certain factors of economic strength; they are men; they are money; they are organization; they are the resourceful power of united action. These forces are necessary machinery of industrial action. God forbid that I should wish to curtail any of these forces even in the slightest manner. On the contrary, if I could I would increase their effectiveness an hundredfold. The structure of economic strength must be built on the foundation of justice, justice to God, justice to yourselves, justice to your fellow man, no matter what his station in life, no matter what his class may be, no matter what his policy or pursuit in life may be. Economic strength is something entirely apart from justice and right. It is not a question of mere power. These things do not go hand in hand, they do not necessarily run parallel. Sometimes justice and right may be on the side of even hopeless minority, they may even be associated with weakness and ignorance. Justice and right include many points of honor, strength of character, fairness, even to an enemy. They embrace the truth, they dispel prejudice, they reveal bigotry, they punish wrong, even in a friend; they have their face always turned to the light; they spurn passion and are determined to render equity to every man and to every movement. There is no greater compliment you can pay a man than to tell him he is a just man. And that sentiment of justice is native to the human breast. God has planted that seed in every soul and he has established religion to foster that seed of justice in the human soul to make it grow and prevail in this world of his.

One of the fundamental things of religion, or the fundamental thing, is the recognition of the almighty power of God above us. There is a God who had in his mind the plan of the universe, including ourselves, and God went on and carried out that plan according to his own will, an intelligent will, a conscious will. This world is not ruled by blind force. There are those who tell you that all things are matter and materialism. I say above matter and far greater than it is spirit and idealism. The world is not ruled by a blind force; the world is not governed by economic strength as such; human destinies are not made to follow the lines of the materialistic conception of history or the economic interpretation; but above all, the destinies of the world are guided, whether you will or not, by the almighty will of God. God has spoken and made that will of His plain. He has communicated his thought in a manner that is not unreasonable.

When some man conceived the idea of a trade union he took some other man into his confidence; he surrounded himself with a number of friends and they discussed this problem of trades unionism;

they formed a temporary organization, they developed a philosophy of labor, they instituted executive bodies to carry out their policies. There is nothing unreasonable in that; it is in accord with the principles of sound common sense. Why cannot we apply the same thing to religion? People will tell you that in these days creeds are outworn, that they are things of the past, that we walk over them and pay no attention to them. Gentlemen, that is an unreasonable statement. When you come to me and tell me you do not need a philosophy of labor, when you can tell me you need no set of principles, that you need no creed of trades unionism, when you can tell me you need no organization, no business agents, no executive committees, no labor press, no officers to carry out the policy of trades unionism, then, gentlemen, will I be ready to admit that we do not need creed in God's supreme business in the universe, which is religion.

The trouble is that the notion a great many people have about religion is that they see the miserable tinkering with God's work on the part of men who set themselves up into the place of God, who are trying to scab it upon the Lord; but when God made His religion He made it right and gave it into the custody of men that have formed the tightest union that has ever been known in the history of the world and that is the tightest union today. That religion which God gave the world, which is the expression of his divine will, is not subject to the whims and the fancies of thinkers whether they call themselves religious or not. This religion is not subject to the decrees of conventions or to the laws of parliaments; it stands above these things supremely the law of God. No movement, no nation can set itself above the divine law of God. And when men hoist up a banner and put upon it the words, "No God and no Master," they, in their presumption, will fall, as we are told in one of the first lessons of christianity that Lucifer, the king and the prince of angels, failed when he rebelled against God and said, "I will not serve." And, like Lucifer, peoples and nations have failed and fallen into decay because they would not obey the God who made them.

My friends, this is the main thought I wished to bring out, that you cannot storm the heavens, you cannot ignore God. No man, no set of men, no movement, no nation and the history of the world bears me out—can do that. I want to make that one point that it is above these things, that more economic strength, mere political strength by itself is no more than the wooden toy sword of a soldier boy in the street as compared with the all-powerful arm of God.

That is my first point. The second is even shorter. You are told that religion is a private matter; people write it in their platforms and try to make it their policy; but, my dear friends, do not deceive yourselves, religion is not a private matter; it is the last thing in the world that could afford to be a private matter. Tell me that the acorn must remain hid-

den in the ground forever; tell me that marriage must be without children; tell me that your thoughts and aspirations and endeavors must be forever hidden in the recesses of your mind; tell me that you must remain in your homes and not go out to work and control and create and govern—when you tell me those things, my friends, I will admit religion is a private matter, but not until then. Religion is a private matter, but in addition to that it requires the public expression on the part of boys and girls and men and women, and the democracies of the twentieth century can no more ignore religion in its public character than could the movements of any other age. When you take away religion this world becomes a desert, and, therefore, it is necessary that religion penetrate into the home and into the school, that it penetrate into the union and into the factory, into the market place and into the parliaments of the nations. It is necessary as a public expression of our faith in God, the creator and the ruler of the world.

My dear friends, suppose you could carry out the slogan of some that tell you, "Workers of the world unite. You have nothing to lose but your chains and you have a world to win." Suppose you could cast off that which you regard as a chain, the christian heritage of the past, the civilization of the past, the institution of the past, all that has been created and brought about by the finest human instinct of the past—suppose you could cast it away and cut it off as a chain and then go forward and win a world, my friends, when you have won the world, when you get there Christ will be there ahead of you and he will address to you that same old question: "What does it profit a man even if he does win the world, but suffer the loss of his soul?" What exchange can a man make for his soul? That, my friends, is the message of the Catholic Church I leave with you here to-day. What will it profit you?

Go on, organize, carry on your endeavors and your works; I am in sympathy with you and the constituencies I represent are in sympathy with you. In spite of the setbacks you have had in the last year I am glad to note the progress you have made. I am with you. I have as great confidence in your movement as I have ever had and I will continue to preach the efficacy of this movement. But do not forget God. Remember he is still there, he will always be there and will address to you the question: What can you profit even if you gain the world but suffer the loss of your soul?

President Gompers—I take pleasure in presenting to you the Rev. James Bishop Thomas, representing the Church Association for the Advancement of Labor.

Mr. Thomas—Mr. President and Fellow Delegates: You have listened to-day to a rare amount of talent and eloquence, with which I cannot compete either in quantity or ability, and so I must be permitted to take a slightly different tack, and if you will allow me, speak in a lighter

vein. Now, this is to be taken seriously. As I have looked out upon this audience my first impression was, judging from the frontal developments as they appeared, that I was in a gathering of high-brows; but as a high-brow is usually associated with a puny body I looked farther, and so I am constrained to the conclusion that this gathering represents sanity of mind and strength of body. It is a gathering of men of ability and endurance; it is a gathering of men who are pre-eminently practical, men who have done things; and yet I am impressed today with the fact that it is also a gathering of men who see visions and dream dreams. That is the most marvelous combination you can get, of practical visionaries, of men who see a vision and then endeavor to realize it.

Now, just a word as to the society I have the honor to represent. It was organized by nine clergymen of the Episcopal Church in 1887. Those men realized that there was a social situation upon which the church needed to be awakened. It was not organized so much to help the workers at the outset as to bring the church to an intelligent appreciation of the problems of which it was recognized to be in ignorance. These men had been awakened in large measure by the single tax gospel of Henry George and Father McGlynn of blessed memory. They followed their program as far as they could, and in its promulgation you will find sentiments that are based upon the socialization of the land. In the second statement of their program they say: "God is the sole possessor of the earth and its fulness; man is but the steward of God's bounties." These men studied the labor problem and the social problem. They were soon led to the conviction that the agency that would begin to get results was the agency whereby the workers did things for themselves; and so early in their history they committed themselves to the unqualified support of organized labor.

Some of your critics, and possibly your friends, speak of you as the labor trust. The Supreme Court of the United States not long ago said there were good trusts and bad trusts. I have puzzled my head somewhat as to what might be a good trust, until it occurred to me that perhaps they had in mind the American Federation of Labor. If your organization be a trust, it is certainly a good trust, because whereas other trusts exist in order to make commodities dear and hard to get, this trust exists in order to make the labor of men dear, that is, of value; and it has sound economic principles underlying it, because by the increase of the purchasing power of labor we are increasing our own markets, and the methods that are employed not only get immediate results but they get them by gradual methods which do not aim at the ruination of business.

Now I am not going to tell you a lot of things you know already. On the program of the Church Association the first thing mentioned is prayer. That is a very natural thing for a body of clergymen to begin with, but I would also commend this to the laity and to the

members of this organization in particular. If a man is engaged in the heavy labors of life and is called upon to fight for principle, if he prays while he fights rather than curses while he fights he will fight cleaner and better and longer. It seems to me, if I may make the suggestion as an outsider, a body of the dignity of this convention would add to its dignity by opening its sessions with prayer. Now, I do not think that would devolve upon your President, but if you put it up to him he would make good. Some small boys in this city, one of them the son of a parson, were eating together. One said to the parson's son: "I bet you can't ask a blessing." The parson's son said: "I bet I can," and said, "Oh, God bless us and bless this food, for Christ's sake—stung! He did not mean that as a part of the blessing. I am sure you could have bishops or rabbis or priests or parsons of any kind who would feel they were doing a great work if they were invited to open your sessions with an invocation.

And now, gentlemen, what can a comparatively feeble organization like the one I represent do in behalf of the cause of labor? It cannot do the things the working men must do for themselves, and if it could it would not be advisable. If the American Federation of Labor does its work it will do it because it develops internal strength and endurance and fighting power, for what it wins for itself it will be able to hold; and if these were given by any other influence they might be taken away. And, therefore, I am for this other method of hard work through effort rather than for a wholesale legislation whereby we might hope by putting a few votes in the ballot box to draw out the millennium.

I think the American Federation of Labor will appreciate every honest attempt made to understand it and its position, and our Association has always tried to find out the facts and then to tell them. For example, it is the duty of each member to take and read at least one journal devoted to the interests of labor. That is so they will get things straight. I would like to summarize the work of the organization in the last year. Members have been interested in working for legislative measures endorsed by the American Federation of Labor. In New York City some of the churches have cooperated in an endeavor to get better conditions among the laundry workers and the grocery retail clerks. Three churches in New York were thrown open for men and women to come and speak of their grievances and get a public hearing. When I read reports regarding work among the grocery clerks it takes me back ten years to the time when I was chairman of the organized labor committee of this Association. We were then working for the benefit of the grocery clerks. We were working for early closing. One man, James Butler, stood out against early closing. That is the anomaly of the situation to-day, that one man can prevent what is recognized as a desirable thing, the shortening of the hours of the grocery clerks. It is only by organization these results can be ob-

tained. They cannot be secured by any sort of benevolence, because the whole of the trade might be benevolent except one man, and he would hold up the entire situation unless there was organization.

I hope as a result of this gathering that the principle of organization will be widely circulated here in the city of Rochester and that the retail clerks, both men and women, will be able to secure far better hours of work than they have at the present time. I have members of my parish working in the department stores and I have been interested in getting shorter hours for them, especially on Saturday. I make it a principle myself not to buy things Saturday night after the hour stores ought to close. The argument, however, is made that the poor working people must shop Saturday night and the stores must be kept open for them. I believe that to be a fallacy, I believe the statement is made, not in the interests of the working people but of the people who keep the stores open these long hours.

I would like to say one more word regarding the impression of dignity this movement makes upon me. It is a great historic movement; it is analogous to the rise of the Third Estate of the Free Citizens of the Middle Ages. The men who mould this movement now will go down in history, and after some of us will be forgotten the names of Gompers and Mitchell and Morrison will be remembered as pioneers of the last great movement to bring humanity to that stage of development we hope it will attain in the centuries that are to come. And I feel it an honor, not to have a part in this movement, as I cannot claim such a dignity, but to be able to participate in what to me is an historic occasion. And when I look at your banner, "Our field the world, our cause humanity," I feel it has the same sort of dignity and honor the banner of the missionary conference had, it aims at a world-wide achievement. It is not to create an aristocracy of labor that will leave a submerged tenth beneath it—as some have claimed—but to embrace all the workers, as your leaders say; and it is to be hoped it will succeed soon in awakening a greater response on the part of those for whose benefit this work is indirectly being carried on.

And so I can bid you God speed. I cannot attend the sessions of an organization like this without feeling optimistic, and when sometimes things seem to be discouraging for the outlook for the human race, I will remember that some of the things I as a churchman care most about are equally valuable and prized by those who are not working with me, but yet are working toward the common end of the exaltation of humanity and the realization of its highest possible capacities for development.

President Gompers: There is no representative present of the Women's Trade Union League and we are deprived of the pleasure of hearing at this time from a representative of that organization. Yesterday a motion was unanimously adopted

inviting a representative of labor to the platform, and he was escorted to the platform. He has been with us for many, many years in our convention and in our labor movement, growing up from the ranks and still in the ranks, and despite, not promotions but the opportunity given him to serve the cause of labor in another field, he has not grown out of the ranks of labor, but has grown into the ranks of labor. And he has grown into the confidence and the respect of the working people of our country. In the last few years in the House of Representatives of the Congress of the United States he has stood as the spokesman and valiant defender, as well as the advocate of the toilers of our country. He has made his mark in Congress. He is one of the men consulted and heard, one of the men who proudly and courageously and energetically presents the cause of labor in the House of Representatives of the Congress of the United States. And I take pleasure in presenting to you "Our Bill," the Honorable William B. Wilson.

The delegates arose and applauded Mr. Wilson at the conclusion of President Gompers' statement.

Hon. W. B. Wilson—Mr. Chairman, it is true, as you have said, that I cannot on this occasion address you as fellow delegates; but some of the best work that I have been able to give to the movement was given before I had achieved the position of delegate, and I hope that some of the best work I may be able to give the movement will be given after I have ceased to be a delegate.

I have been very much impressed, as no doubt all of you have been, by the speeches of the fraternal delegates at this convention and at previous conventions, showing to us that no matter how much the problem may vary in detail because of the varying physical conditions in the different countries, the same great problem confronts all of us. The great problem of this generation and possibly of many generations to come is the problem of the equitable distribution of the wealth that is created. We have solved the problem of production. There was a time a little more than a hundred years ago when the problem of production was the one great economic problem confronting mankind, and there were those who feared that the world would not be able to produce sufficient material to maintain the people who were born into it. And we had promulgated by Malthus what afterwards came to be known as the Malthusian theory, the idea that working men and women should not be permitted to marry until they had accumulated sufficient to maintain themselves and any prospective family for the balance of their lifetime; the theory being that by legislation of that kind the

population would be kept down to the point that the world could support in comfort. But the inventive genius of man, applying steam and electricity to mechanical devices, has so increased the productivity of mankind that there is no longer any fear of the world not being able to produce all that is necessary for the comfort of all of the people who may be born into it, providing that when it is produced it is equitably distributed to where it properly belongs.

But while that great problem is one we have to solve none of us as yet has been able to discover a complete solution of it. We have been unable to find any method by which an ultimate solution can be brought into view. But no matter how much we may differ as to what the ultimate solution will be, no matter how much we may speculate as to the methods by which the problem will be ultimately solved, upon this point we are agreed: That every step that is taken, either in the economic field by virtue of contests in the trade union movement or in the political field through legislative action, by which the workers get a larger share of what their labor has produced, is a step toward the solution of that great problem. It has been with that idea in view the labor group in Congress has been working. We have felt that there were two things that were essential for the protection of the workers and the promotion of their welfare. First, to guard against the infringement of our political rights, because we cannot secure industrial justice if by any means or under any specious plea our political rights are destroyed; and, second, to take those steps as they become available by which the workers either secure directly a larger share of what their labor produces or are in a position to command that larger share. Believing, then, that the maintenance of our political rights is essential for the promotion of industrial justice the greatest battle that has been put forth by the labor group in Congress has been to destroy, if possible, the one-man power of government that has grown up under the guise of issuing injunctions in labor disputes.

Our courts during the past thirty or thirty-five years have gradually arrogated to themselves the right or the power to issue injunctions restraining us from doing those things we have a perfect legal and moral right to do, issuing them solely for the purpose of hampering us in carrying on our movement for the betterment of mankind. And they have based their right to do so upon the old law in equity that a court had the right to issue a writ of injunction in order to protect property from irreparable loss; but at no time in our history and at no time since the Bill of Rights was signed in Great Britain have the courts ever had the legal right to interfere with the personal relationship between man and man. That was a right that belonged to the law courts acting under the law, and when the question of the personal relationship between man and man came up for consideration in our law courts, then the individual charged with

infringing on the rights of another individual had the protection of a trial by jury.

Protection of a trial by jury has been one of the things the Anglo-Saxon race has contended for for more than a thousand years. There have been more wars brought about, more conflicts entered into, more judges deposed and kings beheaded because of their attempt to usurp the power of complete trial, because of their attempt to abolish the right of trial by jury, than from any other cause known to history. And yet the courts in our land have been stepping over the boundary and interfering with the personal relationship of man and man, thereby abolishing the right of trial by jury. And they have gone farther than that, they have interfered at the same time with our right to do those things we had a legal and moral right to do. For instance, we had courts in Kentucky that restrained us from furnishing food to men on strike, restraining us from going to the treasury of our own organization for money placed there by the workers themselves and furnishing food to those on strike. We had courts in the same state that not only enjoined us from furnishing food to those on strike, but restrained us from moving the strikers away from the mining camps. We had courts enjoin us from inducing men to join our organization, whether they were employees of the corporation seeking the writ of injunction or not.

And so it has been all along the line, destroying our political liberties and by destroying our political liberties, interfering with our industrial rights. We have been putting up a fight in Congress since the labor group has been there, and before the labor group was there, and I am proud to be able to state that while the bill has not been enacted into law we have succeeded in fighting it through the Committee of the House of Representatives and through the House of Representatives itself, and the labor group has been able to impress upon the minds of the lawyers of the House of Representatives who constitute that committee that while they may not know as much about the technicalities and the hair-splitting division there is in law, they do know something, as the members of the trades union movement in general know, about the fundamental rights of men that ought to be written into the law. We are hopeful that measure will be enacted into law.

We succeeded in passing an eight-hour bill, as has been stated to you here. Away back in 1892 we secured the passage of an eight-hour bill. A test case was taken to the Supreme Court and the court held that work done for the government on property owned by the government was public works, but work done for the government on property not owned by the government might be public work, but it was not public works; and as the bill only applied to laborers and mechanics engaged on public works, it threw out of the provision of that law a great army of people. We have been



struggling to secure an amendment to that. The court held, when a dredgman's case went up to them, that the bill applied to laborers and mechanics, and that the dredgemen were seamen. We succeeded in getting through a bill amending the first part of it, and hundreds of thousands of workers engaged by the government and hundreds of thousands of workers engaged on work for the government have been beneficially affected by it.

It has been said that all the bills passed by Congress recently in the interest of labor and that labor has been asking for would not bring an additional sandwich to any working man. Every man who knows anything about the labor movement knows that while a man who is working eight hours a day is more efficient per hour than if he were working ten hours a day, he cannot do as much work in eight hours as he can do in ten. He can do more per hour, but in the aggregate he cannot do as much in eight hours as in ten hours. Hundreds of thousands of men having their hours shortened from ten to eight a day means that additional men will be required to perform the same amount of work. It will take tens of thousands of workers now in the army of the unemployed out of that army and put them into the army of the employed, giving to those workers not merely an additional sandwich, but a full meal for themselves and their families. And by taking that number out of the army of the unemployed the competition with the rest of the workers is made less keen.

We succeeded in getting through the Seamen's Bill. The last remnant of the feudal system existing under our law is that remnant in the seamen's laws. When ever any seamen signs articles abroad and comes to our shores and seeks to end the civil contract of labor and leaves his ship, we use all the powers of our state department and our police department to capture him and take him back and put him to work under the wages and conditions that were abhorrent to him, and that he sought escape from. We succeeded in passing the Seamen's Bill through the House of Representatives and I am more than hopeful that before this conference ends we will have wiped out that last vestige of feudalism from our entire political system.

We succeeded in enacting into law the Children's Bureau Bill, providing for gathering information in regard to child labor and child life generally. We have been spending millions of dollars—and wisely, I think—in finding out how to take care of cattle and hogs and trees and plants; but we have not been putting forth any effort to discover the conditions existing in child life and provide a remedy for the improper treatment of children. So we succeeded in establishing this Children's Bureau for the purpose of gathering information.

We passed the Industrial Commission Bill. It provides for an investigation of the relationship between employers and

employees, not with the hope that there will be any immediate benefit growing out of the investigation, but with the hope that through the investigation and the publicity that will come from it the conditions of the workers will be materially improved.

We passed through the House the Department of Labor Bill, providing the Secretary of the Department of Labor with a position in the President's cabinet and with certain powers of mediation and conciliation. In order that you may understand the intent and purpose of having a Secretary of Labor with powers of mediation and conciliation, you must first realize that for years there have been strenuous efforts put forth in Congress for the purpose of securing the passage of measures that would practically mean compulsory arbitration. I do not know how the most of you stand with regard to compulsory arbitration. I am a believer in arbitration provided the basis is set down before the arbitration begins. If the arbitration is not entered into in that way the workers get the worst of it. When you enter into arbitration, the basis of which is not set in advance, the employer is protected by a clean-cut dividing line between profit and loss. But with the worker it is different. The standard of living is flexible, it may be either raised or lowered, and there is no clean-cut dividing line to protect him against a decision of arbitration entered into without the foundation being laid down in advance. So far as I am concerned—and I think the labor movement takes the same position—I felt we could not afford to stand for any compulsory arbitration law, and the better method of handling that situation was to create a Department of Labor, with the Secretary a member of the President's cabinet, whose powers ought to be those of mediation and conciliation, and only arbitration when that was satisfactory to the parties themselves.

And so it has been an active Congress; in fact, there have been several active Congresses in which the labor group has worked with all the energy they possessed to take these steps forward that tend toward a solution of the problem of the equitable distribution of wealth; and no matter how we may divide with regard to the ultimate solution of the problem we are all agreed that every step that is taken in advance, every step that gets the workers a larger share of what their labor produces is a step toward that great problem of the equitable distribution of wealth.

I thank you.

President Gompers—To our fraternal delegates I can but express our marked appreciation of the words of commendation for the work we are trying to do, for our department and for the character of our movement. I know there are differences of opinion among men and in movements of our various countries and organizations, but though we may differ

upon some features we are a unit in purpose. The achievements of our fellow-workers in Great Britain, in Germany and in other countries, the achievements of our fellow-workers in the Dominion of Canada are to all of us sources of information and gratification. With the workers of Canada we are more intimately connected, we have one common lot and one common destiny. Politically divided by owing political allegiance to our different countries, industrially we are actually one. I may say that it is the sincere hope of the American labor movement that at least industrially there shall be common accord as to our policy, our methods of working for success. If differences of opinion on policies are expressed to us it is not amiss to take it that the policies of our American labor movement may be stated, however briefly, or if not the policies the conditions and the work and the method of our American trades union movement.

I have had the opportunity on two occasions to visit Europe, and among the countries visited were England, Germany, Austria, Ireland—I did not have the pleasure of visiting Scotland—Italy, Bohemia, Switzerland, Holland and Belgium and I think that never in my life did I apply myself more assiduously to work in trying to learn of conditions as they existed than during the visits to which I have referred. I noted, particularly in Germany, a very great improvement in the material condition and social surroundings of the working people in the fifteen years between my first and second visits. I also noted, though perhaps in a lesser degree, a marked improvement among the working people of England. I was therefore somewhat surprised to hear the statement that though in America there was a larger share of the social wealth coming to the working people of our continent, that was not true of England. Indeed, if that were true it would not speak well for the aggressiveness and the militancy of the progress of the trades union movement of that country.

When I attended the Trades Union Congress held at Ipswich in 1909 I think I can say I was in entire accord with everything upon which that Congress resolved except one, and I took occasion at that time to call that to the attention of those with whom I came in more immediate contact. It was the adoption of the resolution which in its preamble recognized as an existing institution, for which there seemed to be no remedy, a permanent army of unemployed. We not only protest against it but are constantly finding the means to dissipate any such condition. There is a constantly growing notion and policy in the American labor movement that whenever there shall come a period of depression in industry—a depression which, by the way, is not the fault of labor—we propose, not by the dispensation of the employers or the employing class, but by our own volition and by our own action to divide the work there is to do between the men and women who toll without throwing them into the streets.

Since 1884 there has not been a con-

vention or a gathering of the representatives of organized labor of America from which there has not gone forth a demand for a reduction of the hours of labor. The movement for the reduction of the hours of labor antedates 1884, but I refer to the concentrated, crystallized sentiment and effort to accomplish that purpose. I would not have any man believe or infer from what I have said that I am content or that the men and women in the labor movement are content with existing conditions. I doubt if there are any who are more dissatisfied with our slow progress than I am. But, dissatisfied and discontented with existing wrongs, discontented with existing conditions, it would be a libel upon our movement, it would be a libel upon our judgment, did I attempt to say anything but the truth, and that is that the toilers of our continent are constantly greater sharers of the social wealth produced by the workers.

This American labor movement, while holding up the gaunt figure of wrong and injustice inflicted upon any of our people, is not based upon misery. Our movement is not based upon hunger, except as it is a constant hunger for more, more, more. The right of the toilers to the best and all can only end the struggle of the toilers of our time. And therefore I cannot count myself in accord with the expression coming from the source it has that we have sunk so low. Indeed we have not sunk low, but we are constantly emerging into a wider field and into a broader horizon of the results to which we aspire.

The American Federation of Labor has within its ranks affiliated unions representing about 1,850,000 members. I am sure that with the number engaged in controversies, members upon whom no return is made to the general office of the American Federation of Labor, there is a total membership of two millions or more. In addition—and it is to be regretted—some of the trades unions are unaffiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and they have a membership of six or seven hundred thousand more. I submit that that forms something more than three per cent of the working people of our country. And when I speak of the working people of our country I mean working people who are eligible to membership in trades unions. In ninety millions of people we usually say there are twenty millions of wage earners, our rural, our agricultural population, those engaged in clerical work and in commercial enterprises; but you will find this one fact, that we have more than 17 per cent—all too few, all too few—but we are met too often with the statement that the organized labor movement represents such a small per cent of the workers, and I cannot allow that statement to go without calling your attention to the real figures and facts in the case.

May I call your attention to the fact that though I do not pin my faith to all the pledges that are made, or the declarations that are made by a political

party or parties, you must bear this in mind: That not every one in America takes even the declarations of the American labor movement as being all that for which we stand. We must take things as we find them and judge as the record is made. It is true that by the American method of our organized labor movement we have accomplished some results; not the results we claim and insist shall come to us and are ours by rights, but some tangible results have come, some progress has been made. And while insistent upon the achievement of every demand the American labor movement makes, not only for all the workers but for all the people of our country, we ought not to forget, we ought not to deny the accomplishments of our movement. I venture to make the statement without fear of successful contradiction that there never were in any country on the face of the globe so many people who voted in favor of propositions, declarations, and demands and promises for social justice as the fourteen million people who voted two weeks ago in this country.

What, after all, are we to do? Attention was called this morning to the fact that it was astonishing to find in the United States so many people speaking different languages, a perfect polyglot. If you consider that in the United States we have a territory 3,200 miles in length and about 2,200 miles in width; if you bear in mind the differences in language to which reference has been made; if you bear in mind that to our Eastern shores there are a million and a quarter people coming every year, and that the Western coast is open to the Asiatics who come here illegally, smuggled by the hundreds and the thousands; when you bear in mind the fact that we have eight millions of people who were chattel slaves a little more than a half century ago and who were brought to the colonies of America about 300 years ago, stolen from their homes and kept in slavery for two and a half centuries—if you bear all these things in mind and think that out of this conglomeration of people and races and conditions we have builded a movement where the principles of solidarity and fraternity and progress are constantly advanced and there exists a militant spirit to demand every right for the workers of our time and of the time to come, it says something for the credit of the American labor movement.

The American labor movement is the product of American conditions, it is the outgrowth of American circumstances, a development of American industry and commerce. After all, what are progressive opinions? I am sure that if a dozen men were to come together and discuss what progressive opinions are there might be a division of a dozen men. That, after all, is a point of view. To proclaim ultimates without finding the means of progress at all may be regarded as progressive opinions. Others may hold that every step made by the toilers, every advance secured by them is progress and that every hour thrown off the shoulders of the toilers each day means millions of

golden hours of opportunity for still further progress. To the individual it may mean but one hour a day, but with ten millions or twenty millions of workers it means twenty millions of hours, and twenty millions of hours of golden opportunity.

I want to repeat, lest I be misunderstood, that I am an optimist, and I think I am justified in my optimism when I look back to the conditions of labor in America when I first entered the field of industry, when I first had the opportunity of gazing around and seeing, when a boy a little more than ten years of age I was forced into a factory to work, and working at my trade for twenty-six years, knowing the conditions of factory life, not from the outside but from the inside at the bench, living the life of the child of a worker and living the life of a worker himself with my own immediate shop mates and fellow craftsmen and fellow workmen of other trades—I know how they lived, I know how they eked out an existence, and I have not grown so fat or so waxed in wealth that I have lost my sense of hearing, seeing, knowing and feeling.

It is the greatest tribute to our labor movement that we have made the progress we have, and we should not deny it. On the contrary, every advance which we make opens up a vista of sight and view and vision and aspiration. It is not that our movement should be founded upon misery or hunger or want. These are true, lamentably true, but they are not the basis of our movement. The basis of our movement, as I understand it, as I endeavor to interpret it, is that there is nothing on this God's green earth which we create which by right is not ours. And we propose to continue in the struggle to bring every man and woman who toils within the ranks of organized labor, to extend the field of opportunity to them, to throw the beneficent cloak of the protection of unionism on the toilers of our time and to instill into them the idea and the notion and the principle that they are their brother's keeper and that upon them and each of them devolves the duty of helping to bear their brother's burden, and to struggle on day by day and year by year, never ceasing, never resting, until the last vestige of wrong has been abolished for all time.

I am sure that I bespeak, at least in this the unanimous view of the delegates to this convention, and our attending visitors and friends when I say that we were deeply impressed with the magnificent addresses made to us to-day, with the spirit behind them, with the good fellowship and the splendid character of the men who addressed us, and with the splendid institutions they represent. Socially, privately, there are no differences of opinion in the great work of the labor movement. It is good that there should be differences of opinion. Through the clash of opinion comes the right to the toilers. I accord to every man the right to think as he will. I only ask for myself the same privilege.

The other fraternal delegates—we have them always with us—hence no additional word may be said to them except that we appreciate their co-operation, their sympathy, their aid, their helpfulness, and we want them to continue. To our fraternal delegates coming from Great Britain and Canada, we ask you to believe that we are sincere. This American Federation of Labor convention, representing the brain of the organized labor movement of America, extends to you the most hearty welcome it is within the power of men to extend. We want you to feel that from the moment of your stepping upon our shores we have taken you in—not as the old Philistine—but we have opened our hearts to you and you have walked right in, to be there in mind and spirit forever and forever. Upon your return to your respective homes we trust you will find your families well and in good spirit, and that you will find the labor movement of your respective countries imbued if possible with greater energy, with greater determination to see that the time for social justice to the toilers of our country and the world over shall be achieved for all time to come.

Fraternal Delegate Smillie—Will you allow me, Mr. President, to explain a statement made by me? I think you referred to my statement when you said a greater portion of the social wealth produced from year to year is going to the American workman. I stated the greater portion of the wealth produced from year to year is not going to the workers of Great Britain. You say if that is so it is a shame to the organized labor movement of Great Britain. I want to give you figures. They are not figures sent out by Socialists, but by a Liberal member of the House of Parliament. His statement during the recent election—which has been accepted—was that for the past twelve years the increase in wealth produced in Great Britain was two hundred and twenty-four million pounds, or one billion, one hundred and twenty million dollars; that the working classes in increased wages had only secured during that twelve years one million pounds or five million dollars; that the other portion had gone directly into the pockets of the land owners and capitalist class. In the face of these figures it would be untrue if I stated that we were receiving the larger portion of the increased wealth produced. Instead we are receiving only an infinitesimal portion of it. I am glad to hear that the workmen of America have received anything like

a fair proportion of the wealth produced by them from year to year.

President Gompers—I am not in a position to dispute the figures. I spoke of America. I do not know who the figurer is that Brother Smillie regards as an authority in England, but I do know we have had some sort of figures presented to us time and again that were usually regarded as authoritative, but upon investigation they were found to be not so authentic. I speak of the conditions we know and which every man and woman who has eyes to see can know as compared to the actual physical condition and welfare of the masses of the people; and I want to repeat, lest I be misunderstood, that it is with satisfaction I so declare; but it is a determination simply to get more of the real wealth which the toilers of our country and our time produce that is theirs, and nothing else will satisfy them.

Mr. J. R. Shillady, Executive Secretary Buffalo Association for the Relief and Control of Tuberculosis, was introduced by President Gompers and addressed the convention as follows:

**The Opportunities and Responsibilities of Organized Labor in the Campaign Against Tuberculosis.**

The American Federation of Labor, more than any other national organization, has the right to speak in the name of the working people of the country. Representing, as you do, about 2,000,000 wage earners, you may properly be concerned with everything which affects their interests or menaces their lives. Primarily the labor union concerns itself with questions affecting wages and hours of labor. I am one of those sufficiently informed on economic questions to know that shorter hours and longer pay, means not alone more of the comforts and conveniences of life, but more assurance that those receiving higher wages and working shorter hours will also be freer from all of those diseases which are either caused, or contributed to, by a lowered standard of living.

I am to speak to you to-day on the opportunity and responsibility you have as representatives of, and spokesmen for, organized labor, in the world wide fight being waged against tuberculosis, the one great social disease of our time. Tuberculosis is almost wholly a disease of the wage earner. The rich who can more easily afford to have it, since its economic cost is tremendous, are practically immune. The poor who can barely exist on the meager earnings of their daily toil when good health is their portion, are

rendered helpless when tuberculosis adds its heavy burden to the already swollen cost of living.

When the wage earner is afflicted, his family must suffer, his children go to work at an earlier age than would otherwise be necessary, his wife be forced to go out to work, leaving the children to the dangers of the city streets, his daughters to the temptations of dangers worse than death itself.

From the best information available, tuberculosis is responsible for nearly one-third of all the deaths occurring between the ages of 18 and 45. Comparatively few die either before or after the wage earning period. On the contrary, the disease is particular to select the most useful members of the community, and at a time of life when their continued working power means the most to their families and the community. Lasting, as it does, an average of from three to three and one-half years before its victim is finally laid away in the cool earth with many tears, this disease causes more misery, suffering and poverty, than any of the wars whose bloody trails are left over the pages of history.

Dr. Woods Hutchinson has well said, "If the rich had more sense and the poor more money, and both more public spirit, consumption would soon be a thing of the past."

No longer do we sit with folded hands, and complacently watch the grim reaper take away the thousands of consumptives to an early grave, and assert it to be the providence of God. We know better now than to utter such profanity of the Providence which has filled the earth with all things needful for our sustenance and enjoyment. Tuberculosis is not inevitable, it is preventable, and no one power more than the power of organized labor can help exterminate it from our country. The only group of workers more the victims of the disease than those you represent, is the unorganized group, who, because of defenselessness, are the victims of our cruel economic conditions and often ruthless disregard of all that makes civilization worth while.

Frederick Hoffman, chief statistician of the Prudential Life Insurance Company, estimates that the 33,500,000 wage earners of fifteen years and over in the United States, lose during the year, on account of sickness, 284,750,000 dayswork, with an accompanying loss of wages of \$366,107,145; that the cost on account of medical services, amounting to about a dollar a day, to be conservative, is \$284,750,000; that an additional economic loss to the community of \$122,036,715 is entailed, or a grand total of \$772,892,860, all on account of sickness. This loss refers to sickness of all kinds, not alone tuberculosis, but since tuberculosis is so prevalent and lasts so long, a large percentage of this amount can truly be said to be due to tuberculosis. Preventing but 25 per cent of this illness would mean an economic saving of \$193,223,215.

One life insurance company alone paid out in one year on account of deaths from

tuberculosis, \$300,000. Professor Irving Fisher of the Committee of One Hundred on National Health, estimates after a careful consideration of all the factors involved, that the death of each consumptive in this country means an economic loss of approximately \$3,000. Surely the financial loss is too formidable to view with complacency. I am not so crass a worshipper of money value to view this financial loss as the supreme one. What can be said of the anguish of broken hearts and bereaved families? Who will allay the widow's lament, with anything but a determination to do everything in his power to so act that they shall be fewer widows in this fair land of ours in the future.

Sommerfeld, the great German authority, tells us that while the deaths from tuberculosis are 2.39 per 1,000 in non-dusty trades, in dusty trades they are 5.49, or nearly two and one-half times as many. In some of these trades the percentage of deaths, as compared to those in non-dusty trades, is appalling; 7.79 per 1,000 of workers in lead dust die from tuberculosis, or 2 1-3 times the number in non-dusty trades. In the tobacco industry, 8.47 per 1,000 die and 14 per 1,000 of pottery workers go to a consumptive's grave, or nearly six times the number working in occupations free from dust.

According to ten years' Prudential Life Insurance experience, 49.2 per cent. of metallic grinders who die, die of consumption; 70.8 per cent. of all these workers who die between the ages of 25 to 34, die of this one disease, consumption. Comparing this death rate, with that of all males within the registration area, as reported in the United States census, 1900 to 1906, we have a death rate from consumption 3 1-4 times greater for metallic grinders than for the average of all occupied males.

Brass workers lose 33.9 per cent. of all their number, according to the same authority, while from 15 to 24 years of age, the proportion is 59.1 per cent. or more than one in two, which is more than twice the average for all occupations.

Pollishers lose almost as high a proportion from the same cause. Likewise printers, with 38.6 per cent. for all ages, with a loss of 56.3 per cent. between the ages of 25 and 34. Button makers, silk mill employes, stone workers, metallic engravers, glass cutters, tool and instrument workers, potters, furriers, upholsterers, glass blowers, and other dusty denizens of shop and mill, follow along with faltering step, hollowed cheek, and hacking cough, into a grave that society is as much responsible for as is the community which takes no steps to prevent the highwayman from murdering his victim, incidentally to relieving him of his valuables.

Dust is an inveterate enemy of the worker. Dust is not inevitable. At least its inhalation into the lungs can be prevented by simply applying what we already know as to means of eliminating it from the workroom. There are steps forward in the salvation of mankind from various evils, which await the patient

search of the scientist. Protection from dust in industry needs only the installation of wet for dry processes in some instances, of modern hoods, fans and dust removing devices which can be installed now, if those responsible are brought face to face with their responsibility by an accused and instructed public opinion.

Good ventilation, sunlight in the workroom, sufficient air space and cleanliness, both in worker and workroom, are likewise factors in the prevention of tuberculosis. Careless spitting, that foulest of all personal habits, is the way tuberculosis is most readily spread from infected to the well. Organized workers can protect themselves from this menace if they will.

What can be done about this menace of the great white plague? Tuberculosis is an indoor disease—a disease of dirt, bad air, and poverty. Organized labor has compelled the respect and admiration of every fair minded man for its splendid fight for shorter hours and a wage more adequate than the unorganized worker anywhere receives. Your fight for better sanitation in the factory deserves well of every worker in the cause of the public health.

Fighting for wages and better hours, you have met the united opposition of organized greed which knows so well how to marshal its forces. Your victories have cost you dear, and those of you who have grown gray in the service of organized labor know what it means to feel the sting of undeserved censure from men who were unworthy to stand before their fellows as representatives of the enlightenment of the century in which we live.

The fight for better conditions must ever accommodate itself to the newer forces which are taking their places in the world of to-day. There has grown up in the last few years, a new interest in the public welfare which labor should be quick to avail itself of. Not least among these forces is the campaign against tuberculosis, with its gospel of health for all. Most of the social workers in the public health movements of the day know, or ought to know, that they cannot stamp out tuberculosis without making the opportunities for a decent livelihood under better conditions than now obtain, easier for all.

Labor's chief opportunity, as I see it, lies in availing itself of the community forces which are organized to accomplish the same ends it has been striving for, though along lines somewhat different, and for purposes necessarily more restricted in their immediate effects.

Among the first needs in the fight against tuberculosis are proper hospital accommodations for those now afflicted with the disease. A few of your organizations whose members suffered the most deadly assaults from this great scourge, have built for their own members special hospitals and sanatoria.

This going it alone was well enough before the general community was awakened to the need of caring for the suf-

ferers, but to-day the watchword for advance is co-operation. Working alone is more expensive and takes longer.

In Buffalo we have organized a Trades Union Section of the Association for the Relief and Control of Tuberculosis, of which I am the Executive Secretary, which has affiliated with it 73 trades unions, joining as organizations, electing delegates the same as they do to their central body, paying dues on the basis of ten cents per year per member, and meeting once a month in a down town hotel which donates its parlors for this purpose free of charge. At the very beginning the question arose as to what, for the purpose for which we were organized, was a trades union. I anticipated that some of the organizations which did not co-operate for strictly trades union purposes, might raise an objection to affiliating with others where there had been no previous working together. I was agreeably disappointed. Without any suggestion from me it was the common agreement that all differences of a craft nature should be excluded from this movement, organized as it was to fight the common enemy, tuberculosis.

All agreed that any union of men organized by the men themselves having the right to call itself a trade union, whether affiliated with this or that national or local central body, should be welcomed to membership if it chose to apply.

We are now a year and a half old. The results are most promising for a useful future that shall achieve much for the interests of organized labor, as well as for the greater good of the whole community. We have committees on the care of the sick, on statistics, on education, printing and publicity, on hospitals and institutions, and on hygiene and sanitation in factories and places of employment. A very striking fact, well known to all tuberculosis workers, is that the great majority of workmen afflicted with the disease find it out too late to save their lives. In the incipency of the disease three out of four make a recovery after proper sanatorium treatment, while in the more advanced stages the chances for recovery are correspondingly remote. Only a small percentage of the regular medical practitioners are sufficiently expert to detect the disease in its early and curable stage. By working with a regular tuberculosis organization, trades-unionists have the advantage of expert advice, which means the difference between life and death in many cases.

The next important point is that the consumptive has the same right to proper treatment as has the sufferer from any other disease. In many of our cities the only haven of refuge is the almshouse-hospital, and in some place even that is lacking. We affirm that the care of the tuberculous, who are victims of a social disease, is as much the duty of the community as is the education of the child. Hence we say to you: "Do not stand by and see your fellow workmen sacrificed

on the altar of community indifference, but join us in demanding your right to hospitals supported by taxation the same as our schools, and to which you have the same right of use without the necessity of going to poor authorities for admittance because you have not the money to pay for treatment.

In Buffalo, with the help of the Trades Union Section, applicants for admission to the city's new \$300,000 hospital for incipient tuberculosis are admitted on application to the Department of Health and not through the Poor Department. The authorities have ruled that this hospital is for the protection of the public health, and not for the relief of the poor, thanks to the agitation the Tuberculosis Association has been able to make for rights of the consumptive.

A very important phase of our work (and I am taking your time to tell it, not to advertise the Buffalo work, but to demonstrate to you from other places what can be done in your own communities by intelligent action), is the possibilities of improving the sanitary and health protecting factors of the workshop through co-operation with an organization working in the interests of the public health. Our progressive states have now on their statute books laws designed to protect the worker from dangerous incident to industrial processes. None of these are as well enforced as they might be, but all are capable of improvement by organized effort to secure both better laws and more rigid enforcement. When you as trades unionists seek to force some needed improvement of conditions you are likely to arouse against you the same antagonisms which have thwarted your efforts for better wages and shorter hours of labor. There is virtue in flank attack. Very often what is impossible to achieve as a demand of the worker through his union alone may be more easily secured by making the demand in the name of, and for protection of the health of the community, thus allying yourself with those forces working for all the community.

It is becoming more and more evident that the line of progress for the elimination of tuberculosis must be through the public health authorities. The city budget is the important center of effort, as well as state and national legislation. More and better quality of health inspectors; more open air schools, or more properly, better ventilation in all schools; more and better trained factory inspectors; more special hospitals for tuberculosis, supported by public funds, and available to your members everywhere; better standards of factory sanitation and dust removal; these and kindred public matters await your interest and co-operation with the community forces working for a better life for all. No labor organization has the means to fight this dread disease alone, and none should be so rash as to fail to avail itself of every opportunity to join with the tuberculosis workers in its own city and state in regularly planned and persistent work, not by reso-

lutions of protest and votes of sympathy, but by intelligent co-operative effort resolve that you will get in touch with the forces working against one of your and humanity's greatest evils—the "great white plague."

President Gompers made the following reference of subjects in the report of the Executive Council:

That section under the caption "Extension of Jurisdiction," Committee on Organization.

That section under the caption "Un-affiliated Organizations," Committee on Organization.

That section under the caption "Building Trades Department—Hod Carriers—Cement Workers," Committee on Adjustment.

That section under the caption "Building Trades Department—Plasterers," Committee on Organization.

That section under the caption "Steam Fitters—Plumbers—Building Trades Department," Committee on Adjustment.

That section under the caption "Glass Bottle Blowers—Flint Glass Workers," Committee on Education.

That section under the caption "Amalgamation Steam Shovelmen's Organizations," Committee on Adjustment.

That section under the caption "Authority and Self-Imposed Discipline," Committee on Adjustment.

That section under the caption "Strikes and Lockouts of Directly Affiliated Local and Federal Labor Unions," Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

That section under the caption "Organizers," Committee on Organization.

That section under the caption "Organizers' Salaries," Committee on Law.

That section under the caption "Contempt Case," Committee on President's Report.

That section under the caption "New Injunction Rule," Committee on President's Report.

That section under the caption "Hatters' Case," Committee on President's Report.

That section under the caption "Post vs. A. F. of L. and Buck's Stove and Range Company," Committee on President's Report.

That section under the caption "Universal Label," Committee on Labels.

That section under the caption "Convention of the Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union of America," Committee on Education.

That section under the caption "Labor's Political Program, 1912," Committee on President's Report.

That section under the caption "Labor Representation Committee's Report," Committee on President's Report.

That section under the caption "Commission on Industrial Relations," Committee on President's Report.

That section under the caption "Federal Bureau of Health," Committee on Education.

That section under the caption "Industrial Education," Committee on Education.

That section under the caption "International Secretariat," Committee on President's Report.

That section under the caption "International Anti-Home Work Congress," Committee on Education.

That section under the caption "Arizona and New Mexico State Constitution," Committee on State Organizations.

That section under the caption "Conservation of Natural Resources," Committee on Education.

That section under the caption "The McNamara Case," Committee on President's Report.

That section under the caption "A. F. of L. Office Building," Committee on President's Report.

That section under the caption "Securing A. F. of L. Funds," Committee on Organization.

That section under the caption "Boy Scout Movement," Committee on Resolutions.

That section under the caption "Combining Official Reports to the Conventions," Committee on Law.

That section under the caption "Election of A. F. of L. Officers by Initiative and Referendum," Committee on Resolutions.

Vice-President Duncan made a brief statement in which he referred to the fact that after the fourth day's session members of committees began to consider the resolutions and subjects referred to them, that on the fifth day but little business was transacted as the reports were not ready and the delegates were not able to attend the sessions, and little was gained by calling the convention to order. He suggested that the chairman of the different committees announce meeting places, and moved that the convention adjourn to reconvene at 9:30 a. m., Monday, November 18th.

The motion was seconded by Delegate Barnes (J. M.).

After announcements by chairmen of committees of meeting places for Thursday evening, Friday and Saturday, the motion was carried and the convention adjourned, to reconvene at 9:30 a. m., Monday, November 18th.

During the afternoon and up to 11 o'clock at night the following resolutions were presented and referred to the proper committees:

Resolution No. 82—By Delegate Samuel Gompers of the Cigarmakers' International Union of America:

WHEREAS, Progress and civilization are interrupted and retarded when international peace is disturbed; and,

WHEREAS, With a better conception of justice, life and human rights, think-

ing, peace-loving men the world over deplore the barbarism, the waste, and the cruelty of war; and

WHEREAS, Means and instrumentalities are in existence whereby international disputes may be decided without resort to crude, brutal and uncivilized methods; and

WHEREAS, Questions of honor and justice should be determined in some rational manner, not by conflicts which decide only relative physical endurance and power, or the comparative military progress of contestants and in no way decide the merits of the issues; and

WHEREAS, The leveling forces of industry, commerce, travel and communication have swept aside artificial prejudices and barriers, and have stimulated and fostered the bond of unity and universal brotherhood so that the taking of life in war becomes clearly an act involving moral issues and standards; and

WHEREAS, True to the highest and best conception of human life the trade union movement from its first inception has been opposed to war; and

WHEREAS, The trade union movement knowing that though others may fall, yet the brunt of war, not only upon the battlefield itself, but the burdens thereafter entailed is borne in the main by the working people; and

WHEREAS, Organized labor recognizes the identity of interests of the wage-workers and the brotherhood of man of all the world, realizes the duty which devolves upon the organized labor movement of all civilized countries to carry on an educational propaganda having for its purpose the awakening of the hearts and consciences of all mankind to the enormous waste and cruelty of war; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor emphatically reaffirms its previous declarations for the settlement of all international differences through arbitration, looking toward the final establishment of universal international peace among the peoples of the civilized world.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 83—By Delegates Andrew Furuseth and T. A. Hanson of the International Seamen's Union:

WHEREAS, The struggle now going on in Mexico is to abolish the present condition of peonage and of land ownership; and

WHEREAS, There is in some quarters a considerable agitation, the purpose of which is to produce intervention on the part of the United States; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we are utterly opposed to any intervention in Mexico, that we believe in a determined policy of "hands off" on the part of our Government; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we extend to the men in Mexico now struggling to abolish age-long wrongs by striking the



shackles from the limbs and minds of men and women, and to abolish the present land tenure, our cordial greeting and our best wishes.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 84—By Delegates of the Pattern Makers League of North America and the International Molders Union.

WHEREAS, The Winslow Brothers Company of Chicago and New York, manufacturers of ornamental iron and bronze has publicly announced that they are operating a so-called "open shop;"

WHEREAS, This policy has in general practice been a cloak of hypocrisy behind which an active policy of discrimination is set in motion against all union men and to prevent the existence of trade union organization; and

WHEREAS, While publicly announcing its so-called "open shop" policy with its intended implication that union and non-union workmen are employed without discrimination the Winslow Brothers Company in its correspondence to men seeking employment informs them that union men are not employed a quotation from one of other communications reading: "We have an open shop and therefore do not care for any union men;" be it

RESOLVED, That union men are justified in believing that the policy of the Winslow Brothers Company now in its shops should properly be termed non-union and anti-union.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 85—By Delegate Egan of the Ohio Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Our system of state government, which guarantees to each commonwealth the management of its internal affairs, has naturally resulted in the passage of labor legislation that should be uniform among those states interested in the same production and distribution, and which are grouped in various sections of our country; and

WHEREAS, The value of uniform laws as applied to our industrial activities, will be beneficial not only to the workers, but to all other classes as well; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Incoming Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor is hereby instructed to consider the question of uniform labor legislation in the various states, and a report on same be made at the next convention of this body.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 86—By Delegate Stephen C. Sumner of the Illinois State Federation of Labor:

Amend Article VII, by inserting a new section, to be known as Section 5, as follows:

"The Secretary shall, on the first day of each quarter of the fiscal year of the Federation, forward to the Secretary of each State Federation, recognized as

such by the A. F. of L., a sum equal to one-half cent per member per month for every union man connected with the A. F. of L., either direct or through affiliation, in such state jurisdiction."

Renumber Section 5, Article VII, by making same new Section 6.

Renumber Section 6, Article VII, by making same new Section 7.

(Section 6, as now in effect, (new section 7), gives the Secretary full power to secure the data necessary to put the proposed change in full operation.)

Amend Article X, Section 1, by striking out the words "one-half of one cent," in line five, and inserting the words "one and one-sixth" (thus collecting one-half cent per member per month for State Federations).

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 87—By Delegate Stephen C. Sumner of the Illinois State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Believing that one of the greatest problems confronting the workers to-day is the proper education of his children, thereby fitting them to meet the exigencies of modern industrial conditions, the workers of Illinois, by unanimous vote in this State Convention demand:

1st. That the schools shall be so standardized in the course of study as to give the school children a maximum of educational value during the school life of the child.

2nd. That the text-books in the graded and high schools of the state shall be uniform in character.

3rd. That the ownership of the Copyright shall be vested in the state itself.

4th. That teachers shall, as far as possible, confine their work to teaching, not to the hearing of recitations, and leaving the actual work of teaching to the parents in the home under the guise of home-work.

5th. That the so-called "vocational schools" be confined to apprentice schools to be conducted jointly by the trades unions and the school authorities, after the manner so successfully operated by the Carpenters and similar organizations; and

WHEREAS, To accomplish our purpose in Illinois we must do battle with the wily agents of the school-book trusts, the greediest corporations in existence. Not content with robbing the parents through excessive charges they also rob the children through manipulation of courses of study and constant changes of school-books. One State, or one section of the country, cannot hope to win speedy victory from these grasping corporations, and so, in order that we may hope for reasonably sure and immediate results, we respectfully ask that the American Federation of Labor endorse our work and plan of action in the following resolution:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor desiring to insure to the children of the workers of our country as thorough a schooling as may possibly be obtained in the public schools of our na-

tion, recommend to the trades unionists of the country the following declaration:

**RESOLVED**, That the workers of every commonwealth demand of the State authorities the enactment of a statute providing for uniform school-books in the public schools of such state; that the copyright of such series of school-books be vested in the state school officials, in trust for the people of such State; that such books shall be of the highest standard of excellence and workmanship; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That all vocational training in public schools, or conducted under the supervision of public school officers, or paid out of public taxes, be modeled after the apprentice schools now being conducted jointly by the Carpenters' Union and other trades unions; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor be, and is hereby, empowered to make such research and investigation, by committee or otherwise, and to publish the findings of such investigations in such manner as will best serve to call attention to the need of a thorough and practical reform in our public school system.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 88—By Delegate James P. Holland of the Central Federated Union of New York and Vicinity:

**WHEREAS**, The International Typographical Union has jurisdiction over newspaper writers and has had the same for many years; and

**WHEREAS**, It has made no strenuous effort during all of these years to effect an active and complete organization campaign to unite these workers so invaluable to the cause of the labor movement; and

**WHEREAS**, The intelligent and thorough organization of these workers, whose sympathies, regardless of the opinions of their employer, is almost unanimously in favor of the worker; and

**WHEREAS**, There is now a sentiment among many news-writers favoring organization for the improvement of their condition and the betterment of their craft; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the Thirty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor demand that the International Typographical Union immediately assign an organizer to unionize this important craft and that, in the event of its failure to do so, that the Federation will launch an organization campaign independent of the International Typographical Union; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the International Typographical Union be ordered to issue charters to the Independent Union at Butte, Mont., and such other independent organizations of news-writers as have already been established.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 89—By Delegate James P. Holland of the Central Federated Union of Greater New York and Vicinity:

**WHEREAS**, The White Rats Actors' Union of America withdrew from the

Central Federated Union of Greater New York and vicinity; and

**WHEREAS**, Said body withdrew after the Central Federated Union of Greater New York and vicinity had appointed a committee to investigate the said organization upon its invitation; and

**WHEREAS**, For the sake of harmony which does not exist in Greater New York among the Actors' Union, and which harmony is necessary in the interest of the Actors and the general labor movement; be it

**RESOLVED**, That for the purpose of bringing about such harmony and creating the required solidarity, this Thirty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor appoints and instructs an impartial committee of three representatives to arrange a thorough investigation of the White Rats Actors' Union of America.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 90—By Delegates of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union:

**WHEREAS**, The W. H. McElwain Company, a large shoe manufacturing firm, doing business as manufacturers in Bridgewater, Massachusetts, Manchester, New Hampshire and elsewhere, as well as having control of shoe jobbing houses and retail stores in several cities of the United States, has taken advantage of our immigration laws by employing many foreign unskilled workmen, thereby establishing and maintaining a low labor cost, which is a serious menace to the American standard of living; and

**WHEREAS**, Hundreds of workers of foreign birth and recent arrival in this country are taken advantage of because of their ignorance of our language, and placed to work under the most un-American conditions, thus becoming the means through which the fair manufacturers and skilled shoe workers are injured by unfair competition; and

**WHEREAS**, In March, 1912, the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, having secured membership in several of the departments of the McElwain Company's factory at Bridgewater, made an effort to improve the conditions by presenting a request for an advance in wages, and upon the refusal of the McElwain Company to consider the list submitted, the Union offered to leave the question in dispute to the Massachusetts State Board of Conciliation and Arbitration for decision; the McElwain Company refused this offer, declaring that they would only consider matters of wages and conditions with their employes as individuals, whereupon a strike was declared by the local union having jurisdiction over the Bridgewater factory, which contest has been since continued under the financial support of the general organization; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be directed to appoint a committee to confer with the W. H. McElwain Company with a view to bringing about an adjustment, and failing to settle the controversy upon any fair basis, the Council be directed to convey by circular let-

ter to all affiliated unions the result of the negotiations to the end that the labor movement may be officially informed as to whether this company denies its employees the right to organize and collectively negotiate for their wages and conditions of labor.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 91—By Delegate Joseph Morton of the Chicago Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, It has been represented to this Convention that injustice and oppression are practiced upon the employees of the piano factories controlled by J. V. Steger, and upon other residents of the village of Steger, Illinois; and

WHEREAS, The Chicago Federation of Labor has adopted a resolution directing its Legislative Committee to draft a bill and present the same to the next Legislature of the state of Illinois, creating a legislative commission to inquire into labor conditions in the piano factories controlled by Steger & Sons Piano Manufacturing Co. or J. V. Steger, and in the village of Steger, Illinois; be it

RESOLVED, That this convention heartily approves of the proposed investigation, and urges the passage of said bill recommended by the Chicago Federation of Labor, and respectfully requests the Illinois legislature to inquire carefully into past and present labor conditions in the factories and village aforesaid, and to take such action upon its findings as may be equitable and just.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 92—By Delegate E. J. Brais, D. G. Biggs and Hugh Robinson of the Journeymen Tailors' Union:

WHEREAS, An unwarranted attack has been made by resolution No. 23 on the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America at the seemingly instigation of the Garment Workers; and

WHEREAS, Reports for some time have reached the Journeymen Tailors that the Garment Workers have been issuing without regard to the rules of unionism, labels to be placed on clothing made to order; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council make a thorough investigation of the methods used in issuing labels by both the Garment Workers and the Tailors and report the same to the next convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Labels.

Resolution No. 93—By Delegate Stephen C. Sumner of the Illinois State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The strike of the brick-makers, steam shovel and dredgemen and stationary firemen against the Purington Paving Brick Company of Galesburg, Ill. is still on; and

WHEREAS, This struggle has now been carried on for two and one-half years and the Purington Company still refuses to recognize the justice of the demands of the unions involved, which are,

the right organization and union conditions; and

WHEREAS, This fight has received official recognition and support from the Illinois State Federation and of the city central bodies of the state, with benefit to the organizations involved; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor pledge support and assistance to the striking brickmakers, steam shovel and dredgemen, and stationary firemen in an effort to bring about an adjustment of the pending difficulty.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 94—By Delegate Charles V. Lawler of the Commercial Portrait Artists' Union:

WHEREAS, The following portrait companies located in the city of Chicago: Consolidated Portrait Co., Chicago Copy Co., Fidelity Portrait Co., Central Portrait Co., Chicago Portrait Co. and George Smith Co. after repeated solicitations on the part of the Commercial Portrait Artists' Union, have absolutely refused to comply with union conditions, nor will they consider any overture of the union; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That in accordance with the usual practices, this subject be referred to the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. with a view to adjudication of the existing trouble.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 95—By Delegates Frank A. Scoby, James J. Doyle, Coopers' International Union:

WHEREAS, The Standard Oil Co. has for years operated and controlled throughout the United States its cooper shops and preferring always workmen in its employ who are ignorant of our language, customs, laws and decent American conditions; and

WHEREAS, The wages paid to coopers in its employ have been, and are, far below the standard that is being paid to coopers similarly employed in the refineries owned and controlled by the Independent Oil Refiners Company of America; and

WHEREAS, Attempted efforts have been made from time to time on the part of the Coopers' International Union of America to organize the men who are employed by the most gigantic trust of the world, to join the ranks of organized labor and such efforts have always been thwarted by superintendents, bosses and foremen employed presumably to retard the progress and enlightenment of their poorly paid servants by holding up to them the uselessness of being union men;

WHEREAS, A great injustice will be perpetrated if allowed to continue, wherein independent oil refiners and union cooperage manufacturers are compelled to struggle on in a competitive market and be obliged to pay a higher scale of wages than the Standard Oil Co. is obliged to conform to;

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assem-

bled; do, and hereby assure the Coopers' International Union that its struggle is their struggle, and at times in the future patronage will be given to such oil refineries that conform to conditions that conform to an American standard of living; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to take up this condition with the officials of the Standard Oil Co., whose offices are located at 25 Wall Street, New York City.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 96—By Delegate T. J. Dolan of the International Union of Steam Engineers:

WHEREAS, The International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen, through their affiliations with the I. L. A. and the I. U. S. E., have been the recognized union of the shovel and dredgemen of this country for years, by all union men, also by railroad companies and the large contractors of the country, also by the United States government and foreign governments; and

WHEREAS, Excellent wages and conditions are now being enjoyed by all members of the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen through their present affiliations; and

WHEREAS, By continuing these affiliations, jurisdictional disputes the present great curse of the labor movement is being avoided; and

WHEREAS, The Shovel and Dredgemen are now working under labor contracts made in connection with the I. L. A. and the I. U. S. E. that run in some cases yet for eighteen months, and any change of present arrangements of affiliation with the A. F. of L. would only lead to breaking of contracts, or bring on a large, bitter jurisdictional fight, which the officers of the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen are, and have been for years anxious to avoid; and

WHEREAS, A number of seceders from the I. B. S. S. & D. have organized a so-called union of steam shovel and dredgemen by name the Associated Union of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen, and have lately discovered that they cannot work on any union jobs in this country, unless they carry a paid-up card in the I. B. S. S. & D.; and

WHEREAS, These seceders have applied to the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. for a charter; and

WHEREAS, The granting of such a charter would only bring on a bitter jurisdictional fight and disrupt the fine conditions that now exist through the present affiliations of the Shovel and Dredgemen with the A. F. of L.; and

WHEREAS, Most of the good men in this dual organization are being kept in this so-called union, by promises of certain individuals, that the A. F. of L. would grant them a charter; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the A. F. of L. in convention assembled, do hereby call up-

on all shovel and dredgemen in the country to affiliate at once with the I. B. of S. S. and D.; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of all organizations affiliated with the A. F. of L. are hereby instructed to withdraw any and all support if now given the seceding organization of S. S. & D.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 97—By Delegate T. J. Dolan, of the International Union Steam Engineers:

WHEREAS, The government of the U. S. is a large employer of labor on public work; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention go on record in favor of liberal appropriations, by Congress, for all classes of public works, where men can be kept steadily employed.

Referred to Committee on President's Report.

Resolution No. 98—By Delegate T. J. Dolan, of the International Union Steam Engineers:

WHEREAS, There is now on the Senate calendar a bill making eight hours a day's work on all government dredge contracts; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the A. F. of L. in convention assembled, goes on record requesting all members of the U. S. Senate to pass this bill before the 4th day of March, 1913; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be sent to every member of the U. S. Senate and the President of the U. S. by the Secretary of the A. F. of L.

Referred to Committee on President's Report.

Resolution No. 99—By Delegate T. J. Dolan, of the International Union Steam Engineers:

WHEREAS, A bill is now in the U. S. Senate, establishing a Department of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention go on record asking all members of the Senate to vote for the passage of this bill so it may become a law by March 4th, 1913 and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be sent to each U. S. Senator, and also a copy to Congressman Sulzer, the father of this bill.

Referred to Committee on President's Report.

Resolution No. 100—By Delegate T. J. Dolan, of the International Union Steam Engineers:

WHEREAS, The government of the U. S. does not pay overtime to men engaged on emergency work being carried on in the Reclamation Dept. of the government; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. is hereby instructed to have a bill prepared to present to Congress, and do all it can to get it passed, said bill to au-

thorize the payment of all men working over eight hours per day on government work at the prevailing rate of wages paid for such overtime work, in the district in which the work is being carried on.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 101—By Delegates F. J. McNulty, Frank Glynn, C. P. Ford, of the International Brotherhood of Elec. Workers:

WHEREAS, There has been introduced and is now pending in the Congress of the United States, a bill requiring railroad companies to equip their roads with automatic stop systems for the protection of human life and limb; and

WHEREAS, There have been invented, tested and approved automatic stop systems for the protection of railroad trains and the prevention of railroad accidents; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the legislative committee of the A. F. of L. be instructed to use every effort to have the above bill enacted a law.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 102—By Delegate Egan of the Ohio Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The portion of the A. F. of L. executive council's report to this convention, which deals with that subject generally referred to as "industrial unionism," is a complete defense of the evolutionary nature of our organization system, which experience proves is the most effective in this country; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the executive council be instructed to have this report printed in pamphlet form in such numbers, and in that language, as in its judgment will serve for general distribution in those localities where other remedies other than time-tried trade unionism is favored to rectify social ills.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 103—By Delegates Rowe, Clarke and Green of the American Flint Glass Workers Union:

WHEREAS, The Macbeth-Evans Glass Company, having headquarters in Pittsburgh, Pa., and factories in Charleroi, Pa., Elwood and Marion, Indiana, and Toledo, Ohio, declared for an open shop and locked-out eleven hundred members of the American Flint Glass Workers Union and are avowed enemies of the trade union movement; and

WHEREAS, Said concern are the sole manufacturers of the "Alba" glass articles used extensively for illuminating purposes, also the grade of lamp chimneys known as "Pearl Glass," "Pearl Top," "Zenith," etc.; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That delegates to this convention, particularly those connected with the Building Trades Department, shall exercise their very best efforts

towards having the product of union labor substituted for the glasswares made, advertised and sold by the Macbeth-Evans Glass Company.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 104—By Delegates T. A. Rickert, B. A. Larger, M. C. Daly, M. Schwarz, V. Altman of the United Garment Workers of America:

WHEREAS, The Legislature of the State of New York has created a State Factory Investigating Commission, the members of which are appointed by the Governor, without compensation, to perform the service of making investigations of and exposing the evil conditions attending modern industry in the State of New York; and

WHEREAS, As a result of the investigation of this Commission a number of remedial laws have been enacted by the Legislature of the State of New York; and

WHEREAS, The tenure of the Commission has been extended for a further period; and

WHEREAS, As a result of the further work of the commission it is expected that additional laws will be formulated and enacted by the New York State Legislature; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled most heartily approves and endorses the New York State Factory Investigating Commission and its work and not only recommends the continuation of the Commission, but that the several other states of our Union shall enter upon a similar line of work.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 105—By Delegate Jacob Tazelaar of the Brotherhood of Painters:

WHEREAS, It is generally believed that the work of this Federation is carried on in the "open" and that there are no secrets in the management of its affairs, because such statements are made by officials representing this Federation; and

WHEREAS, Some people may be in doubt as to the truth of these statements and assurances; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor be amended to read as follows:

Adding new section to Article IX.

All matter coming before the Executive Council shall be reported by said Executive Council in the American Federationist in issue following the Executive Council session, or such matter as from time to time shall be submitted to the members thereof for a vote, the report so appearing shall record the name of each member voting in the affirmative, negative or those not voting, national, state, central and federal unions in affiliation to receive a transcript of the minutes of the meeting over the signature of the President and Secretary.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 106—By Delegate Jacob Tazelaar of the Brotherhood of Painters:

**RESOLVED**, That permanent organizers known as general organizers or salaried general organizers of the American Federation of Labor shall at future conventions be elected instead of appointed by the members of the Executive Council or upon their request.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 107—By Delegate Jacob Tazelaar of the Brotherhood of Painters:

**WHEREAS**, The Commissioner of Labor of the State of New York has on many occasions refused to aid the organized labor movement in prosecuting employers who violate the provisions of the labor laws of that state; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That this convention petition the Governor of New York State requesting the removal of John Williams, Commissioner of Labor of New York State.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 108—By Delegate Jacob Tazelaar of the Brotherhood of Painters:

**RESOLVED**, That the permanent organizers employed by the American Federation of Labor, known as salaried general organizers shall not be removed by the President or Executive Council except upon charges made against such organizers for misconduct or failure to properly attend to work assigned to them or under their charge, and only after a fair and impartial trial.

Salaried organizers may be laid off by the President or Executive Council when the funds are inadequate to continue them in employment, but shall be reinstated when the opportunity presents itself.

**RESOLVED**, That the meetings of the Executive Council shall be held in the open. That any union man carrying a paid-up card of trade in affiliation with the Federation be permitted to attend the meetings when matters concerning his organization or himself are discussed and decided.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 109—By Delegates Martin E. Goellnitz, Frank Schiff, G. E. Strom, of the American Brotherhood of Cement Workers:

**WHEREAS**, The Hodcarriers and Building Laborers International Union has asked for an extension of jurisdiction over street, sewer and tunnel laborers;

**RESOLVED**, That this jurisdiction shall not apply to laborers under the jurisdiction of organizations already chartered by the A. F. of L., and that it shall in no way interfere with the jurisdiction of the American Brotherhood of Cement Workers as granted to them by the A. F. of L. and as reaffirmed and interpreted at the Convention of the Building Trades Department of the A. F. of L. held at Tampa, Florida, 1909.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 110—By Delegates Chas. H. Moyer and Edwin Perry of the Mining Department of the A. F. of L.:

**WHEREAS**, The machinists, boiler-makers, moulders, carpenters, associated steam shovelmen and miners have been on strike against the Utah Copper and other mining companies in Bingham Canyon, Utah, since September 18th, 1912, for the enforcement of recognition of organized labor and the establishment of better wages and working conditions; and

**WHEREAS**, The aforesaid mining companies operate in connection with their mines and reduction plants a railway system known as the Bingham and Garfield Railway; and

**WHEREAS**, The said Bingham and Garfield R. R. is manned and operated by members of the Railway Brotherhood; and

**WHEREAS**, The operation of this railway is greatly jeopardizing the interests of organized labor and rendering succor to the mine operators; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled that we petition the Railway Brotherhoods to call out their men on this road and join the allied unions in this industrial dispute; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the Secretary of the A. F. of L. notify the Railway Brotherhoods of this action and that the President and Executive Council of the A. F. of L. put forth all legitimate means to the end of securing compliance on the part of the Railway Brotherhoods with the above resolution and petition.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 111—By Delegate Duncan McDonald of the United Mine Workers:

In the recent past a general complaint has been made against the autocratic powers exercised by presiding officers in many Legislatures and in the United States Congress.

This complaint has been so general that the American people have been aroused to action, and are now demanding a more Democratic form of government as evidenced in the recent general election, and the slogan, "Let the People Rule," demonstrates that the people are insistent in these demands:

**WHEREAS**, The American Federation of Labor, representing some 1,000,000 members, are expected to play its part in this matter; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That this convention set an example by amending Section 3, Article 3, by substituting therefore the following:

Section 3. The following committees, consisting of fifteen members each, shall be elected by the delegates to the convention in the following manner: On the first day of the convention, each delegate to the convention shall be provided with blanks on which to record his choice for members of the various committees by inserting on a blank line opposite the name of the respective committees the number of their choice, the fifteen delegates receiving the highest number of votes shall be declared elected to the respective committees, providing that no two members of

said committee shall represent the same organization, and no delegate shall serve more than one committee. In the event anyone so elected shall be unable to serve, the one receiving the next highest number of votes shall be declared elected in his stead.

The names of the committees and the balance of this section to remain as at present.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 112—By Delegate Duncan McDonald of the United Mine Workers:

The initiative, referendum and recall have been adopted by a number of states, and is no doubt to be in the near future an established method of selecting and removing men to represent them and recall those unworthy of the trust reposed in them. No good reason has been advanced why this principle should not be carried into effect in the affairs of the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That we amend Section 1, Article 5, by substituting therefore the following:

Section 1. The officers of the Federation shall consist of a President, eight Vice-presidents, a Secretary and a Treasurer, to be elected as follows:

The President, Vice-presidents, Secretary and Treasurer shall be elected by a referendum of the members. Four months prior to the month in which the American Federation of Labor Convention is held, the Secretary shall prepare nomination blanks and send them to each National, International and Federal Labor Union in sufficient number to provide each local with three copies. The recording secretary shall fill in the names of the members nominated by the local union for the various offices and forward the same to the national or international office of his organization inside of thirty days after receiving said blanks. In case of federal labor unions the returns shall be sent direct to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor.

Section 2. The secretary of the federal, national or international unions shall, within ten days, tabulate the nominations received and forward same to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, who shall, within ten days after receiving the total number of nominations, notify the two receiving the highest number of nominations and who shall have qualified as herein provided for each of the respective positions, whose consent must be obtained, but no person shall be eligible who is not in good standing in his respective organization, which fact must be attested by the president and secretary of the local of which the nominee is a member. Said acceptance to be sent in to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor within ten days.

Section 3. No nominee filing his acceptance with the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor shall be allowed to withdraw his name. The Secretary shall prepare ballots giving the name, location and occupation of the person accepting the nomination, and shall furnish each

affiliated organization with a sufficient number to provide every member in good standing a ballot not later than thirty days prior to the convening of the convention.

Section 4. Local recording secretaries must notify their members by posting notices or otherwise at least one week prior to the dates set for the nominations and election of officers.

Section 5. Each local union shall designate at a regular meeting of the local, where its election shall be held and the place so designated shall be the official voting place of such local union, and under no circumstances shall the votes of any local union be cast or tabulated in any other place than that designated, and no member shall be allowed to interfere with the official tellers during the voting or the tabulation of same.

Section 6. No member shall be allowed more than one vote for any candidate, nor shall the local tellers record the vote of any member who is not present at the time the election is held, except officers, organizers and workers for the organization away from home at the time the election is held, whose vote shall be recorded if sent to the secretaries of their respective local unions.

Section 7. Each local shall select from among its members not less than three nor more than six, two of whom must be the President and Secretary of the local to act as local tellers, whose duty shall be to supervise the election and, when requested, instruct the members how to vote and tabulate the votes cast by the members and enter on the "return sheet" furnished by the Secretary for such purpose to total number of votes cast for each candidate. The correctness of the "return sheet" must be attested with the local seal and signatures of the President and the Recording Secretary of the local union, same to be forwarded to the Secretary of their respective national or international unions.

Section 8. The Secretary of the national or international unions shall have the returns totaled and forward same to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, who shall have the same counted and report same to the convention.

Section 9. The persons receiving the highest number of votes shall be declared elected to the various positions as hereinafter provided. The candidate for Vice-president receiving the highest number of votes shall be first Vice-president, the one receiving the next highest second Vice-president and so on until eight have been chosen, provided further that no two officers shall be from the same organization.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 112—By Mining Department, American Federation of Labor:

**WHEREAS**, There is in existence two organizations of steam shovel men, one known as the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredge Men, not in itself an international organization, af-

affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, but a subsidiary organization to the International Union of Steam Engineers, and one organization known as the Associated Union of Steam Shovel Men; and

WHEREAS, A resolution was adopted by the Atlanta convention directing the Executive Council to call conferences of representatives of the different organizations interested for the purpose of uniting in one organization all the men in these crafts in accordance with the laws of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The Associated Union of Steam Shovel Men has co-operated with the Executive Council in its efforts to amalgamate the two organizations to its fullest extent; and

WHEREAS, The International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen does not seem desirous of amalgamation on terms fair to all, as is evidenced by the report of the Executive Council; and

WHEREAS, The said Associated Union has repeatedly made efforts to become affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, It is imperative to this department that bona fide International organization of Steam Shovel Men affiliated with the American Federation of Labor be chartered immediately; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Mining Department of the American Federation of Labor recognizing the necessity of and the right to affiliation with the American Federation of Labor of an International Union of Steam Shovel Men does hereby insist that the Thirty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor direct the immediate issuance of a charter to an International Union of Steam Shovel Men.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 114—By Delegate Joseph D. Cannon of the Western Federation of Miners:

On the first day of the fourth month preceding that on which the Convention of the American Federation is held, Local Unions shall have the right to make nominations for the Executive offices Federation as follows:

For the offices of President, Secretary and Treasurer, one nomination each and for the offices of vice-presidents eight nominations. Returns of nominations by locals to be made to national and international secretaries not later than the first day of the third month preceding that in which the convention is held. Federal unions shall make returns to the Secretary of the A. F. of L.

National and international secretaries shall make the necessary arrangements for the counting, tabulating and publishing of the returns of the primaries for the benefit of their members, and shall, not later than the tenth of the month, send these tabulated returns to the Secretary of the A. F. of L.

The two candidates for the offices each of President, Secretary and Treasurer and the sixteen candidates for Vice-pres-

idents receiving the greatest number of nominations shall be declared the nominees for the offices for which they were candidates, providing they qualify. The Secretary of the A. F. of L. shall, not later than the twentieth of the month notify each candidate of his nomination, and also the two candidates receiving the next and second next highest number of nominations who shall be alternates, nominees, and alternates must before the fifteenth of the second month preceding that in which the convention is held, notify the Secretary of the A. F. of L. in writing of their acceptance and eligibility.

In case of the failure of any nominee to qualify, the candidate receiving the next highest number of nominations shall be declared the nominee under the same conditions as those applied to the original candidate.

To be eligible for office a candidate must have been a member in good standing for one year preceding his nomination.

The Secretary of the A. F. of L. shall, not later than the twenty-fifth of the month, send to the secretaries of federal unions, a sufficient number of ballots for the members thereof. Ballots to contain the names of the candidates properly listed for the offices for which they stand, and to the secretaries of the national and international unions he shall send forms of the ballots not later than the date specified above.

Secretaries of national and international unions shall, not later than the first day of the month preceding that in which the convention is held, have printed and sent to the locals, ballots in sufficient number for the members.

Locals shall conduct the elections and in no case vote any members not there to vote in person, except organizers or other officers unavoidably absent in business of the Federation or some of its affiliated unions. In that case, the absent one shall have the right to have his ballot presented, sealed and indorsed by his signature, same to be verified by secretary or other proper officer.

Any local union that votes any of its members, not voting in person, or as described above, or that in any other way uses unfair methods, shall be penalized by having its entire vote thrown out.

Local unions shall make returns of the results of the elections to the national and international secretaries not later than the twentieth day of the month.

Secretaries of national, international and federal unionists shall make tabulated returns of the result of the election in their organizations, not later than the first of the month in which the convention is to be held. The same to be published for the benefit of the members.

The convention, upon the completion of its organization, shall elect a committee of seven which shall canvass the vote and report its findings to the conventions.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions. Resolution No. 115—By Delegates John P. White, John Mitchell, Frank J. Hayes, Duncan McDonald, Wm. Green and J. H.



Walker of the United Mine Workers of America:

WHEREAS, There exists among the workers employed in the mining and iron industries of West Virginia, Virginia, Tennessee, Alabama, Colorado, certain sections of Pennsylvania and other states, unusually bad conditions and in all of these industries very low wages are paid; and

WHEREAS, Particularly in the coal mining sections of West Virginia, inhuman and barbarous methods are resorted to by certain coal operators to keep their employes from becoming organized and thus hold them, if not in actual servitude and slavery, at least in a condition approaching thereto; and

WHEREAS, One of the methods used is to maintain in the mining villages a large force of hired guards, commonly called "Baldwin Detectives," who brutalize and terrorize the miners and their families most shamefully, and whose viciousness and disregard for law and human life have been so flagrant as to attract the attention of both press and public and against which labor generally has most emphatically protested; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, First, That it is the sense of this convention that the organization of the workers in the states and industries herein named be pushed with unremitting vigor until these intolerable conditions are completely changed;

Second, That we demand that the proper civil authorities having jurisdiction extend the protection of the law to the men, women and children living in the territory above named; disarm and drive out these private guards and prosecute wherever possible the men "higher up" who employ and import into peaceable communities these squads of ruffians, criminals and thugs;

Third, We demand, wherever necessary the enactment of laws to effectually prohibit the employment of guards or detectives by employers of labor during strikes or labor disputes;

Fourth, That the Executive Council make an investigation in the industries within the several states herein named for the purpose of ascertaining to what extent peonage is practiced, and to what extent the state and federal laws are violated in the importation and employment of bodies of armed men under the guise of guards or detectives.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 116—By Delegates John P. White, John Mitchell, Frank J. Hayes, Duncan McDonald, Wm. Green and J. H. Walker of the United Mine Workers of America:

WHEREAS, The lines are being more closely drawn between capital and labor; and

WHEREAS, The capitalists of the country have organized the National Manufacturers Association and other large employers' organizations, compact cohesive bodies, having for their purpose

the destruction of the trades union movement, and realizing that "in unity there is strength" therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That in order to combat these compact and powerful organizations of employers of labor, this convention adopts and endorses the plan of organization by industries instead of by crafts which often divides the forces of labor, and that the officers of the A. F. of L. be instructed to use every effort to bring this about, and that they visit the different labor conventions and use their influence to mould sentiment along these lines.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 117—By Delegate John P. White, John Mitchell, Frank J. Hayes, Duncan McDonald, William Green, J. H. Walker of the U. M. W. of A.:

WHEREAS, By reason of the non-enforcement of existing laws, private monopolies or trusts exist, whereby the necessities of life and articles of trade, commerce and the transportation of the same are monopolized, production controlled and prices fixed, in open violation of the state and federal statutes; and with few exceptions, these private monopolies have been encouraged to ignore and violate the law and to increase their wealth, power and control, through the connivance or passivity of public officers charged with the duty of prosecuting them; and

WHEREAS, For many years organized labor has suffered from, and repeatedly denounced state and federal officers and courts for being guilty of vexatious, technical delays and vicious discrimination in the administration of justice as between the people and the monied interests, and as the correctness of our complaint is now recognized through declarations made by the President of the United States, by the Governors of different states, by state bar associations, by the press and by public spirited men; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That it is the sense of the delegates to this convention of the A. F. of L. that our executive officers ascertain:

First, To what extent complaints of violations of anti-monopoly laws have been ignored by state and federal officers charged with the duty of enforcing such laws;

Second, Whether state and federal officers have protected from prosecution and punishment violators of the law of the several states and of the United States, prohibiting private monopolies;

Third, Whether state and federal officers have vigorously and impartially enforced the laws providing for injunctions against violators of the statutes prohibiting private monopolies;

Fourth, Whether state and federal officers and courts have enforced the laws prohibiting and providing for the punishment of private monopolies with the same vigor shown by them in their prosecutions and punishment of minor offenses charged against organized labor;

Fifth, Whether the investigation and prosecution of anti-monopoly cases have been discouraged, hampered, delayed or prevented by courts and prosecutors;

Sixth, Whether public officers, having knowledge of open and notorious violation of state and federal laws, have permitted the continued violation of state and federal laws and thus assisted in the building up of unlawful monopolies to the injury of organized labor and of the public;

Seventh, Whether in the performance of their duties, courts and public officers have favored wealthy offenders, and at the same time were guilty of vigorously pressing prosecutions against members of labor unions.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 118—By Delegates John P. White, John Mitchell, Frank J. Hayes, Duncan McDonald, Wm. Green and J. H. Walker of the U. M. W. of A.:

WHEREAS, There is a growing demand among the rank and file of the trades union movement to participate directly in the election of officers, not only of their respective unions, but of the American Federation of Labor as well; and

WHEREAS, Many of the affiliated national and international organizations have adopted the direct election of all their officers with satisfactory results; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Committee on Law be instructed to prepare an amendment to the constitution providing for the election of officers of the American Federation of Labor by the referendum method.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 119—By Delegate H. P. Corcoran of the West Virginia State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, A condition exists in the coal mining districts of West Virginia, generally, brought about by the Coal Operators' Association of that state, due to a system which has been in vogue for many years, inaugurated by them, known as the Baldwin Feltz guard system, composed principally of professional strike breakers and ex-convicts; they are licensed by the state to carry fire arms, and paid by the operators. The duties of these guards are to prevent the organizing of mine workers, so that a system of peonage can be maintained, and the mine workers in many sections kept in industrial slavery. These guards have been and are now being used by the coal companies where miners have been on strike for many months in the Paint Creek and Cabin Creek regions of the Kanawa Fields. They have murdered and beaten up a number of miners and have subjected their wives and children to all kinds of insults and abuses. They have dispossessed miners and their families of their homes. They have forced not only the miners, but their wives and children, to wade the streams, preventing them

from having access to the public highways. They have subjected them to many other abuses that would fill many pages if related. They have at different times beaten up many labor organizers, who were performing a duty to a cause, none greater, than that of striving to place human life above property and bring about a higher standard of wages and working conditions for the men engaged in the coal mining industry. When these men did not heed their warning to leave; and

WHEREAS, Organized labor of West Virginia, through his state federation and central bodies, has been using every honorable effort within its power to have a statute enacted by the legislative body of that state, completely removing such a damnable system, that has not only persecuted many thousands of our class, but has encircled them with chains of industrial slavery. These guards have been curing proposed legislation has been prevented by big business interests, composed of the coal operators, gas, oil and railroad interests who generally control the legislative, judicial and executive branches of government in that state; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention take some action that will assist organized labor of West Virginia to not only secure remedial legislation sought, but also assist in bringing about a more thorough organization of the many thousands of workers of the different crafts of that state, thereby making it possible to bring about better conditions generally.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 120—By Delegates Timothy Healy, William J. Brennan, M. J. Friel of the International Brotherhood Stationary Firemen:

WHEREAS, The proceedings of the bi-annual convention of International Unions for Steam Engineers held at St. Paul, Minn., in September, 1912, shows that the aforesaid organization extended a claim for jurisdiction by change of title and also by amending article 13, section 1, to read as follows:

A candidate for membership in a local of the International Union of Steam Engineers must be a competent engineer or apprentice engineer. He shall possess a license in localities where such is required. When a candidate presents himself for membership and is out of employment, the local union shall be judge as to the wisdom of admitting him to membership; and

WHEREAS, From many localities complaints have been received from local unions of the I. B. of S. F. against the actions of the T. U. of S. E. for their infringements on the charter rights of the I. B. of S. F. as granted by the American Federation of Labor in violation of section 2 of article 2 and section 11 of article 9 of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the 32nd Annual Convention of the American Federation of

Labor that the said action of the International Union of Steam Engineers was in direct violation of the Constitution of the A. F. of L. and in conflict with the charter rights of the I. B. of S. E. as granted by the A. F. of L.; be it further

RESOLVED, That the International Union of Steam Engineers be and is hereby instructed to refrain from admitting to membership firemen, oilers, water tenders, boiler washers and firemen helpers under the guise of apprentices, or any other term which may be applied to them, while employed at any of the above named occupations.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 121—By Delegate James P. Holland of the Central Federated Union of Greater New York and vicinity:

WHEREAS, The International Association of Steam, Hot Water and Power Pipe Fitters and Helpers was organized in June, 1888, for the express purpose of affording a complete system of self-government for the men employed at the several branches of the trade of steam-fitting; and

WHEREAS, The history of trade unionism has demonstrated that each trade through its membership is best qualified to enact laws and provide and promulgate rules and regulations tending towards the betterment of the trade in an organization confined exclusively to men of the same trade, viz.: "one organization—one craft;" and

WHEREAS, "Steam fitting" has been recognized for many years as a trade and so admitted by the general labor movement; and

WHEREAS, The A. F. of L. has repeatedly, through its convention and officers, in no uncertain manner declared against compulsory arbitration as contrary to the spirit and purpose of the American sense of justice and fair play, with view therefore of offering a plan looking toward the solution of this difficulty along fair and just lines that permit the rank and file of the men engaged at the various branches of steam fitting to decide for themselves as to their future form of organization;—the following proposition is submitted;—be it

RESOLVED, By the Thirty-second Annual Convention of the A. F. of L., now in session in Rochester, N. Y., that the President of the American Federation of Labor, be, and is hereby instructed to issue a call for a convention to all men engaged at the various branches of the steam fitting trade irrespective of their affiliation, and request them to meet during May, 1913, at some centrally located city to be selected by the President of the A. F. of L., to determine for themselves their future form of organization.

Referred to Adjustment Committee.

Resolution No. 122—By Delegate James P. Holland of the Central Federated Union of Greater New York and Vicinity:

RESOLVED, By this Thirty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that Article XI, Section 2 of the Constitution be amended by erasing the word "to" on the fourth line after unions, and add "that they must," etc.

Referred to Committee on Law.

Resolution No. 123—By Delegate Joseph Smith, of the Michigan State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, For years the Michigan State Federation of Labor, and many central labor unions have declared their opposition to local option and prohibition and have pledged their different organizations against any attempt to bring about local option in Michigan; and

WHEREAS, John B. Lennon, Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor is using his office in the local option fight in Michigan, and using his office on the front page of The American Issue, the official organ of the Michigan Prohibition party, and on February 12, 1912, there appeared in that paper an article by Mr. Lennon, his picture, and under his name, Treasurer—The American Federation of Labor. In view of the fact and the position taken by the organized labor in Michigan against local option; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates to the Twenty-third Annual Convention of the Michigan State Federation of Labor, instruct our delegates to the next Convention of the American Federation of Labor, to protest against Mr. Lennon using his high office to defeat the expressed will of organized labor in Michigan.

Resolution No. 124—By Delegates Henry Prinz, Daniel Harris and E. A. Bates, of the New York State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, In the Mohawk Valley, New York State, there are over seventy-five thousand wage workers employed in the textile industry; and

WHEREAS, The large majority of these workers are at the present time unorganized, although we are of the opinion the time is now ripe for organizing this large body of unorganized workers, to the end that a higher standard of wages and working conditions may be secured; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to the Thirty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as strongly urging the Executive Council of the American Federation to place some of their organizers in the Mohawk Valley, New York State, at their earliest convenience; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we, the officers and delegates from the state branch American Federation of Labor, New York, pledge our hearty co-operation immediately this work is started.

Referred to Organization Committee.

Resolution No. 125—By Delegate J. C. Privett, of the Central Trades and Labor Council, Jacksonville, Fla.:

WHEREAS, During the debate in the United States Senate upon the compensation bill, Senators from Arkansas, Missouri, North Carolina, Texas, Florida and Georgia did their utmost to prevent the passage of this necessary and just legislation; and

WHEREAS, No compensation laws have been enacted by the states from which the greatest opposition came; neither have these states enacted efficient employers liability laws; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the central labor bodies and the state federations of the states herein mentioned be especially urged by the officers of the American Federation of Labor to secure the passage of good, practical compensation laws.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 126—By Frank H. McCarthy, of the Boston Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, The Boston Building Trades Section, a once powerful organization has been literally torn to pieces, and rendered almost useless as a labor organization by various of the building trades locals having withdrawn therefrom; and

WHEREAS, Some of the building trades locals that have withdrawn, have formed a dual building trades organization and have ordered and engaged in strikes against attempts of the regular Building Trades Section to enforce American Federation of Labor laws and divisions; and

WHEREAS, The Boston Central Labor Union has been compelled to suspend from membership some sixteen local unions in an effort to protect the Building Trades Section of Boston, and enforce A. F. of L. laws; and

WHEREAS, All these local unions refuse to affiliate with the Boston Building Trades Section, and the dual building trades organization is still in active existence, thereby demoralizing not only the regular Building Trades Section of Boston, but all organized labor of Boston and vicinity; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be directed to immediately take such action as will cause a conference of representatives of all international unions concerned to be held in Boston at which conference a representative of the American Federation shall be

present, the purpose of the conference being to end the present deplorable condition of affairs in the Boston Central Labor Union and the Boston Building Trades Section. Unions withdrawn from the Building Trades Section and unseated in the Boston Central Labor Union are eleven unions of Brotherhood of Carpenters, three unions of Brotherhood of Painters, Iron Workers Union, Iron Building Laborers Union.

Referred to Committee on Building Trades.

Resolution No. 127—By Delegate Emil Arnold, of the B. of P., D. and P. of A.:

WHEREAS, The conventions of the American Federation of Labor are called for the purpose of considering labor matters; and

WHEREAS, The injection of religious or anti-religious matters have no place in the proceedings of the conventions of the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That all religious or anti-religious discussions as such shall be prohibited at all future conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 128—By Delegate Sol. Sontheimer, of the Hartford, Conn., Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, An organizer of the American Federation of Labor, Mr. Charles A. Miles, was instructed to proceed to Thompsonville, Conn., to organize the textile workers of the Hartford Carpet Company; and

WHEREAS, Upon the arrival of the organizer at Thompsonville it became very apparent he was an unwelcome visitor insofar as the company officials were concerned, every hall in the town was closed to him, and when an effort was made to hold an open-air meeting, this was quickly prevented by the town officials, Organizer Miles was then held up and searched for concealed weapons notwithstanding the fact of his denial of carrying such weapons, this occurred on the public highway, in full view of a gang of hired ruffians, who as soon as the police left him, began to brutally beat him, pelt him with decayed vegetables, rolled him down the embankment of the river, and as he was being ordered to leave the town was finally fired upon, the bullet peeling the skin from his temple; and

WHEREAS, From evidence now in our possession we are of the opinion that the Hartford Carpet Company is solely responsible for the brutal assault and attempt upon the life of Organizer Miles; and

WHEREAS, At the solicitation of the Hartford Central Labor Union, Governor Baldwin of Connecticut decided to hear the protest of twenty-two dele-

gates representing the organized labor movement of the state of Connecticut, in conjunction with President John Golden of the United Textile Workers of America; and

**WHEREAS**, After a full hearing of the case all that could be secured from Governor Baldwin was a suggestion that the case be presented to either the county prosecutor or the grand jurors, all of whom we are convinced are completely under the domination of the Hartford Carpet Company, which practically owns and controls the town of Thompsonville; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That we, the delegates to the Thirty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled do hereby offer our emphatic protest against the brutal, inhuman and cowardly assault committed upon an American citizen in the peaceful discharge of his duties as an organizer of the American Federation of Labor; be it further

**RESOLVED**, That we call upon Governor Baldwin of Connecticut to order a rigid and searching investigation of the whole affair with the avowed object of securing the arrest and conviction of all those concerned in the brutal attack on one of our organizers; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That a copy of these resolutions be immediately forwarded to Governor Baldwin of the State of Connecticut, with a request that he act at once.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 129—By Delegate Andrew J. Gallagher of the California State Federation of Labor:

Fellow Delegates: I am instructed by the California State Federation of Labor to urge the earliest possible settlement of the controversy which has existed for the past four years within the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. We wish you to know that the 65,000 affiliated members of the California State Federation are not unappreciative of the apparent efforts heretofore put forth to end this unfortunate dispute; nor are we unmindful that you are as anxious as we to secure a unified harmonious trade union organization and federation, but wish to call your attention to the necessity of action through the power vested in you that will, if possible, expedite a settlement and conclusion of this long drawn out and seemingly useless international clash. Our central councils have been thrown into vehement and acrimonious debate, have almost been disrupted, and have had their charters not only threatened, but in one case at least revoked, all because of laws which this Federation

has seen fit to provide as penalties for failures of central councils to do certain things or take certain actions. It may be remembered that this Federation being a voluntary organization has not provided the same penalties to be vested upon the national or international organizations in affiliation, and it may be also remembered that the unions which compose the central council, which lost its charter, are all component parts of the national or international organizations, and we submit that when these component parts decide that they do not wish to outlaw their brothers they appreciate the fundamental principles underlying the voluntary association of unions in this Federation. We ask relief from this burden of clash in councils, of division to the detriment of the good work which these councils and state bodies can and cheerfully do perform. We know the rights of the affiliated I. B. E. W., but we also wish to call attention to the fact that those who have seceded from the I. B. E. W. are also human, and are or at least were trade unionists. And while we know that you have done all that was given you the light to do to end this destructive internal war, yet we feel that there are measures which might be adopted, if desired, to secure effective peace. You might place both organizations without our protection, no longer to disturb our national, international, state federations, city centrals and local unions, to return only when they come in peace and exhibiting toward each and all a true spirit of brotherhood. Or you might induce them to agree on a set of officers who would be acceptable to at least two-thirds of the workers in this avocation; or you might, if you wish to use the same methods that are visited in your wisdom on state bodies and city centrals, apply these compulsory measures to your affiliated national or international organizations, and if the doctrine of compulsion is to obtain, compel all parts of this Federation, that is, national and international to in turn compel their membership to refuse to work anywhere with any seceding or expelled members of any part of this Federation. We wish it understood we are loyal to the enunciated principles of this American Federation, the highest of which is voluntary association, which might also be interpreted to mean voluntary disassociation. We are forced to expel unions, and to refuse them association and we are anxious to be relieved of this wholly uncalled for burden, and no longer have visited on us the struggles between leaders for office or power, but we wish to go forward with the important and vital measures that are ours to further. We petition you to adopt measures as will speedily and effectively remove this dispute from the path of organized labor.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

## Fifth Day—Monday Morning Session

The session was called to order at 9.30 a. m., Monday, November 18th, the convention having been adjourned on Thursday evening to reconvene on Monday morning in order to afford the several committees an opportunity to consider and report upon the matters referred to them.

President Gompers in the chair.

**Absentees**—Kline, Klapetzky, Baine, Thoman, Strom, Goelnitz, Barnes, Yount, Ford, Feeney, Friel, Dyche, Rosenberg (M.), McSorley, Bailey, Bryan, Healey (D.), Price, Weber (J. N.), Hendrick, Leonard, Murphy (F.), Whitehead, Gallagher (J. T.), Huddleston, Tobin (Dan. J.), Williams (T. J.), Holt, Swick, McGinley, Garman, Sause, Landers, Elyea, Doherty, Bryan (F. O.), Hannon, Wood, Spencer, Lawler, Lampa, McAndrews, Lebowitz, Beckman.

Secretary Morrison read a communication from Hon. Ben W. Hooper, Governor of Tennessee, in which the convention was invited to hold its 1913 session in that state, and assuring the delegates that every courtesy and attention would be tendered them by the citizens of Tennessee.

Communications were also read from Mayor H. E. Hawse, of Nashville; from Robert L. Burch, Chairman Executive Committee, and Houston Dudley, President of the Nashville Board of Trade and Nashville Industrial Bureau, inviting the American Federation of Labor to hold its next convention in that city.

A communication was also read from L. H. Lewis, Manager Convention and Publicity Bureau of the Indianapolis, Indiana, Commercial Club, extending an invitation on the part of the commercial bodies of that city to the American Federation of Labor to hold its next convention in Indianapolis.

A telegram was read from the Secretary of the Toledo, Ohio, Central Labor Union, inviting the American Federation of Labor to hold its next convention in that city, stating that the Toledo trades unionists and business men were already making preparations in anticipation of the invitation being accepted.

A similar telegram was received from Edward P. Usher, President of the Central Labor Union of Toledo.

Delegate Scharrenberg requested that the following telegram be read and made part of the minutes of the convention:

"San Francisco, Cal., Nov. 15, 1912.

"Mr. Paul Scharrenberg, care A. F. of L. Convention, Rochester, New York:

"Please extend to the American Federation of Labor a most cordial invitation on behalf of the Panama-Pacific International Exposition to hold their 1913 meeting in San Francisco at the time of the Universal Exposition. You can assure them of a most hearty welcome.

"CHARLES C. MOORE,

"President Panama-Pacific International Exposition."

President Gompers—The chair is in receipt of a telegram from Mr. William D. Mahon, President of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees, who requests that a resolution be permitted to be introduced in connection with his organization at this time.

In a communication accompanying the resolution President Mahon stated that on account of an arbitration case it was impossible for him to reach the convention in time to introduce the resolution. The resolution is as follows:

Resolution No. 130. By W. D. Mahon, of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America:

WHEREAS, Many of the street and electric railway companies of America are now requiring their employes to put in from twelve to nineteen hours each day in order to get in a day's work, for which they receive actual pay of from eight to ten hours time; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this convention endorses the attempt of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America to secure legislation providing that no street or electric railway company shall be allowed to require of their employes more than twelve consecutive hours in any one day to put in their regular day's work of from eight to ten hours; and, further be it

RESOLVED, That all state and provincial branches are hereby urged to give their aid and assistance in securing the above legislation.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

#### Supplemental Report of Committee on Credentials.

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

Your Committee on Credentials desires to report that we have received credentials from A. B. Lowe, M. J. Powers and C. C. Allen, representing the International Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employes, 91 votes, and recommend that they be seated.

The committee also recommends that the name of Miss Mary Macauley be substituted in place of Wesley Russell, representing the Commercial Telegraphers' Union of America.

Respectfully submitted,

EDW. J. MARX, Chairman,  
W. NEER,

DUNCAN McDONALD, Secretary.

A motion was made and seconded that the recommendation of the committee be adopted and the delegate seated.

Vice President Alpine—I would like to ask the chairman of the committee what the status of the credential of Mr. Tasker is.

Delegate McDonald—The credential was held up pending the result of the vote on the other report and he has not been seated up to this time.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Delegate Furuseth—In accordance with the recommendation of the President, the Committee on President's Report moves that the question of the influence of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law upon the labor movement be made a special order by this convention for a free discussion thereon, and we suggest that the time be set for to-morrow morning immediately upon the finishing of the morning's business. (Seconded by Secretary Morrison, and carried.)

President Gompers called the list of committees in order. The chairmen of several committees stated their reports were ready to present when the signatures of the committee could be attached or when reports of sub-committees could be made to the general committees.

#### Report of Committee on Treasurer's Report.

Delegates Adames, Secretary of the Committee, read the following report:

To the Thirty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

We, your committee on Treasurer's Report, desire to submit the following: After carefully examining the report of the Secretary, also that of the auditing committee, by comparison, we find them to correspond with that of the Treasurer.

Your committee desires at this time to commend Treasurer Lennon for his loyalty to the American Federation of Labor, and his continued efficient service for the past twenty-three years as the custodian of your funds.

It should be a source of satisfaction to this great body of representatives, as well as to the rank and file, to know that the vast amount of money that has passed through his hands, has been correctly accounted for.

Respectfully submitted,

J. W. KLINE,  
T. J. DOLAN,  
T. J. GALLAGHER,  
WM. JAMES ADAMES,  
DANIEL HARRINGTON,  
FRANK B. GLYNN,  
THOMAS L. HUGHES,  
HARRY WILSON,  
JOSEPH B. ETCHISON,  
GEO. E. NEISHAM,  
M. R. WELCH,  
JEREMIAH A. KANE,  
CLARENCE E. SWICK,  
GEO. C. CAMPBELL,  
C. W. WOODMAN,

Committee.

On motion, the report of the committee was adopted.

#### Report of Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

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

Your Committee on Local and Federated Bodies submits the following report on the matters that have been referred to it:

With reference to that part of the report of the Executive Council referred to your Committee, which may be found on page 23, second day's proceedings, under the caption of "Strikes and Lockouts of Directly Affiliated Local and Federal Unions," your committee endorses the action taken by the Executive Council in rendering speedy and effective assistance to those organizations that made application for aid and were entitled to it, also the moral and financial aid rendered other Local and Federal Unions. Especially

does your committee endorse the following expression of the Executive Council:

"It has been our desire and endeavor to deal as generously in such cases as is permissible under the constitution, but yet we wish to take this opportunity of impressing upon the local trade and federal labor unions directly affiliated the necessity for complying with the requirements of the constitution in giving notice where there is a likelihood of a strike or lock-out being inaugurated."

We commend the above to the officers of Local and Federal Unions for their consideration.

While fully recognizing the fact that strikes are as essential as they are unavoidable under conditions brought about by obdurate and selfish employers, and holding the opinion that no strike in the history of organized labor was a losing proposition for the wage earning class, your committee desires to go on record as being conscious of the fact that the work done by the Executive Council and other leaders in the labor movement in the direction of giving sound advice and wise counsel, thus bringing about favorable settlements of wage and other kinds of industrial disputes and avoiding the hardships incident to strikes is one of the most valuable and useful functions they fulfil.

In sending officers and organizers of the American Federation of Labor into localities where trouble has threatened much good has been accomplished.

Resolution No. 35—By E. Lewis Evans, Tobacco Workers International Union, referred to the committee is as follows:

Resolution No. 35—By E. Lewis Evans, of the Tobacco Workers International Union:

WHEREAS, The trade union label is one of the vital instruments in advancement of the interests of the labor movement; and

WHEREAS, It is the effort on the part of every trade unionist to give the greatest possible publicity to the union label, so as to indelibly impress it upon the mind of the consuming public; and

WHEREAS, A number of state federations and central bodies have established a principle of requiring the delegates representing the various trades to stand an examination for efficiency as a delegate and be able to show that he has at least a reasonable number of labels about his person; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor heartily commends the state federations and central bodies that

have already adopted this principle as part of the efficiency of a representative from a local union affiliated; be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in Rochester urges the extension of the aforesaid principle and that all state federations and central bodies establish by legislation a requirement that all delegates must be able to pass an examination which requires an exhibit of not less than three labels on or about his person.

While your committee fully endorses the furtherance of and more extended use of the union label by all reasonable methods, and heartily commends the State Federations and city central bodies that have taken steps to impress upon the minds of delegates that they have a duty to perform in that direction, it believes it inadvisable to urge upon anyone that they should enact hard and fast laws upon the subject. It, therefore, non-concurs in the last paragraph of the resolution.

H. B. PERHAM,

Chairman.

CHAS. E. HERITAGE,

Secretary.

OSCAR F. NELSON,

JAMES G. HANNAHAN,

JOHN J. HYNES,

JAMES F. HOLLAND,

ALVIN C. HOWES,

MARTIN GOELLNITZ,

THOS. HARRISON,

FRANK GRIMSHAW,

EDW. MENGE,

L. HART,

J. W. HOLDER,

GEO. MILLER,

ANDRIES MEYER.

Delegate Heritage—I move the adoption of the report of the committee. (seconded and carried.)

#### Report of Committee on Resolutions.

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

On that portion of the report of the President under the caption "Citizenship for Porto Ricans," the committee recommends that the Executive Council be instructed to continue its efforts, through the Legislative Committee, to secure the passage of this bill so that the rights of citizenship may be speedily granted to the Porto Ricans.

On motion, the report of the committee was adopted.



The committee recommended that Resolution No. 16 be amended to read as follows:

**Resolution No. 16—By Delegate Milton Snellings of the Washington (D. C.) Central Labor Union:**

WHEREAS, The people of the District of Columbia have been deprived of the right of local self-government, and a form of government under which an immense majority of them have neither voice nor influence has been forced upon them by Congress without their consent; and

WHEREAS, The present form of government in the capital of the republic—the political heart of the nation—is contrary to the fundamental principles of American liberty, to establish which our revolutionary forefathers pledged their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor; and

WHEREAS, The ballot is one of the workers' most effective weapons, deprived of which they are powerless to redress many of their grievances or to prevent the few from despoiling the many; and

WHEREAS, The Central Labor Union of Washington, D. C. has repeatedly petitioned the Congress of the United States for the restoration of a republican form of government in the national capital, and has presented a plan for such a form of government; and

WHEREAS, The people in no other city in this country are deprived of the right and opportunity to express their views and register their will through the ballot box; and

WHEREAS, Opportunity having been afforded the people of the Federal District on the recent general election day, to express themselves by a "straw ballot," nearly ninety-three per cent of those availing themselves of this opportunity thereby declared that "The people of the District of Columbia should be allowed to vote"; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** That it is the sense of the American Federation of Labor that, while maintaining Federal control of Federal affairs, the Congress should at once re-establish in the District of Columbia a government of the people, by the people and for the people;

**RESOLVED,** That organized labor throughout the United States, and especially in the District of Columbia, should exert itself to the utmost to promote the enactment of such legislation; and be it further

**RESOLVED,** That the Executive Council is hereby directed to lend such aid as they may deem wise and helpful to secure for the citizens of Washington such a change in the form of government.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution as amended.

On motion, the report of the committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 20—By Delegate Henry Prinz:**

In accordance with the recommendations of the Committee on Resolutions, submitted to and approved by the New York State Federation of Labor, I present the appended resolution and ask that it may receive the careful consideration of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The trade union movement is on record for bettering and uplifting the conditions of women wage workers; and

WHEREAS, A great majority of the women wage earners of the state of New York receive far less than living wages; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** That this convention place itself on record for a statute establishing a minimum wage for women and that the Legislative Committee be instructed to draft a minimum wage bill and have same introduced in the 1913 session of the Legislature.

Our committee reported that the subject matter be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, for such consideration as they deem best on this subject.

The committee reported as follows: Inasmuch as the American Federation of Labor has never expressed itself upon the principle of a minimum wage rate established by state or federal legislation, your committee recommends that the subject and the principle involved be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to make an investigation and submit a report to the next convention of the A. F. of L.

On motion, the report of the committee was adopted, the vote being unanimous.

**Resolution No. 52—By Delegate Fred Brockhausen of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor:**

WHEREAS, A number of State branches favor bi-annual conferences for the purpose of concerted action in matter of State labor legislation; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** That the Executive Council is hereby instructed and authorized to assist in the arrangement of a conference of representatives of State branches to be held at a centrally located point of the country some time between August 1 and December 31 of the year 1913.

The committee reported as follows: Your committee offers as a substitute the recommendation that the officers of the A. F. of L. communicate with the officers of State Federations of Labor with the object of securing greater uniformity in legislative efforts in the several states.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

They recommended that Resolution No. 78 be amended to read as follows:

Resolution No. 78—By Delegate Frank H. McCarthy of Boston Central Labor Union:

**RESOLVED**, That the employees of the United States Navy Yards and Stations should have Saturday half holidays throughout the entire year; and, be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the Executive Council be directed to use every effort possible to cause the enactment into law of the Saturday half holiday referred to above.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution as amended.

Delegate Coughlin—I move to amend that the organizations affected be consulted before the Executive Council takes action on the proposition before the house. (Seconded.)

Delegate Coughlin urged that the employees be organized and wages and conditions in privately owned navy yards be improved before any more burdens were imposed on the government navy yards.

President Gompers—Can you state the organizations which, in your judgment, are affected.

Delegate Coughlin—The machinists, pattern makers, sheet metal workers, boiler makers, to some extent, electricians, moulders, blacksmith and helpers.

The amendment offered by delegate Coughlin was carried and the motion as amended was adopted.

Resolution No. 80—By Delegate Chas. P. Fahey of Nashville Trades and Labor Council:

**WHEREAS**, The contracts for convict labor in Tennessee will expire July 1, 1915; and

**WHEREAS**, The Tennessee Federation of Labor and the Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union of that State have endorsed a measure to be introduced in the legislature, which meets the first Monday in January, 1913, which provides for the employment of the prisoners sentenced to not more than three years upon the public roads, thus reducing the competition of convict labor with skilled labor to some extent; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled that we most heartily endorse the proposed measure and request the Executive Council to do all in their power to assist the State Federation of Labor and the State Farmers' Union in Tennessee in their efforts to abolish the contract system of prison labor in Tennessee when

the present contracts expire on July 1, 1915.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded that the recommendation of the committee be adopted.

President Gompers suggested that the words "competition with free labor" would be more in accord with the expression of the American Federation of Labor on the subject than the words "competition with skilled labor."

Delegate Fahey discussed the question at length and explained in detail the laws in Tennessee in regard to employment of convicts. He referred to the attitude of the farmers in that state as friendly to organized labor and stated that the plan proposed in the resolution would be favored by the farmers and would be a step toward securing their support in the effort to prohibit all employment of convicts in competition with free labor.

Delegate Cannon—I move as an amendment to the pending motion that the attitude of the American Federation of Labor be that convicts, when employed at any kind of work, be employed under union conditions and that the dependents of those doing the labor receive part of the compensation, the balance to be held in trust for the convict when his time has been served.

President Gompers—The chairman cannot receive that resolution as a declaration of the policy of the American Federation of Labor. It should come in the shape of a formal resolution and should receive the consideration of some committee. The general subject of the convict labor system has been referred to one of the committees of the convention, and the committee will undoubtedly make some kind of report upon it. Your motion would be in order at that time as a substitute for the report. The question here is specifically as it deals with one case.

Delegate Cannon stated in that case he would oppose the pending motion, as he did not desire to see the convention go on record taking a stand against what might be termed common labor. He referred at length to conditions in Montana and other western states, stating that in Montana men doing work on public streets and highways received three dollars a day for eight hours' work.

Delegate Furuseth stated that the question of convict labor had been referred to

the Committee on President's Report and they would no doubt make a report upon it, and read from the proceedings of the Atlanta convention the policy of the American Federation of Labor on the subject, as expressed by that convention.

Delegate Fahey stated that he agreed with the section of the proceedings read by Delegate Furuseth; that he was a member of the committee that recommended it in the Atlanta convention, and still believed in that policy. He stated that the resolution referred to conditions in Tennessee, and gave a more detailed explanation of the laws in regard to road building and the employment of convicts in that state.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Vice President Valentine in the chair.

**Resolution No. 82—By Delegate Samuel Gompers of the Cigarmakers' International Union of America;**

WHEREAS, Progress and civilization are interrupted and retarded when international peace is disturbed; and

WHEREAS, With a better conception of justice, life and human rights, thinking, peace-loving men the world over deplore the barbarism, the waste, and the cruelty of war; and

WHEREAS, Means and instrumentalities are in existence whereby international disputes may be decided without resort to crude, brutal and uncivilized methods; and

WHEREAS, Questions of honor and justice should be determined in some rational manner, not by conflicts which decide only relative physical endurance and power, or the comparative military progress of contestants and in no way decide the merits of the issues; and

WHEREAS, The levelling forces of industry, commerce, travel and communication have swept aside artificial prejudices and barriers, and have stimulated and fostered the bond of unity and universal brotherhood so that the taking of life in war becomes clearly an act involving moral issues and standards; and

WHEREAS, True to the highest and best conception of human life the trade union movement from its first inception has been opposed to war; and

WHEREAS, The trade union movement knowing that though others may fall, yet the brunt of war, not only upon the battlefield itself, but the burdens thereafter entailed is borne in the main by the working people; and

WHEREAS, Organized labor recognizes the identity of interests of the wage-workers and the brotherhood of man of all the world, realizes the duty which devolves upon the organized labor movement of all civilized countries to carry on an educational propaganda having for its purpose the awakening of the hearts and con-

sciences of all mankind to the enormous waste and cruelty of war; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor emphatically reaffirms its previous declarations for the settlement of all international differences through arbitration, looking toward the final establishment of universal international peace among the peoples of the civilized world.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

The committee recommended that Resolution No. 84 be amended to read as follows:

**Resolution No. 84—By Delegates of the Pattern Makers League of North America and the International Molders Union;**

WHEREAS, The so-called "open shop" policy has in general practice been a cloak of hypocrisy behind which an active policy of discrimination is set in motion against all union men and to prevent the existence of trade union organization; and

WHEREAS, While publicly announcing its so-called "open shop" policy with its intended implication that union and non-union workmen are employed without discrimination, the Winslow Brothers Company in its correspondence to men seeking employment informs them that union men are not employed, a quotation from one of their communications reading: "We have an open shop and therefore do not care for any union men"; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That union men are justified in believing that the policy of the Winslow Brothers Company now enforced in its shops should properly be termed non-union and anti-union.

The committee recommended that the resolution be adopted as amended.

Delegate Wilson (Jas.), in discussing the question, said in part: This resolution is presented for the purpose of directing attention, not alone to the attitude of firms that operate open shops where union and non-union men are employed, but likewise to direct attention to this concern of the men engaged in building industry. Three or four years ago this firm started a fight on the International Molders' Union. After the struggle had gone on for some time they sent letters to the pattern makers in their employ telling them if they would leave the union they could remain at work but that unless they left the union they would be discharged. Since that time we have had difficulty in doing business with this concern. The men who

handle the finished products can assist us, and we bring this to the notice of the delegates principally for the purpose of directing attention to the fact that a firm that wants to run an open shop states specifically in its letter offering employment to men that they run an open shop and therefore do not desire to hire union men, and for the purpose of directing attention, particularly of the building trades, to the fact that the Winslow Company of Chicago, with offices in New York, refuses in its plants to hire union men.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

The committee recommended that Resolution No. 85 be amended to read as follows:

**Resolution No. 85—By Delegate Egan of the Ohio Federation of Labor;**

WHEREAS, Our system of state government, which guarantees to each commonwealth the management of its internal affairs, has naturally resulted in the passage of labor legislation that should be uniform among those states interested in the same production and distribution, and which are grouped in various sections of our country; and

WHEREAS, The value of uniform laws, as applied to our industrial activities, will be beneficial not only to the workers, but to all other classes as well; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** That we approve of the efforts which have been and are now being made by the A. F. of L. through its Executive Council and the State Federation to secure the enactment of uniform legislation in the several states.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution, as amended.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

The committee recommended that Resolution No. 91 be amended to read as follows:

**Resolution No. 91—By Delegate Joseph Morton of the Chicago Federation of Labor:**

WHEREAS, It has been represented to this convention that injustice and oppression are practiced upon the employes of the piano factories controlled by J. V. Steger, and upon other residents of the village of Steger, Illinois; and

WHEREAS, The Chicago Federation of Labor has adopted a resolution directing its Legislative Committee to draft a bill and present the same to the next Legislature of the State of Illinois, creating a legislative commission to inquire into labor conditions in the piano factories controlled by Steger & Sons Piano Mfg. Co. or J. V. Steger, and in the village of Steger, Illinois; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** That this convention heartily approves of the proposed investigation, and urges the passage of said bill recommended by the Chicago Federation of Labor, and respectfully requests the Illinois Legislature to inquire carefully into past and present labor conditions in the factories and village aforesaid, and to take such action upon its findings as may be equitable and just.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution as amended.

On motion the recommended of the committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 127—By Delegate Emll Arnold of the B. of P., D. & F. of A.:**

WHEREAS, The conventions of the American Federation of Labor are called for the purpose of considering labor matters; and

WHEREAS, The injection of religious or anti-religious matters have no place in the proceedings of the conventions of the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** That all religious or anti-religious discussions as such shall be prohibited at all future conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

The committee recommended non-concurrence.

A motion was made and seconded that the recommendation of the committee be adopted.

Delegate Rodriguez opposed the report of the committee and spoke in favor of the adoption of the resolution. He expressed the hope that no one would interpret the resolution as being an anti-religious resolution; that he was acquainted with the reasons for its introduction and that it was not for the purpose of opposing any religion that he spoke in favor of its adoption. He expressed the opinion that the labor movement must continue to regard religion as a private matter and that it would be detrimental to the labor movement to inject it into their meetings.

Delegate Hayes (M. S.) spoke in favor of the recommendation of the committee and opposed the resolution, stating that he had no objection to the representative of any denomination taking the platform to express his views in regard to labor affairs; that all he asked was an opportunity to reply to them when he did not believe in what they said. He stated further that he would be perfectly willing to open the doors of state and central bodies and local meetings to a discussion of religion, politics, economics or anything else that had a bearing on the labor

problem, but he wanted a chance to reply to the speakers who came before labor bodies and professed friendship for organized labor.

Delegate Wheeler stated that he was not entirely in sympathy with the resolution; that he believed a closer interchange of ideas between the religious organizations and the labor movement would bring good results to both sides. He stated that he recognized the enormous moral influence the religious organizations of the country had at their command and if the representatives of labor were allowed to present the side of labor to them it would result in great good to the workers. He stated that as a representative of the trade union movement of Los Angeles and as a recognized Socialist he had within the past two years been invited on three different occasions to address audiences in the largest churches in that city, and that a better feeling was growing up between the organizations of labor and the churches in that community.

Delegate McDonald, Secretary of the Committee on Credentials—Do I understand from the report of the committee that fraternal delegates from any and all religious societies are to be invited to participate here? I might state my reason for asking is that the Credentials Committee now has credentials from the Central Baptist Association of Pittsburg, which I received this morning, and credentials I received a few days ago from the Verein of the German Catholic Societies. The committee has not passed on these as yet.

President Gompers—The chair desires to say this in connection with the subject that Delegate McDonald has mentioned, that a few days ago a gentleman presented a letter here in the form of a credential or a certification that he was selected by this German Verein of Catholic Societies to be a fraternal delegate, and at the same time there was a credential from some Protestant denomination. The chair undertook to say to both these gentlemen that, so far as the Catholic churches were concerned, they were represented by Fraternal Delegate Father Dietz, and so far as the other denominations were concerned these churches were represented in the person of Fraternal Delegate Macfarland. To attempt to spread this out and extend it would probably result in a revulsion of

feeling on the part of the delegates in this and other conventions, and probably there would be a curtailment instead of an extension.

Delegate Frey, Secretary of the Committee—The committee had in mind the thought that the Introducer of the resolution had in mind that by this wording the speaking of religion from the platform would be prohibited at future conventions. While the language does not say that, the committee inferred such was the case by the presentation of the matter before the committee. We had no intention of extending the number of representatives who might appear from some of the church organizations, but take the position in non-concurring that it is not advisable to say that no one, regardless of whom he may be or what part he may have played as a churchman in the interest of the trade union movement, shall be denied the platform.

Delegate McDonald stated that one of the gentlemen who had presented credentials had been very active in working among members of organized labor during a miners' strike in western Pennsylvania, and he felt that such a fraternal delegate should not be denied the privilege of a seat in the convention to listen to the proceedings when others who may not have shown such an interest in organized labor were seated. He stated, however, that he would like to see the convention take some very definite position in regard to the matter.

Vice President Duncan, Chairman of the Committee, in stating the position of the committee, said in part: The committee in reporting adversely on this resolution had no revolutionary idea; we simply let the matter come to the convention floor to remain, as far as those representatives of the church are concerned, as it has been in the past, with no conception of additional or factional religious representation. It seemed to occur to me that Delegate McDonald had an idea in his mind that those clergymen who have come here and have addressed us in this and other conventions came as individuals, and that therefore a man representing some section or some locality might as well be given a credential as a fraternal delegate as they. That is not the understanding nor has it been the practice in this convention up to the present time. We began through Dele-

gate Stelzie, who was a union machinist and who has been working upon the subject of getting the churches and organized labor closer together for many years. He was sent as a fraternal delegate and a representative of the Protestant churches of America, not of any locality nor as representing Mr. Stelzie. Later on the Federation of Catholic Societies were represented by a fraternal delegate, not as an individual of those societies nor representing any portion of the country, but representing the Catholic Societies, therefore representing it in the broadest sense of the term coequal with the representative of the Protestant churches. To think of admitting men, even of fine religious temperament and friendliness to our movement, simply because they happen to be active in any one locality would by and by give us as many fraternal delegates on the platform as we might have delegates on the floor of the convention.

Vice President Duncan discussed the report of the committee and the resolution briefly, stating that as a representative of organized labor he had preached in twenty-seven different churches in recent years and deplored any action that would result in dissention rather than a building up of the fraternal feeling that was being developed between the labor movement and many of the ministers of the different churches.

On motion, debate was closed.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 101—By Delegates F. J. McNulty, Frank Glynn, C. P. Ford, of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers:

WHEREAS, There has been introduced and is now pending in the Congress of the United States, a bill requiring railroad companies to equip their roads with automatic stop systems for the protection of human life and limb; and

WHEREAS, There have been invented, tested and approved automatic stop systems for the protection of railroad trains and the prevention of railroad accidents; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Legislative Committee of the A. F. of L. be instructed to use their every effort to have the above bill enacted into law.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

On motion, the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 104—By Delegates T. A. Rickert, B. A. Larger, M. C. Daley, M. Schwartz, V. Altman of the United Garment Workers of America:

WHEREAS, The Legislature of the State of New York has created a State Factory Investigating Commission, the members of which are appointed by the Governor, without compensation, to perform the service of making investigations of and exposing the evil conditions attending modern industry in the State of New York; and

WHEREAS, As a result of the investigation of this commission a number of remedial laws have been enacted by the Legislature of the State of New York; and

WHEREAS, The tenure of the commission has been extended for a further period; and

WHEREAS, As a result of the further work of the commission it is expected that additional laws will be formulated and enacted by the New York State Legislature; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled most heartily approves and endorses the New York State Factory Investigating Commission and its work and not only recommends the continuation of the commission, but that the several other states of our Union shall enter upon a similar line of work.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

On motion, the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

The committee recommended that Resolution No. 83 be amended to read as follows:

Resolution No. 83—By Delegates Andrew Furuseth and T. A. Hanson:

WHEREAS, There now is and has been a struggle going on in Mexico to abolish the present condition of peonage and of land tenure; and

WHEREAS, There is considerable agitation in some quarters to influence the United States Government to intervene between contending factions in the said country; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we are utterly opposed to any intervention in Mexico, that we believe in a determined policy of "hands off" on the part of our government; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we extend our cordial greetings and best wishes to the men in Mexico now struggling to abolish age-long wrongs by striking the shackles from the limbs and minds of men and women, and to abolish the present land tenure.

The committee recommended the adoption of the resolution as amended.

A motion was made and seconded that the recommendation of the committee be adopted.

Chairman Duncan, of the committee, stated that the amendment, while changing the language of the resolution, made practically no change in its meaning.

The question was discussed by Delegate Gallagher (A. J.), Delegate Furuseth,

Vice President Duncan, Delegate Cannon.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

At 12.45 the convention was adjourned, to reconvene at 2 o'clock p. m.

## Fifth Day—Monday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2 p. m., Monday, November 18th, President Gompers in the chair.

**Absentees**—Klapetzky, Kline, Kramer, Wheeler, Strom, Goelnitz, Conway, Yount, Ford, Feeney, Dyche, Schwartz, McSorley, Taggart, Bailey, Bryan, Healey (Dennis), Coakley, Lowe, Allen, Powers, Price, Hedrick, Sheret, Murphy (P.), Whitehead, Huddleston, Welch, Holt, Swick, Brockhausen, Sullivan (J. H.), Garman, Sause, Elyea, Doherty, Hannon, James, Stokes, Spencer, English, O'Rourke, Lampa, Lebowitz, Beckman.

A communication from P. J. McGinley, delegate from the Central Labor Union, Cohoes, New York, was read by the Secretary. Delegate McGinley stated in his communication that he had been called from the city on account of local troubles and it would be impossible for him to return to attend future sessions of the convention, and desired to be excused from attendance and his name omitted from the list of absentees.

The request of Delegate McGinley was complied with.

Secretary Morrison read the following communication:

"Berlin, November 4, 1912.

"Mr. Samuel Gompers, care of Seneca Hotel, Rochester, N. Y.:

"Dear Brother Gompers:—

"Your report received and part of it translated. Mr. Legien thinks it will make a splendid showing in his report. Just the sort of material we needed, I think, for the enlightenment of our European fellow trade unionists. As far as I know, Bro. Morrison usually submits a statistical table to the convention, which gives the average membership of every affiliated international. I think you ought to add that table to your excellent report. Would be all right if you were to send it immediately from Rochester.

"Bro. Legien wants me to convey his best wishes to you and your fellow workers for the forthcoming convention. He is convinced of the great work achieved by the American Federation of Labor, of the great difficulties you have to overcome, and also of your daily and ultimate success. All good wishes to all mutual

friends and to the delegates of American Labor, who are now assembling in their annual parliament.

"Yours very sincerely,

"A. BAUMEISTER,  
"Asst. Sec."

### Report of Committee on Resolutions.

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

Resolution No. 62—By Delegate James Wilson:

WHEREAS, There is now pending in the Senate a bill which has passed the House of Representatives, creating a separate Department of Labor with a Secretary at its head who shall be a member of the President's Cabinet; and

WHEREAS, The men selected by the President to serve as secretaries of the various departments have almost invariably been lawyers, professional or business men, whose environment, interests and standards are usually not in harmony or sympathy with those of the working people; and

WHEREAS, The contemplated department cannot be representative of labor, unless the Secretary who directs its operations and determines its policies is cognizant of labor's purposes and the forces that have shaped them, and is thereby fitted to be labor's spokesman in the Cabinet of the President of the United States; and

WHEREAS, This Secretary cannot be truly representative of labor unless selected by the only agency by which the working people as such have the means of giving expression to their wishes; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the A. F. of L. instruct its authorized representatives to use every honorable means to have this bill enacted into law; that members of all affiliated organizations be urged to use their influence with their respective Representatives and Senators to the same end; and furthermore, that the A. F. of L., in convention assembled, do demand the appointment of a recognized representative member of organized labor for the office of Secretary of the department to be created, and do authorize and direct the Executive Council to present names to the President of the United States from which to select a Secretary for the said department.

The committee recommended the adoption of the following as a substitute for Resolution No. 62:

WHEREAS, There has been a Department of Commerce and Labor in the administration of the government for many years, with a Secretary who is a member of the President's Cabinet; and,

WHEREAS, In the administration of said department labor has not received that consideration which we believe the importance of the labor movement requires; and,

WHEREAS, A bill for the establishment of a Department of Labor, with a Secretary who shall be a member of the President's Cabinet, has passed the House of Representatives in Congress and is now pending in the Senate, which if passed and properly administered will give labor representation in the administrative affairs of the government; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council and the Legislative Committee be instructed to use every effort possible to secure the enactment of the bill providing for the establishment of a Department of Labor; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be instructed to use all its influence to secure the appointment of a representative of labor in the Cabinet of the President of the United States.

On motion of the substitute offered by the committee was adopted.

The Secretary of the Committee reported that Resolution No. 108 contained two separate resolutions, but through a typographical error they were included under one number, and stated that the committee made separate report as follows:

Resolution No. 108—By Delegate Jacob Tazelaar of the Brotherhood of Painters:

RESOLVED, That the permanent organizers employed by the American Federation of Labor, known as salaried general organizers shall not be removed by the President or Executive Council except upon charges made against such organizers for misconduct or failure to properly attend to work assigned to them or under their charge, and only after a fair and impartial trial.

Salaried organizers may be laid off by the President or Executive Council when the funds are inadequate to continue them in employment, but shall be re-instated when the opportunity presents itself.

The committee recommended non-concurrence in the resolution.

On motion, the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

The second resolution is as follows:

Resolution No. 108½—RESOLVED, That the meetings of the Executive Council shall be held in the open. That any union man carrying a paid-up card of trade in affiliation with the Federation be permit-

ted to attend the meetings when matters concerning his organization or himself are discussed and decided.

The committee recommended non-concurrence.

A motion was made and seconded that the recommendation of the committee be adopted.

Delegate Tazelaar opposed the recommendation of the committee and spoke in favor of the adoption of the resolution.

The question was briefly discussed by Treasurer Lennon.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried by a vote of 121 in the affirmative to 31 in the negative.

Resolution No. 115—By Delegates John P. White, John Mitchell, Frank J. Hayes, Duncan McDonald, Wm. Green and J. H. Walker of the United Mine Workers of America:

WHEREAS, There exists among the workers employed in the mining and iron industries of West Virginia, Virginia, Tennessee, Alabama, Colorado, certain sections of Pennsylvania and other states, unusually bad conditions and in all of these industries very low wages are paid; and

WHEREAS, Particularly in the coal mining sections of West Virginia, inhuman and barbarous methods are resorted to by certain coal operators to keep their employes from becoming organized and thus hold them, if not in actual servitude and slavery, at least in a condition approaching thereto; and

WHEREAS, One of the methods used is to maintain in the mining villages a large force of hired guards, commonly called "Baldwin Detectives," who brutalize and terrorize the miners and their families most shamefully, and whose viciousness and disregard for law and human life have been so flagrant as to attract the attention of both press and public, and against which labor generally has most emphatically protested; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, First, That it is the sense of this convention that the organization of the workers in the states and industries herein named be pushed with unrelenting vigor until these intolerable conditions are completely changed;

Second, That we demand that the proper civil authorities having jurisdiction extend the protection of the law to the men, women and children living in the territory above named; disarm and drive out these private guards and prosecute wherever possible the men "higher up" who employ and import into peaceable communities these squads of ruffians, criminals and thugs;

Third, We demand wherever necessary the enactment of laws to effectually prohibit the employment of guards or detectives by employers of labor during strikes or labor disputes.



Fourth, That the Executive Council make an investigation in the industries within the several states herein named for the purpose of ascertaining to what extent peonage is practiced, and to what extent the state and federal laws are violated in the importation and employment of bodies of armed men under the guise of guards or detectives.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the caption "Boy Scout Movement," the committee reported as follows: Your committee recommends that the recommendation contained in the Executive Council's Report under this caption be adopted.

On motion, the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

#### **Report of Committee on Secretary's Report.**

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

To the Officers and Delegates to the 32nd Annual Convention of the A. F. of L.

Your Committee on Secretary Morrison's report begs leave to submit the following for your consideration:

We have given the part pertaining to the receipts and expenditures careful consideration and find they compare with the report of the Federation's Auditing Committee, which met previously at Washington and audited the Federation's entire finances.

We note with satisfaction that at the close of the fiscal year there was \$113,473.33 in the treasury. Of the amount on hand, \$85,063.27 is in the defense fund for the local trade and federal labor unions, to be used to pay benefits in the case of a strike or lockout of the members of these local unions. The total receipts from all sources are \$207,373.60, the total expenses, \$277,479.23, which makes an excess of expenditures over receipts of \$70,105.63.

This expenditure for the year in excess of the income needs a few words of explanation and we find the two long strikes of the Muscatine button workers and the strike on the Harriman lines, along with an expenditure of \$30,000 more for organizing purposes the past year over previous years not alone caused, but warranted this overdraft.

Your committee desires to direct particular attention to pages 10, 11, and 23, in

which is conveyed information of the greatest value. The chart on page 23 is well worthy of not only the greatest study, but of special action by this convention. The magnificent clearness with which Secretary Morrison demonstrates the growth of the Federation since the year 1897 to 1912 is so patent that your committee recommends that the subject matter be printed in a four-page pamphlet for general distribution.

The handsome increase in membership tabulated in Secretary Morrison's report from year to year shows the organization's growth and solidarity of the American labor movement.

In conclusion, your committee takes pleasure in congratulating Secretary Morrison upon the splendid and concise report furnished to this, the Thirty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor. The report as compiled by Secretary Morrison shows the great care and study used in compiling the statistical facts, and the members of your committee feel they would be lax in their duties did they not compliment and congratulate the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor and his efficient staff upon the magnificent work, showing labor's growth through affiliation to the American Federation of Labor.

Fraternally submitted,

R. H. CURRAN, Chairman.  
S. L. LANDERS, Secretary.  
WESLEY RUSSELL,  
D. F. FEATHERSTON,  
JOHN M. GILLESPIE,  
I. N. HYLEN,  
J. P. MILLER,  
JAMES P. MALLEY,  
WM. MCKAY,  
EDW. E. SHILLING,  
J. P. MCGINLEY,  
JOHN J. HENLEY,  
J. F. MORRIS,  
CHAS. E. JAMES,  
L. W. BUTLER.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

#### **Report of Committee on Labels.**

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

Resolution No. 2—By Flour and Cereal Mill Employes Union No. 14,039 of Lethbridge, Alta.:

WHEREAS, The paper sticker issued by the American Federation of Labor to

locals of the flour and cereal mill workers does not fulfil the object in view; and

WHEREAS, The said sticker is expensive in that it entails upon the local unions the cost of labels and the labor of affixing the same to the bags; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor be asked to issue cuts of the label, and the label be printed upon the sacks when the same are made; and that, in the event of any firm or company not living up to an agreement, the local union shall have the right to cancel the label by a cancellation stamp placed over the original label on the sack to show purchasers that the product is unfair; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the object to be attained is that the union shall remain in control of the label without being at unnecessary expense, but shall take direct action when the contract appears to be broken.

The committee reported as follows: Your Committee non-concurs for the reason that the plan as proposed seems to be impractical because an employer having possession of a quantity of sacks upon which the union label might be printed would not be disposed and apparently could not be compelled to surrender such sacks to have the label cancelled in the event of their contract with the union being annulled.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the caption "Universal Label" the committee reported as follows: We recommend that, inasmuch as the Label Trades Department at its convention which closed a few days ago, decided that this subject be investigated and reported to the next convention of the Label Trades Department, your committee recommends that action by this convention be deferred pending the report from the Label Trades Department.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 33—By Frank Scoby and James Doyle of the Coopers' International Union:

WHEREAS, At a convention of the Coopers' International Union, held at St. Louis in September, 1912, it was deemed advisable to establish a repair label, the same to be placed on all beer and ale cooperage that has been repaired by members of the Coopers' International Union; and

WHEREAS, Through the process of repairing beer kegs and barrels, the union label that is placed on the bung stave where the package is newly made, is removed when a broken bung stave is re-

placed by a new stave thereby leaving the package without any guarantee that such was made by union men and under union conditions; and,

WHEREAS, In justice to the patrons who at all times insist that only union made packages shall be used to supply their needs; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, do hereby endorse the beer barrel repair label of the Coopers' International Union and call on all members and friends of organized labor to see to it that the repair label is placed on new heads and staves when such packages are placed upon the market.

Facsimile  
of



repair  
stamp.

Referred to Committee on Labels.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 54—By Delegate Fred Brockhausen, of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor:

RESOLVED, The Executive Council is hereby instructed and authorized to secure from all its directly and indirectly affiliated organizations having labels, trade marks or shop cards, all items of expense in maintaining, operating and defending such labels, marks or cards, covering a period of twelve months, between January 1911 and January 1912; and further

RESOLVED, That the result of this investigation be compiled in detail and reported in printed form to the next convention.

The committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council for such action as may be deemed advisable.

A motion was made and seconded that the recommendation of the committee be concurred in.

Delegate Gallagher (A. J.)—The committee recommends a resolution looking for data and cost of label advertising, agitation and defense to the Executive Council without recommendation. Now if there is any part of our work we want to find out about in order to lead to an intelligent action it is the cost of such work, and I cannot see why the committee, unless members of it are irrevocably com-

mitted against a general label, are afraid of recommending that the Executive Council secure this information. I therefore move you that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council with our favorable recommendation.

The amendment was seconded and carried, and the motion as amended was adopted.

Resolutions Nos. 28 and 92 were read by the committee. A recommendation of the committee was also read. After a brief discussion both resolutions were withdrawn, No. 28 by Delegate Coughlin upon the request of the representatives of the Garment Workers, and No. 92 by the authors of the resolution. The committee requested and received permission to withdraw its recommendation for further consideration.

Resolution No. 36—By E. Lewis Evans of the Tobacco Workers' International Union:

WHEREAS, The products of union and non-union labor are in severe competition with each other in the market; and

WHEREAS, It is the duty of all the union workers to increase the sale of union labeled products as much as possible; and

WHEREAS, The tobacco workers among the other trades have adopted a union label to give distinction between the fair and unfair brands of tobacco, snuff and cigarettes offered for sale; and

WHEREAS, A larger consumption of the union label brands of tobacco, snuff and cigarettes is necessary to the continued betterment of the conditions of the tobacco workers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That it is the sense of all members of the American Federation of Labor that a greater measure of patronage should be given to the brands of tobacco, snuff and cigarettes bearing the union label; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That inasmuch as tobacco, snuff and cigarettes bearing the union label are on sale in all cities and towns in the United States and Canada, the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in Rochester, New York, hereby pledges itself to the duty of creating a greater demand for union labeled tobacco, snuff and cigarettes by purchasing only such brands as do bear the Blue Label, accepting nothing as a substitute, the dealers' persuasive powers to the contrary notwithstanding.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 59—By A. A. Myrup, Henry Koch and J. Goldstone of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers International Union of America:

WHEREAS, The label of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers International Union of America represents bread and other bakery and confectionery goods made under fair and sanitary conditions, honest wages, living hours and by union men; and

WHEREAS, The label of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers International Union of America is the only means of distinguishing union from non-union; there, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, re-endorse the label of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers International Union of America; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That every member of each affiliated union be, and is hereby requested to ask for the union label on all products he or she may purchase, therefore showing or proving his or her loyalty to the cause of unionism in a substantial manner.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

On that portion of President Gompers' report under the caption "Union Label Trades Department" the committee reported as follows:

Your committee agrees with the conclusions of the President in his report under the heads "Union Label Trades Department" and "Union Labels," and to the end that the expectations of the President may be most speedily realized it is urged that all organizations having labels, cards or emblems shall, at the earliest possible date, become affiliated with the Union Label Trades Department and thus show that they appreciate the work of the department and the labor movement in general in promoting the labels, cards and union buttons of affiliated unions and demonstrating that they do not occupy the position of reaping an advantage without an equivalent return.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 4—By Delegate Paul Scharrenberg of the San Francisco Labor Council:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has at previous World's Fairs exhibited a display illustrating the aims and aspirations of organized labor as well as recording the great achievements in the various phases of our movement; and

WHEREAS, The Panama-Pacific International Exposition will be held in San Francisco, Cal., in 1915, to commemorate the opening of the Panama Canal; and

WHEREAS, Said Exposition will give a splendid opportunity to make the world at large more familiar with the great work constantly being done by the American Federation of Labor for the amelioration and uplifting of the country's toilers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Thirty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that the Executive Council is hereby directed to bring up to date and prepare for shipment and exhibition to the Panama-Pacific International Exposition at San Francisco the display herein referred to.

The committee recommended that Resolution No. 44 and that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the caption "American Federation of Labor Exhibit at San Francisco, 1915," be referred to the officers of the American Federation of Labor to be carried into effect.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

The committee recommended the adoption of the following:

RESOLVED, That all members of organized labor be instructed to educate their families and friends that when purchasing any article to ask for the union label, and that the stationery issued by all international unions and their affiliated locals have printed thereon "Remember the union label when purchasing any article."

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

#### Report of Committee on Education.

Delegate Walker (J. H.), Secretary of the committee reported as follows:

Resolution No. 27—By Delegate Edwin S. Burns of Logansport Trades and Labor Assembly;

WHEREAS, We recognize the trade union as the legitimate agency through which the working class will secure the just rights of labor; and

WHEREAS, There exists in many localities a wrong apprehension and misconception of the true purposes and aims of the American Federation of Labor, thereby causing confusion among the membership, and tends to create a wrong impression as to the legitimate intent and purpose of the parent body, and as this unsatisfactory condition is an impediment to the growth of our organization and our influence for progress among the toilers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council at the earliest possible date take up the question of arranging for lecture courses to be held under the auspices of the central bodies of organized labor holding charters from the American Federation of Labor throughout the United States, Canada and our insular posses-

sions, said lecture courses to be held during the winter months from January to April of each year; and be it

RESOLVED, That the salaries and traveling expenses of said lecturers be borne by the American Federation of Labor and all local expense, such as hall rent, advertising, etc., be paid by the local central bodies where such lectures are held.

The committee reported as follows: That the principle contained in Resolution No. 27 be endorsed, but that as in the judgment of the committee the income of the American Federation of Labor is not sufficient to pay for the services of such a corps of lecturers, we feel that the Executive Council should compile a list of the men and women who in their judgment are competent to meet the requirements and who are willing to give their services in this respect, with a statement of the terms on which they can be secured, so that any of the subordinate organizations desiring and able to meet these terms may be able to secure their services.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 40—By Delegate Paul Scharrenberg of the San Francisco Labor Council:

WHEREAS, It is a deplorable fact that in many of the universities of this country, which are financially supported by the people, the educational work is confined solely to the comparatively few who are able to give their entire time for a number of years in acquiring a so-called college education; and

WHEREAS, State-supported universities can make returns to the people who pay the bills in two ways:

First, by creating in all the people the realization of their educational needs and to provide the facilities for satisfying that need—University Extension.

Second, by making its graduates useful members of the state, who realize their obligations to the state and to the people who provided for their education; therefore, be

RESOLVED, By the Thirty-Second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that we most heartily favor a popular system of University Extension similar to the one provided by the State of Wisconsin; further

RESOLVED, That we urge upon all State Federations, central bodies and organized labor generally to make every effort in their respective states to cause such changes to be made as will bring the work of state-owned universities nearer to the needs of the working people.

The committee recommended that the resolution be endorsed.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be adopted.

The resolution was discussed briefly by Delegate Simpson and Delegate Scharrenberg, both speaking in favor of it.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Vice President Hayes in the chair.

Resolution No. 49—By Delegate Edw. C. Streile, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders:

WHEREAS, The policy of the American Federation of Labor is to further legislation in the interest of humanity, and the better education of the children of America; and

WHEREAS, The education of the child is conducted by the State; and

WHEREAS, Uniform school books, properly selected, with a consequent state course of study, tend to a higher degree of efficiency at a reduced cost to the taxpayers; and

WHEREAS, State uniformity of school books, in connection with the Federal copyright law, aids in the control of the school book monopoly; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in its 32d Annual Convention assembled, endorse state uniformity of school books, whether furnished free or by individual purchase, and hereby instructs its Executive Council to further and support, by all honorable means, all just laws in the interest of the people, and not in the interest of the publishers.

Resolution No. 87—By Delegate Stephen C. Sumner of the Illinois State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Believing that one of the greatest problems confronting the worker to-day is the proper education of his children, thereby fitting them to meet the exigencies of modern industrial conditions, the workers of Illinois, by unanimous vote in this State Convention demand:

1st. That the schools shall be so standardized in the course of study as to give the school children a maximum of educational value during the school life of the child.

2nd. That text-books in the graded and high schools of the State shall be uniform in character.

3rd. That the ownership of the copyright shall be vested in the State itself.

4th. That teachers shall, as far as possible, confine their work to teaching, not to the hearing of recitations, and leaving the actual work of teaching to the parents in the home under the guise of home-work.

5th. That the so-called "vocational schools" be confined to apprentice schools to be conducted jointly by the trades unions and the school authorities, after the manner so successfully operated by the Carpenters and similar organizations; and

WHEREAS, To accomplish our purpose in Illinois we must do battle with the wily agents of the school-book trusts, the greediest corporation in existence. Not content with robbing the parents through excessive charges they also rob the children

through manipulation of courses of study and constant changes of school-books. One state, or one section of the country, cannot hope to win speedy victory from these grasping corporations, and so, in order that we may hope for reasonably sure and immediate results, we respectfully ask that the American Federation of Labor endorse our work and plan of action in the following resolution:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor desiring to insure to the child of the workers of our country as through a schooling as may possibly be obtained in the public schools of our nation, recommend to the trade unionists of the country the following declaration:

RESOLVED, That the workers of every commonwealth demand of the state authorities the enactment of a statute providing for uniform school-books in the public schools of such state; that the copyright of such series of school-books be vested in the state school officials, in trust, for the people of such state; that such books shall be of the highest standard of excellence and workmanship; and be it further

RESOLVED, That all vocational training in public schools, or conducted under the supervision of public school officers, or paid out of public taxes, be modeled after the apprentice schools now being conducted jointly by the Carpenters' union and other trade unions; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor be, and is hereby, empowered to make such research and investigation, by committee or otherwise, and to publish the findings of such investigations in such manner as will best serve to call attention to the need of a thorough and practical reform in our public school system.

The committee recommended that the following portion of Resolution No. 87 be adopted as a substitute for Resolutions No. 87 and 49.

WHEREAS, We believe that one of the greatest problems confronting the workers to-day is the proper education of their children, thereby fitting them to meet the exigencies of modern conditions of life; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor desires to insure to the children of the workers of our country as through a schooling as may possibly be obtained in the public schools of our nation; and

WHEREAS, To accomplish our educational purposes we must do battle with the agents of the school book trusts—the greediest corporations in existence, which not content with robbing the parents through excessive charges also rob the children through manipulation of courses of study and constant changes of school books; and

WHEREAS, One state or one section of the country cannot hope to win speedy victory from these grasping corporations, in order that we may hope for reasonably sure and immediate results; be it

RESOLVED, That the workers of every commonwealth demand of the state authorities the enactment of a statute providing for uniform school books in the public schools of their respective states; and

RESOLVED, That such books shall be of the highest standard of excellence and workmanship; and

RESOLVED, That the copyrights of such school books shall be vested in the state, in trust for the people of the state; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be and is hereby empowered to make such research and investigation, by committee or otherwise, as shall throw the most light upon this matter, and to publish the findings of such investigation and research in such manner as shall best serve to call attention to the need of a thorough and practical reform in our public school system.

On motion the substitute offered by the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 65—By Delegates T. V. O'Connor, Thos. Harrison, Geo. E. Neesham and A. J. Chlopek of the International Longshoremen's Association:

WHEREAS, The Federal authorities and contractors persist in employing alien labor on certain work in the territory of Hawaii; and

WHEREAS, This action on their part is detrimental to our members and citizen labor in general; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to take this matter up with the proper authorities at once in order that citizen labor be given preference on all government work in the territory of Hawaii.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 68—By Delegates T. V. O'Connor, Thos. Harrison, Geo. Neesham, A. J. Chlopek of the International Longshoremen's Association:

WHEREAS, There is a bill before the Congress of the United States creating a National Department of Health; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 32d Annual Convention of the A. F. of L. endorse said bill; and be it further.

RESOLVED, That the Legislative Committee of the A. F. of L. be instructed to use their best efforts to secure the passage of said bill.

The committee recommended that Resolution No. 68 be concurred in; also that the Owen Bill as amended by the Executive Council be endorsed by the convention, and that all affiliated organiza-

tions be urged to co-operate with the Executive Council in its efforts to secure the enactment of the bill.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 69—By Delegate Fred S. W. Holt of the Arkansas Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The Central Labor Union of Hot Springs, Ark., and the individual members of the different unions affiliated therewith have undertaken to interest organized labor throughout the country in the building and maintenance of a National Federation Sanatorium; and

WHEREAS, We believe such an institution would be one of the greatest helps toward the uplift of our people, and the greatest blessing that could be bestowed upon the sick or afflicted, and an onward step in the progress of our great movement; and

WHEREAS, We believe the one spot best fitted for such an institution would be the spot where the "God blessed" water flows, Hot Springs, Ark.; and

WHEREAS, The various affiliated labor organizations of Arkansas, assembled in annual convention, have pledged their financial support toward the building and maintenance of such an institution; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we the delegates assembled in this, the Thirty-second Annual Convention of the A. F. of L., subscribe ourselves to the ideas as set forth in this resolution, and that a committee of five be selected by this convention upon the adoption of this resolution, whose duty shall be to devise ways and means towards the establishment and maintenance of a National Federation Sanatorium, said committee to report back to the convention before final adjournment.

The committee recommended non-concurrence in Resolution 69, believing it to be impractical for the Federation to attempt anything of the kind at the present time, and that it would be impossible to comply with the provisions of the resolution as to procedure.

The report of the committee was adopted.

The committee recommended that Resolution No. 102 be amended to read as follows:

Resolution No. 102—By Delegate Egan of the Ohio Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The portion of the A. F. of L. Executive Council's report to this convention, which deals with that subject generally referred to as "industrial unionism," is a complete defense of the evolutionary nature of our organization system, which experience proves is the most effective in this country; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be instructed to have this report

printed in pamphlet form in such numbers and in that language as in its judgment will serve for general distribution.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution as amended.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 116—By Delegates John P. White, John Mitchell, Frank J. Hayes, Duncan McDonald, Wm. Green and J. H. Walker of the United Mine Workers of America:

WHEREAS, The lines are being more closely drawn between capital and labor; and

WHEREAS, The capitalists of the country have organized the National Manufacturers Association and other large employers' organizations, compact cohesive bodies, having for their purpose the destruction of the trades union movement, and realizing that "In unity there is strength;" therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That in order to combat these compact and powerful organizations of employers of labor, this convention adopts and endorses the plan of organization by industries instead of by crafts which often divides the forces of labor, and that the officers of the A. F. of L. be instructed to use every effort to bring this about, and that they visit the different labor conventions and use their influence to mould sentiment along these lines.

"The committee reported as follows: That we non-concur in Resolution No. 116, and that we reaffirm the autonomy declaration of the Scranton convention, which is as follows:

"Scranton, Pa., December 14, 1901.

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

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

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

"We emphasize the impossibility of the establishment of hard and fast lines; but if history and experience in the labor movement count for aught we urge upon our fellow workmen that toleration and forbearance which are proverbial of our movement; for, without the recognition and application of these qualities any de-

cision we may formulate will be futile. We, therefore, recommend as follows:

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

"2. We hold that the interests of the trade union movement will be promoted by closely allied and sub-divided crafts giving consideration to amalgamation, and to the organization of District and National Trade Councils to which should be referred questions in dispute, and which should be adjusted within allied crafts' lines.

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

Delegate Walker, Secretary of the Committee—This is one of the questions that the committee as a whole could not agree upon. There was a substitute offered for the report of the committee that has just been read, and I want to offer now as a minority report for the majority report which is before the convention at this time the following:

"That where practical one organization should have jurisdiction over an industry, and where in the judgment of a majority of the men actually involved it is not practical, then the committee recommends that they organize and federate in a department and work together in such man-

ner as to protect, as far as possible, the interests of all connecting branches."

I move the adoption of that as a minority report. (Seconded.)

President Gompers—The hour of four o'clock has arrived, and a special order of business has been set for this hour. It was arranged to have an illustrated lecture by the Factory Inspector of the State of New Jersey.

Delegate Wilson (J.)—In view of the importance of this matter, and as there is other work before the convention that will take up our attention I move that this matter be made a special order for some time to-morrow.

Delegate Hayes (M. S.)—In order not to confuse the discussion on the report that has been submitted by the Committee on Education, and as we will have only half an hour after this illustrated lecture is over, I therefore move that this subject that is now submitted by the Committee on Education be taken up immediately after the special order beginning at 10 o'clock to-morrow morning has been disposed of.

Delegate Furuseth—I rise to a point of order. There is nothing before the convention but the special order.

The chairman declared the point well taken.

President Gompers introduced to the convention Mr. Lewis T. Bryant, Chief Factory Inspector of the State of New Jersey.

Mr. Bryant spoke at some length in regard to fire protection and the use of safety devices and devices for the conservation of health in the factories. The address was illustrated by stereopticon views of the interior of factories and shops fitted with such devices, and by moving pictures showing the most approved fire escapes and methods of fire prevention, fire drills of factory employes, etc.

At the close of the address a rising vote of thanks was given to Mr. Bryant for his valuable and interesting address.

President Gompers—The chair has suggested to the minority of the committee to offer what has been offered as an addition to the report of the majority of the committee rather than as a substitute for it. My understanding of the two reports may not be entirely accurate, but to me they do not seem to be necessarily in conflict, and perhaps it would not be the part of wisdom to decide on

that subject immediately unless we have the matter in printed form before us so we can determine for ourselves whether there is conflict; and if there is conflict thresh it out and find where we can agree; but from my understanding of both reports there does not seem to be anything necessarily in conflict.

Vice President Valentine, Chairman of the Committee—I am going to suggest that we have other matters in connection with our report, and if we can temporarily lay this aside, have it printed and the committee meet again, it can be taken up and discussed to-morrow.

Delegate Simpson—I move that the matter come up as a special order immediately after the other special order of business set for 10 o'clock to-morrow has been disposed of. (Seconded and carried.)

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the caption "International Anti-Home Work Congress," the committee recommended that the convention endorse the action of the Executive Council, and recommenda further that the Executive Council be authorized to send a representative, at their discretion, to any similar meeting that may be held in the future.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the caption "Conservation of Natural Resources," the committee recommended that the convention endorse the action of the Committee on Conservation of Natural Resources, and that the American Federation of Labor continue to be a part of and to co-operate with that body.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the caption, "Glass Bottle Blowers—Flint Glass Workers," the committee recommended that the action of the Executive Council in bringing about an amicable adjustment of the dispute between the two organizations be commended.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the caption, "Convention of the Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union of America," the committee reported as follows: The committee recommends that the convention



express appreciation of the assistance given our movement by the Farmers' organization; that we pledge, ourselves to do all in our power to build up and strengthen their union and assist them in every way possible, and that we continue to exchange fraternal delegates with that organization.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

On that portion of President Gompers' report under the caption, "Labor Day and Labor Sunday," the committee reported as follows: That we endorse the sentiment expressed by President Gompers with regard to Labor Day and Labor Sunday, and urge the different local unions and central bodies to arrange on these occasions for meetings and public gatherings and have competent speakers to deliver addresses setting forth our aims and purposes as well as our accomplishments.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

On that portion of President Gompers' report under the caption "American Federationist," the committee reported as follows: We approve its being used as an open forum by all writers upon the problems that affect our interests, and urge that every subordinate body subscribe for at least one copy each month to be kept on file for information and reference, and that we also commend it to all our members and all others interested in labor's problems as the most reliable publication in our land conveying labor's position, not only on all important questions of general import, but also on all local matters of more than ordinary importance.

On motion, the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

On that portion of the report of President Gompers under the caption, "Wider Use of Schools," the committee reported as follows: That we approve the action of the authorities in various localities in permitting the public school buildings to be used for public meetings to consider questions of public welfare, and that we also endorse President Gompers' recommendation that the members of our organizations renew their efforts to secure wider usage of public school buildings, and utilize these convenient public buildings for trade union and central body

meetings, as such meeting places would ensure an environment with wholesome, moral influences.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be adopted.

Delegate Simpson discussed the question at length, and opposed the use of schools for meetings of organized labor bodies on the ground that it might discourage the building of labor temples in various cities. He advocated the building of labor temples in every city where it was possible to do so in order that all the organizations might have a central place of meeting and keep in close touch with each other.

Delegate Biggs stated that a labor temple was the very best acquisition that could be secured to the movement, and referred at length to the benefit the labor temple in Seattle was to the movement there.

Delegate Walker, Secretary of the Committee, stated that the committee did not have in mind attacking the movement to establish labor temples in any city where they could be established, and stated further that if the report of the committee was adopted, so far as the committee was concerned, it would not be considered a movement in opposition to the establishment of labor temples where the movement was strong enough to establish them.

The question was further briefly discussed by Delegate Kelly, Delegate Simpson and Delegate Vanderveld.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

President Gompers—The chair desires to ask your attention for a moment on a question of personal privilege and explanation. During the last few days I have been in receipt of some telegrams and a letter upon a subject I desire to call to your attention. The telegrams being generally vague and containing nothing upon which to base an answer it was impossible for me to answer. I received a letter to-day from the Pattern Makers' Association of Schenectady, in which a clipping from the Knickerbocker Press, of Albany, is enclosed. The clipping reads: "Gompers on Berger's Defeat. New York press (Progressive)." And the important part is contained in the first paragraph which I shall read to you: "Samuel Gompers has expressed satisfaction over

the defeat of Congressman Berger, the Milwaukee Socialist, who was the lone representative of his rapidly growing party in Congress. He thinks the reverses of the Socialists in Milwaukee and some other places will help the cause of union labor."

My answer to the questioner in this letter as well as my answer to the telegraphic correspondence is that it is absolutely untrue. I have never directly or indirectly stated or intimated that I found satisfaction in the defeat of Mr. Berger, and I just want to add this for the paper

with its comment and with its further statements contained in other parts of this communication, that it emanates from a source that has always misrepresented the President of the American Federation of Labor.

In answer to a question from Delegate Wilson (Jas.), President Gompers stated that the telegrams he referred to were not sent from the Pattern Makers' Association.

At 5.45 p. m. the convention was adjourned, to reconvene at 9.30 a. m., Tuesday, November 19th, 1912.

## Sixth Day—Tuesday Morning Session

The convention was called to order at 9.30 a. m., Tuesday, November 19th, President Gompers in the chair.

**Absentees**—Klapetzky, Kline, Strom, Goelnitz, Fitzgerald (W. H.), Conway, Yount, Ford, Moser, Larger, Schwartz (M.), Dyche, D'Andrea, Etchison, Bailey, Healey (D.), Lowe, Allen, Powers, Price, Daly, Runsey, Crane, Hynes, White (J. P.), McDonald, Green (Wm.), Scanlan, Lanigan, Murphy (P.), Nelson, Whitehead, Gallagher (T. J.), Huddleston, Short, Welch (M. R.), Connors, Carolan, Bahrens, Swick, McGinley, Garman, Landers, Elyea, Doherty, Stokes, Spencer, Lampa, Lebowitz, Beckman, Weiss.

### Supplemental Report of Committee on Credentials.

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

November 19, 1912.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-second Annual Convention of the A. F. of L.:

Your Committee on Credentials desires to report that we have received a credential from the Women's International Union Label League for Mrs. Anna B. Field as a fraternal delegate, and recommend that she be seated.

Respectfully submitted,

EDW. J. MARX, Chairman,

W. NEER,

DUNCAN McDONALD, Secretary.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted and the fraternal delegate seated.

### Report of Committee on Education.

Delegate Walker (J. H.), Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

On that portion of the report of President Gompers, under the caption "Labor Press," the committee reports:

"We concur in that portion of the President's report emphasizing the necessity for an up-to-date, thoroughly reliable labor press of sufficient scope to keep everyone informed fully as to labor's side of all questions of interest that affect the cause of labor, and urgently recommend that every effort possible be made to induce or require the membership of organized labor to support the labor papers of their own crafts and of the general labor movement."

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

### Industrial Education.

The committee has considered that portion of the Executive Council's report under the caption "Industrial Education," and desires to express its appreciation of the splendid work of both the special and the general committees on that question. The work and the report of the general committee on education includes a study of every scheme of vocational education in the United States and presents in detail in the briefest possible manner the work done in the schools investigated. The report, which is printed in pamphlet form and contains 114 pages, will be distributed to the delegates to this convention, and we urge that each delegate read carefully this very valuable hand-book on this matter which is so extremely important to our members.

The original action taken concerning vocational education was in accordance with a resolution adopted by the Denver Convention of 1908. A special committee on industrial education was appointed to investigate and report on the subject matter to the Toronto Convention. In compliance with the resolution, the committee made a preliminary report, but later, by authority of the Toronto Convention, the life of the committee was extended so that it might further pursue its studies in the light of a searching investigation, which was being carried on by the United States Bureau of Labor.

The investigation and report made by the United States Bureau of Labor undertaken at the request of the American Federation of Labor's Committee on Industrial Education, is believed to be the most comprehensive inquiry ever made on the subject in the United States.

Text of the resolution creating the special committee on industrial education is as follows:

The President, in conjunction with the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, be, and is hereby, authorized to appoint a special committee of at least 15, to be composed of the majority of trade-union members of this convention, who will serve without compensation and incur no expenses other than the necessary and legitimate expenditure within the judgment of the President and the Executive Council, to investigate the methods and means of industrial education in this country and abroad, and to report its findings, conclusions, and rec-

ommendations to the next annual meeting of the American Federation of Labor.

The final make-up of the committee follows:

JOHN MITCHELL, Chairman,  
FRANK DUFFY, Secretary,  
SAMUEL GOMPERS,  
FRANK MORRISON,  
JAMES DUNCAN,  
D. A. HAYES,  
WILLIAM D. HUBER,  
JOSEPH F. VALENTINE,  
JOHN R. ALPINE,  
H. B. FERHAM,  
MRS. RAYMOND ROBINS,  
MISS AGNES NESTOR,  
DR. CHARLES P. NEILL,  
HON. W. B. WILSON,  
REV. CHARLES STELZLE,  
CHARLES H. WINSLOW,  
EDWARD HIRSCH,  
JOHN GOLDEN,  
JAMES WILSON,  
JAMES O'CONNELL,  
JOHN B. LENNON,  
HUGH FRAYNE,  
JAMES ROACH,  
STUART REID.

#### Scope of the Resolution.

From the terms of the resolution under which the committee was constituted it is evident that what was desired was:

1. A thorough investigation of the needs of industrial education.
2. A statement of the extent to which the needs are now met by existing institutions.
3. As the result of such investigations, some definite suggestions for the promotion of industrial education in such manner as might best serve the interests of the whole people.

#### Point of View and Recommendations of the Committee.

The committee entered upon its duties without fixed notions as to the form industrial education should take throughout the country, and, in consequence, its inquiries and studies have made the most profound impression upon its members.

Keeping in mind the scope of the resolution, as well as the complexity of the situation, the committee addressed themselves to the following questions, in an effort to bring out practical suggestions toward the solution of the problem:

1. Should trade, vocational, technical, and industrial schools be established as a part of the public-school system?
2. Should private industrial educational institutions be tolerated?
3. Under what conditions and terms should industrial schools, either public or private, be countenanced and supported?
4. Under what conditions should the semiprivate or semipublic industrial schools—namely, the so-called cooperative industrial schools—be approved or disapproved?
5. Should they be free or supported by the city, county, or state in which they are located?

6. Should they be under the control or partial control of the National Government?

7. Should their instructors be practical men from the ranks of trade occupations, or should they be men who know nothing of the trade itself except its theoretical side?

8. What should be taught under the head of "Industrial Education"; the cultural side, the professional side, the practical side, or all combined?

9. To what extent, if any, should labor headquarters, labor temples, and labor halls be used to furnish industrial education?

10. To what extent should "Prevocational Courses" be encouraged?

11. What disposition shall be made of the product of industrial schools?

#### Point of View.

After an extensive as well as intensive study of the entire subject, covering a period of more than three years, examining the many experiments now in vogue, ascertaining through first hand information the purposes and merits of the several types of school now prevailing, the committee is prepared to offer the following as a partial solution of the above questions.

In regard to 1—should trade, vocational, technical, and industrial schools be established as a part of the public-school system?

We believe that technical and industrial education of the workers in trades and industry, being a public necessity, should not be a private but a public function, conducted by the public, the expense involved at public cost and as part of the public-school system. In order to keep such schools in close touch with the trades and industries, there should be local advisory boards, including representatives of the industries, the employers, and organized labor.

In regard to 2—should private industrial educational institutions be tolerated?

Organized labor's position regarding the injustice of narrow and prescribed training in selected trades by both private and public instructions, and the flooding of the labor market with half-trained mechanics for the purpose of exploitation, is perfectly tenable and the well-founded belief in the viciousness of such practices and the consequent condemnation, is well nigh unassailable.

In regard to 3—under what conditions and terms should industrial schools, either public or private, be countenanced and supported?

We believe in private initiative, coupled with active co-operation between the school authorities and the trade unions, or private undertakings which are manifestly for the educational advancement of trade-union members.

In regard to 4—under what conditions should the semiprivate or the semipublic industrial schools, namely, the so-called

co-operative industrial schools, be approved or disapproved?

The problem is divided into two parts as follows:

- (a) Public control of cooperative schools,
- (b) Private control of cooperative schools.

As to (a) the cooperative-school plan is an attempt to combine training in the processes and practices of trades, in manufacturing or other establishments, with general instruction in a school which includes theory plus academic studies that bear directly on the trade work. The details of such systems vary, but the most popular is the half-time plan.

In the last analysis, industrial education will be measured by intensely practical men of the industrial world, on the basis of skill and intelligence as developed by undertakings, to fit the youth of the country for wage-earning occupations. In order to meet this test successfully, apprentices must be trained under real conditions in productive industry, thereby making the cooperative-school plan a necessary feature of our public-school system.

The public schools should teach the theory of the trade, while the actual practice and processes should be taught in the shop. This method permits of continuous development of capacity and relieves the manufacturer of the expense of the theoretical instruction, and provides a means of weeding out boys who are not adapted to particular trades.

By this method the boy, the employer, and the community are benefited. The obligation to provide industrial education of a theoretical nature, therefore, should rest entirely with the public schools.

As to (b)—private control of cooperative schools:

The committee reaffirms its position in condemning any system of public instruction privately controlled, or any scheme of private selection of pupils, and calls attention to the introduction of a plan which is being put into operation in several localities and fostered by manufacturers' associations.

This cooperative scheme is a limited plan for industrial education, carried on between the high school, which engages a teacher for the purpose, one satisfactory to the manufacturers, and a group of the latter who indenture such boys as they desire to have. The idea is, of course, to give a thorough training. But—

(a) The manufacturer is not obliged to take any boys or to keep any boy.

On the other hand, the high school is obliged to educate all duly qualified boys, to give them all that the city provides.

Therefore those who study in such a co-operative course do so on sufferance.

In regard to 5—should they (the schools) be free, supported by the city, county, or state in which they are located?

The committee reaffirms its advocacy of free schools, free text books, the raising of the compulsory school age, and a close scrutiny of courses and methods of instruction.

In regard to 6—should they (the schools) be under the control or partial control of the National Government?

Results vast in importance and magnitude have come from the action in Congress in 1882, in giving land grants to each state, to be used for state colleges of agriculture and mechanic arts. This appropriation of lands, followed by direct appropriation of moneys in 1890 and 1897, provides these colleges with a fund averaging about \$65,000 per state, or a total of over \$3,000,000 annually. While the funds so appropriated were for a long time used largely for general studies, the subjects of mechanic arts, agriculture, and home economics were finally developed, so that they now compete on nearly equal terms with the literary and scientific courses.

Since most of this fund is in demand to train engineers, technical agriculturists and teachers in the mechanic, agriculture and home economics subjects, comparatively little is available to give school training to those who wish to become experienced workmen, farmers or home-makers.

There is a movement at present, in which labor is taking a prominent part to still further develop education, to which these colleges were dedicated. Since only one college in a state can do little more for our greatly enlarged population, than to provide courses of study for those who are to become technicians, and can not give equal opportunity in liberal and practical education to all of the industrial classes, this new movement is crystallizing around a plan for including the secondary public schools under the scope of additional similar grants, thus creating and giving direction to a complete national scheme of education, in which labor should receive recognition and its just share of attention.

In regard to 7—should their instructors be practical men from the ranks of trade occupations, or should they be men who know nothing of the trade itself except its theoretical side?

The committee believes that experience in European countries has shown that academically trained teachers have been dismal failures; notwithstanding this experience, many so-called trade or vocational schools in the United States have, in the recent past, attempted experiments with academically trained teachers with very unsatisfactory or disastrous results.

The teachers of trades and manual vocations must keep up with modern shop practices and processes in establishments which are doing regular productive work; otherwise they will fall far behind and be teachers of obsolete methods and processes. Successful teachers must be men of practical experience, with more than a text-book acquaintance with the industrial world.

A good trade teacher needs at least a fair general education, with specialized knowledge of such arts or sciences as may be related to the trade he is to teach; a practical knowledge of the trades such as is usually gained only by working at

them under the ordinary shop conditions, and in addition an understanding of the general principles of teaching, that he may be able to impart his knowledge to others. The combination is not a common one. To be a skilled trade worker presupposes years of training and experience in the shop, and men possessing this have usually begun work by 16, with only a grammar school education at most. Even if they have added to this by night study they have had no experience in teaching, and find much difficulty in imparting their own knowledge to learners. The trained teachers, on the other hand, while thoroughly familiar with the theory and underlying principles of the trades, usually lack concrete and practical experience with industrial processes. As a general rule, therefore, the school has to choose between the skilled worker not trained as a teacher and the professionally trained teacher, who knows the theory of the trades, but has little, if any, practical experience.

In regard to 8—what should be taught under the head of "Industrial education"—the cultural side, the professional side, the practical side, or all combined?

The committee believes that the course of instruction in a school giving industrial education should include English, mathematics, mechanics, physical trades, elementary mechanics, and drawing; the shop instruction for particular trades and for each trade represented; drawing, mathematics, mechanics, physical and biological science applicable to the trade, the history of that trade, and a sound system of economics, including and emphasizing the philosophy of collective bargaining. This, it is believed, will serve to prepare the pupil for more advanced subjects, and, in addition, disclose his capacity for a specific vocation.

In regard to 9—to what extent, if any, should labor headquarters, labor temples, and labor halls be used to further industrial education?

The committee is convinced that there are conspicuous activities throughout the country known as "educational hours" at central labor union meetings, which might well be exemplified to advance and organize a propaganda for industrial education. Such meetings might also be turned into an educational "forum" in the interest or advocacy of membership by trade unionists on both state and municipal educational boards and committees.

In regard to 10—to what extent should "prevocational courses" be encouraged?

For more than a decade the introduction of properly balanced courses in trade training and the enrichment of these courses have embarrassed the advocates of industrial education not a little; in fact, attempts to scientifically analyze processes and practices of the trades have met with resentment on the part of superintendents, supervisors, and foremen of large industrial establishments. The reason for this resentment is that those usually seeking such information are manual-training school teachers, unfortunately the greater number of whom are women. Moreover, it is conceded

that such teachers have very little sympathy with trades, as such, but look upon manual and trade instruction as a way out of the difficulty of educating the sub-normal pupil. Hence, the objection of those interested in trades or trade education to thrusting upon industry the dull boy.

On the other hand, even public trade school instructors in some instances have turned a deaf ear to what they call impertinent inquiries as to methods of procedure. Such instructors usually consider the proper kind of equipment, processes, and practices necessary for the training of apprentices "their stock in trade." However, insistent demand that rule of thumb methods be abolished has resulted in genuine attempts to teach the trades scientifically, systematically, and sympathetically.

As a result of this new era in the advancement of scientifically arranged courses with the necessary equipment, it seems eminently proper at this time to point out the overwhelming desire on the part of advocates of manual-training schools to establish within such schools and elsewhere "prevocational courses" for pupils between the ages of 12 and 14.

While we welcome practical courses for those who are to later enter upon specialized vocational and industrial courses, we maintain that "prevocational courses" should be taught by tutors with practical knowledge of the vocations toward which the pupils are to be pointed; in other words, we can not too strongly condemn any attempt to thrust upon school systems courses of instruction which presume to try out the adaptability of the pupils for particular vocations and which are taught by women teachers with absolutely no practical knowledge of the metal, woodworking and such other trades for which instruction may be offered.

If "prevocational courses" are to be offered in publicly administered schools in an effort to establish a scheme of vocational guidance, then we insist that such courses be given by men tutors, who not only have a practical knowledge of the particular trades, but in addition, teaching experience coupled with an insight into the adaptability and inclination of the pupils for such vocations.\*

Finally, we favor and advocate increasing the number of men teachers in industrial schools, as well as "prevocational schools" to the end that all practical instruction in trades be given by properly trained teachers who have had in addition to their teaching experience at least four years practical experience at particular trades.

In regard to 11—what disposition shall be made of the product of industrial schools?

A most serious and troublesome question arises concerning the disposition of the product of industrial schools. If the teaching of any trade in its entirety is to turn out journeymen, near journeymen,

\*Same to apply to trades and vocations in which women are exclusively employed.

or all-round workmen, then there must necessarily be a product which will have a commercial value. If it is not, the work has not been carried on as it would be under real commercial conditions and the training therefore is imperfect.

If the product of these schools is to be put upon the market in any way, there is likely to be much opposition from manufacturers, contractors and organized labor. Since it will inevitably come into competition with the product of regular establishments, it has been pointed out that if the students were regular apprentices in industrial establishments, they would be working as much in competition with apprentices and journeymen in other establishments, as if they were doing the same kind of work and producing the same kind of articles in the schools. This meets the objection only partially from the standpoint of labor and not at all from that of the employer. In both cases, the objection is to what may be called subsidized competition; competition which is not hampered by the necessity of making its product pay for its own cost of production. The difficulty does not, of course, arise in apprenticeship schools in which a manufacturer trains his own employees, but in philanthropic and public industrial schools, it presents a serious problem, for which as yet no satisfactory solution has been found.

As previously stated in this report, the committee believes that instruction should be given for its educational value or, in other words, it should be "construction for instruction, rather than instruction for construction."

An agreement between school authorities and contractors who are erecting public buildings, whereby pupils of schools given instruction in building trades, shall be permitted during a part of the time to make practical application of their training, on buildings in course of erection, the pupils to receive credit for such work as part of their course, has been suggested as a feasible and unobjectionable plan. Similarly the work under the various city departments, has been suggested to provide practice for pupils in many other trades.

This in no way is a new experiment, as practical application of the same is being made in foreign countries with considerable success.

A minor difficulty in connection with a product having a commercial value is the temptation to increase output by keeping the student longer at one machine or operation than is absolutely necessary for practical educational purposes; in other words, there may be a tendency, for the sake of revenue, to follow the example of the shop and specialize instead of giving well-rounded training. This, however, is a matter of school administration but, nevertheless, of great concern and can be easily guarded against if the right attitude is shown by school administrators.

#### Recommendations.

The committee, after due consideration of the importance of the several systems

of schools now in operation throughout the country, recommend the following specific types of schools for the advancement of the prospective apprentice to the trades, as well as for those who have already entered the trades:

1. Supplemental technical education: Supplemental technical education for those already in the trades. The demand for such instruction is measured by the necessity for training in particular trades and industries, and the chief aim of such instruction should be to present those principles of arts and sciences which bear upon the trades either directly or indirectly. Such schools are commonly known as continuation schools, whether their sessions are held in the day, evening, or on the part-time plan.

2. Industrial education: The establishment of schools in connection with the public-school systems, at which pupils between the ages of 14 and 16 may be taught the principles of trades, not necessarily in separate buildings but in schools adapted to this particular education by competent trade-trained teachers.

3. Trade-union schools: The committee recommends the continuance of progressive development in supplemental trade education as inaugurated by trade-unions, such as the supplemental trade courses established by the International Typographical Union; School for Carpenters and Bricklayers, Chicago, Ill.; International Printing Pressmen's Technical School, at Rogersville, Tenn., and the School for Carriage, Wagon and Automobile Workers, of New York City. The establishment of the Printing Pressmen's Technical Trade School, following the example set by the International Typographical Union, marks another epoch in the introduction of trade education by trade unions.

That the typographical union and the printing pressmen should be the first trades unions to establish such schools was a foregone conclusion, for in proportion as occupation makes claim on the intellect of the workers greater educational opportunities become necessary.

Those trades which call for the greatest intellectual or technical skill on the part of the worker afford the most available opportunities for educational activity.

It is not because the personnel in the printing trades is better, but rather because these occupations are becoming increasingly more technical and subdivided in their character.

The committee further recommends that all trade-unions which have not adopted a scheme of technical education give the matter the consideration it so richly deserves; and they further believe that the undertakings of the above unions call for the most enthusiastic admiration and are entitled to the most cordial and loyal support.

4. We recommend that if in the course of time schools under public administration with a broad and liberal course of instruction (with an advisory committee composed of employers as well as trade-unionists) shall demonstrate practical

efficiency in training workers for the highly skilled trades, we favor the recognition of that portion of time spent in the schools which, after an examination by the union at interest of the practical and theoretical ability of the apprentice, can be considered comparable to actual training in particular trades as a substitute for a period of the apprentice's time spent entirely in the industry.

#### Federal Aid.

In addition to the above recommendations and in compliance with the action of the St. Louis convention regarding Federal aid for vocational education, this committee urges a greater interest in the education of the 25,000,000 children of school age in the United States, 50% of whom leave school by the end of the sixth grade at approximately 14 years of age.

Not only are we confronted by this state of affairs, but of the 50% who remain in school only one child in three finishes the eighth grade; only one in five enters the high school, and only one in thirty finishes the high school courses. Some idea of the extent of this vast problem can be gleaned when it is realized that the cost of maintenance of the common schools of the country is five hundred million dollars (\$500,000,000) a year. In addition to this sum there has been expended for the equipment in these school plants one billion dollars, and the benefits of this enormous expenditure are enjoyed by only 50% of the children of school age.

The Vocational Education bill, known as Senate 3, introduced by Senator Page of Vermont (a similar bill having been introduced in the House of Representatives by Congressman Wilson) is one of several introduced in Congress to advance the cause of vocational education throughout the states by a liberal Federal grant for agriculture, the trades and industries, as well as home economics. The passage of this bill has been hindered somewhat by the activities of certain Senators who are opposed to its provisions but in favor of another bill much narrower in scope and relating only to colleges and experiment stations, while the Page bill includes all such provisions and in addition creates a plan for Federal grants to secondary public schools, thus giving direction to a complete scheme of education in which all the children of the nation should receive a just and equitable share of attention.

Much time and attention has already been given to this bill by the President of the American Federation of Labor, as well as by the Legislative Committee, and considerable hope has been expressed for its ultimate success. It still holds its place on the Senate calendar and is to be considered early in the third session of the Sixty-second Congress, which meets in December of this year. Every effort should be made to secure such legislation guaranteeing high Federal standards with the widest possible latitude within the states for adaptation to the specific needs of the various communities.

Respectfully submitted,

JOSEPH F. VALENTINE, Chairman,  
JOHN H. WALKER, Secretary,  
JAMES J. FREEL,  
D. A. CAREY,  
BEN COMMONS,  
PAUL SCHARRENBERG,  
JAMES L. GERNON,  
PHIL H. MUELLER,  
AGNES NESTOR,  
JOHN F. PIERCE,  
JOHN D. CRANE,  
THOMAS WRIGHT,  
FRED W. SUITOR,  
EDWIN W. WEEKS,  
W. T. BROWN.

Committee on Education.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be concurred in.

Delegate Lynch (J. M.)—As an encouragement to the unions that may have under consideration following the example set by the International Typographical Union, I may state that we now have 3,500 students of our craft. I think there are very few colleges that have as large a student body, and as a result those printers who have taken it have benefited by it; a great many of them have been able to secure a scale of wages in excess of the prices running from two dollars to fifteen dollars a week. So we are getting practical results through the education we are conducting through an educational commission made up entirely of printers and located in Chicago. I make this as a statement of facts, not theory.

Treasurer Lennon, in discussing the question, said in part: I want to say just a few words on this question because of my contact with educators and because of the knowledge of the situation that they believe at least confronts them. They are not intentionally antagonistic in the main to our movement.



Many of them, as a matter of course, do not understand. The idea of vocational or trade education is becoming very general among the educators of this country. The first question they ask is, "Where are we to get the teachers that you trade unionists advocate shall be used?" Now, my friends, that is not a question that can be answered off hand; it is a question we must help the educators and school boards to solve. We cannot stop the trend in the direction of this kind of education in the schools; but we can, if we co-operate with the educators, have it come our way. There will be some mistakes made, as a matter of course, but we can afford to overlook them and correct them.

I know of members of our organizations who have been furnished with the reports of the special committee and have never taken the trouble to read them. How can they intelligently meet the question with the educators of their various communities? In the various states this question is going to the country schools, not only to the city schools but the little schools at the cross-roads. They are proposing to teach domestic science and a moderate knowledge of the carpenters' trade and the blacksmiths' trade. Now if we will co-operate with the educators we will see that this is done in a way that is beneficial and not detrimental to those trades.

I desire to impress upon the trades unionists here, and through the men here those at home, the necessity of giving careful examination to what the special committee has done during the last three or four years. It is great work and it is entitled to consideration, because it is more important, as it has to do with the welfare of our children and grandchildren, than possibly any other matter that has been or will be considered by this convention.

Delegate Frey, in discussing the question, said in part: This question of industrial education is such an important one to us as trades unionists, and has never yet received that careful study it deserves, that I feel warranted in taking up a few moments of the convention's time to express a thought or two in connection with the subject. Every one of us is familiar with the fact that the trend of modern industry is to specialize and

that that specialization, instead of making expert mechanics, tends to develop a man in a single, narrow channel where he is only made familiar with a small part of the work required to finish the product of the industry in which he is engaged. The result is that there may be a decreasing amount of mechanical skill and general knowledge of the trade developing in our country. I think we are warranted in saying at least that there is no increase in the degree of mechanical skill among the boys who are now learning the trade in the various industries.

Some educators have noticed this tendency and a large number of employers have also noticed the same tendency, and they have endeavored to establish schools where boys will be taught a specialty in the trade where they will be prepared on two or three months or a year's training to take the place of mechanics and make it more difficult for us to win strikes or to maintain our organizations. I think we might as well face the fact that the present system of education, so far as training a boy or girl to be self-supporting in the industries, is faulty, and that we require a revolution in some of the methods. I believe our movement is the one that must set that revolution on foot and make the change that is absolutely essential. We take the boy and girl now, with a little smattering of knowledge, from the school room and throw them into the industries; we separate them in one day from the school room and place them in the factory. Some of our good friends have suggested that the boy and girl after working all day in the factory or mill might go to a night school to get some added knowledge they require to make them more proficient to earn a livelihood in their industries. In one country the question, while not solved, at least is solving itself. They have the continuation schools, and instead of taking the young man and woman out of a school and throwing them into the industry for all time they say there shall be a graduation of that school period. They take the young person and for the first six months or the first year of their employment in factory or mill, force the employer to allow that individual during work hours to go to school to secure an education that will allow

him to better hold his own in the industry in which he is engaged.

I believe what we need to-day is to adopt some emphatic declaration in favor of a continuation school system that will say to the employer, "You cannot take the child from the common school or even from the high school and force him to work the regular working hours of your establishment. That child must go to a continuation school where he will be taught the theory and taught something of the practice of the industry he is engaged in."

There is one danger we have in the industrial form of education we have in this country to-day, and that is that it is subsidized very largely by those who are antagonistic to our movement. And while carried on by private parties they hope to put it in the mildest form where it will work out to their benefit without conferring the kind of education we think is necessary for wage workers. I think we should commit ourselves definitely in favor of a vocational education that will be entirely under the charge of the public school system, where our children will be able after leaving schools to have an opportunity to learn something about the theory of industry in which they are engaged and where gradually, tapering off for three or four years, they will have an opportunity to be educated in the public schools and prepare themselves for the vocation they will follow in this life.

Delegate Simpson, in discussing the question, said in part: The previous speaker referred to continuation schools. I think the organized workers interested in the work of the American Federation of Labor should also be acquainted with the methods that are being adopted in other countries along this practical line. Little has been said about a system of continuation schools that will meet with the approval of organized labor. There are two systems of continuation schools in Germany. In Berlin there is a system of continuation schools which permits of the boys going to this school up to 7 o'clock at night, the employers being compelled to send the apprentices to those schools up to that hour. In Munich the law is somewhat better and I think would meet more with the approval of organized labor. If a boy works from 8 o'clock

in the morning till 5 o'clock at night he is compelled to attend school during those hours and the employer is compelled to pay the boy's wages during those hours. I contend that between the two systems the latter is far preferable in the interest of organized labor and should be supported if there is going to be an establishment of the continuation schools.

I think the suggestion of the previous speaker is an excellent one, because you will find if you go through the schools of the United States, both the eastern and western parts, that the continuation school as instituted in Germany has not been developed in this country to any great extent, and it should be the duty of the employer to pay the apprentice after he has gone into the factory and is a producer and an important factor in that industry. The employer should pay him during the time he is in school because it is to the benefit of the employer that the boy shall be made a more efficient worker by going to those schools.

Delegate Simpson discussed at length the question of technical education, and described the evolution of the skilled trades where formerly work was done by hand and is now being done by machinery.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

President Gompers—The hour of 10 o'clock having arrived, the special order of business, which is a discussion on the subject of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law, its interpretation by the Supreme Court of the United States and the application of that law and interpretation to the voluntary associations of labor.

Delegate Furuseth—I suggest that that part of the President's report having reference to that matter be read from the platform so we will know what the statement is. Secondly, I would suggest that Mr. Mulholland, who is one of the defenders of the Hatters, and has the best information of what the Sherman Anti-Trust Law is doing to us, be requested to make a statement to this convention preliminary to the discussion to be carried on.

No objection being offered, the chairman stated that Mr. Mulholland would address the convention.

Secretary Morrison read the portion of

the President's report referred to by Delegate Furuseth.

Mr. Frank L. Mulholland was introduced to the convention by President Gompers.

Mr. Frank L. Mulholland—Mr. President and Delegates of the convention: The report of your president has been so full upon the Hatters' case that their possibly remains little that I can say to you except to bring you in a little closer personal touch and sympathy with the now famous Hatters' case. I agree with the report in that there can be nothing that can come before your convention of such vital importance to each and every one of you as is the question now under consideration. You possibly have not realized that each and every one of you are defendants in this particular piece of litigation. You possibly have not realized that each and every one of you who were affiliated with organized labor as far back as 1902 may be subject to a fine of \$5,000.00 and imprisonment for a period of one year. And I shall refer to that in just a minute more, but this piece of litigation is important to you and it is important to me as a member of organized labor, because it attempts to say that you and I, because we are affiliated in the labor movement, can be held responsible for the act of each and every member of that movement.

You possible know that the great hatters' districts are in Connecticut, New Jersey and in the neighborhood of Philadelphia. You possibly know that over in Danbury, Connecticut, there has been a firm known as D. E. Loewe & Company engaged in the manufacture of hats. Along in the fall and winter of 1901 and during the spring of 1902 an effort was made to unionize the factory of D. E. Loewe & Company. Various conferences were held with committees and an effort was made to reach an amicable adjustment. Falling in this effort, on the 25th day of July, 1902, the union men employed in that factory quit work. The next day the nonunion men employed in that factory quit work, so that by the night of the 26th of July, 1902, that factory was cleaned out and only six or seven men remained. The matter ran along until August. Then the agents of the United Hatters on the road began to effectively advertise the union label. They called upon the trade wherever the hats of D. E. Loewe & Company were sold and asked the dealers to transfer their patronage to firms using the union label. This condition continued until the summer of 1903, and then Mr. Daniel Davenport, the attorney of the American Anti-Boycott Association, began two pieces of litigation. First he filed in the courts of Connecticut an action against the officers of the American Federation of Labor and a number of individuals of the United Hatters' organization. At the same time he filed in the Federal Court at Hartford an action brought under the provisions of the Sherman Anti-Trust act, naming as defendants some 255 members of the Hat-

ters' Union and drawing his complaint so broad as to include each and every one of the then 1,400,000 members of the organized labor movement of this country.

And so I say this particular piece of litigation is important to each and every one of you, because in that complaint you are charged with being parties to a conspiracy carried on contrary to the provisions of the Sherman Anti-Trust act. I take it that most of you are familiar with the Sherman Anti-Trust law. It is the act of July 2, 1890, and for the purpose of this presentation I will have to call your attention to but two sections of it.

"1. Every contract, combination in the form of trust or otherwise, or conspiracy, in restraint of trade or commerce among the several states, or with foreign nations, is hereby declared to be illegal. Every person who shall make any such contract or engage in any such combination or conspiracy, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and on conviction thereof shall be punished by fine not exceeding five thousand dollars, or by imprisonment not exceeding one year, or by both said punishments, in the discretion of the court."

You understand that under the provisions of the Sherman Anti-Trust law there are three methods of procedure, first, the criminal prosecution, with punishment of a fine or imprisonment; second, the instituting of proceedings in the equity court to secure an injunction. The second section of the act I desire to read is as follows:

"7. Any person who shall be injured in his business or property by any other person or corporation by reason of anything forbidden or declared to be unlawful by this act, may sue therefor in any Circuit Court of the United States in the district, in which the defendant resides or is found, without respect to the amount in controversy and shall recover threefold the damages by him sustained, and the costs of suit, including a reasonable attorney's fee."

The Danbury Hatters' case was, of course, brought under Section 7. The complaint charged, and had to charge in order to give the Federal Court jurisdiction, that for years there had been a conspiracy among the members of the United Hatters of North America and members of the American Federation of Labor, the purpose of which conspiracy was to destroy interstate commerce, to destroy the interstate commerce of any employer who failed to agree with the labor movement of this country in the policies it was at that time advocating. I take it that most of you understand that if you live in New York and I live in New York and you want to bring an action of law against me you must bring that action in the State of New York. The defendants resided in Connecticut and the complainants resided in Connecticut. The great damage sustained by

Mr. Loewe was not because of boycotting proceedings but the damage he suffered by reason of the loss of his employes. Under ordinary circumstances that law, if recoverable, would be in the state courts of Connecticut. In order to bring that element of damages within the purview of the Sherman Anti-Trust law, Mr. Davenport had to allege that the strike, the calling out of the men, was a part of the carrying-out of the conspiracy to destroy Mr. Loewe's interstate commerce. So you want to understand that everything done in connection with that strike is alleged to have been done for the sole and only purpose of destroying interstate commerce.

Now you have a strike in California where they are engaged in the manufacturing of products that are manufactured to be shipped into Nevada. What is the result? You haven't a right to withdraw your labor from that employer, because if you do you are preventing the manufacture of goods which, if manufactured, will become a part of the interstate commerce of this country. So I say this is important because there is a next step. It has been declared that hatters scattered throughout the jurisdiction of our Federal government may not collectively refuse to buy nonunion hats, may not collectively ask their friends not to buy nonunion hats, may not ask their friends collectively to not buy the hats of Loewe & Company, because if Mr. Loewe was finding a market for his hats in California or Michigan the hats when shipped would be a part of the interstate commerce of this country. So I say the next step is to prevent men collectively to withdraw their services because they are withdrawing their services from the employment of the men engaged in the manufacture of a product that will become part of the interstate commerce of this country.

This complaint was filed and a demurrer was filed to it. This demurrer was passed on favorably and it was dismissed. It was carried to the Circuit Court of Appeals of New York and was by that court certified to the Supreme Court of the United States. I want you to gauge the situation that came before the Supreme Court. I said the complaint as drawn alleged that everything done by the Hatters was with the intention and for the sole purpose of destroying interstate commerce, and I take it most of you understand that matter, coming before the Supreme Court for hearing upon a demurrer, the Supreme Court has to accept as the truth everything alleged in the bill of complaint. That is, you demur to a pleading and for the purpose of hearing upon the demurrer you admit the truth of every allegation contained in the complaint, and of course the foundation allegation of this complaint was that all of these things had been done in pursuit of a conspiracy to destroy interstate commerce.

In the first trial of this case it developed that the American Federation of Labor never was asked and never did en-

dorse any boycott against the product of the firm of D. E. Loewe & Company. And so when we came before the Supreme Court on the first hearing we had to admit that every allegation contained in the complaint was the truth, and we expect that when we go back before the Supreme Court, if we do, we can say face to face to that court that Mr. Davenport and the American Anti-Boycott Association secured this decision by false pretenses.

The case was set for trial. A large judgment was given. We carried the case to the Supreme Court of Appeals and the record of it cost \$3,500 to print. We had many errors cited. The District Court granted another trial because the judge had taken away from the jury things that should have been decided by the jury. The case was carried to the Supreme Court and we went back to Hartford to try the case on the 20th day of August of this year. The trial lasted about nine weeks. We supposed we were making headway. The result of the trial was that a judgment of \$30,000 was returned by the jury. This of course is tripled by the court, making a judgment of \$240,000. Add to this \$5,000 of attorney's fees, several thousand dollars for costs charged against these defendants, and you will see that we have a verdict of something like a quarter of a million of dollars.

We are now preparing the case for appeal to the Circuit Court of Appeals. It will probably be some months before the case again comes on for a hearing. There are just a few things I ought to say to you in order that you may grasp the importance of this particular piece of litigation. Of the men who went out on strike on July 25-26, 1902, but three are defendants in this case. Every man who went out on strike resided in Danbury. Only three of the men who went out on strike are defendants. You will ask how they made the other men defendants. I had Mr. Loewe on the witness stand. I said, "Do you know a man by the name of John Brown?" He said, "No, sir." "Did you ever hear of John Brown?" "No, sir." "Did you ever know where he resided?" "No, sir." "Did you ever hear directly or indirectly of his ever having done anything against you or the product of your plant?" "No, sir." That man was a defendant—a man who was to be mulcted out of his property by Mr. Loewe! I asked him as to some twelve men and then his counsel said, "Why, Mr. Loewe, they are defendants." "Oh," he said, "are they?"

I asked him who selected the defendants in that piece of litigation and he said Mr. Davenport, his attorney, or rather he said the attorney for the American Anti-Boycott Association. I asked him if prior to the time he signed his name to the complaint he knew who were to be made defendants in the case. He said that he didn't, except that before he signed it he looked over the names of those who resided in Danbury. I asked him if his partner's son was not a union

man and went out with the other defendants. He said he was. I asked if he had been made a defendant and he said "No, sir."

Those 198 men who are still defendants in the Danbury Hatters case, with the exception of twenty-one, never knew there was a strike in the Loewe plant. Man after man took the stand and testified he never heard of D. E. Loewe & Company, men from Norwalk and Bethel, and yet those men stand before the law to have their little properties and their homes taken away from them.

I have missed one important matter. When this action was commenced in the Federal court the property of those men was attached. That is, their little homes were placed under attachment, and since 1903 the homes of two hundred and some odd working people have been under attachment. The savings in the banks of Danbury, Bethel and Norwalk were placed under attachment, so that \$55,000 of the savings of those men were tied up and unavailable for their use. Today down in Connecticut all this property is under attachment. You will understand a man working at the hatter's trade must be somewhat of an old man, he must have been fortunate and in good health if he has accumulated a little property. The average age of the first sixteen of these men is over seventy-two, and the collective age of these sixteen is 1,147 years. You can grasp the situation by this. Originally there were 255 defendants. Thirty-six have died since the complaint was filed, two have gone insane and in the original case seventeen were dismissed.

Now these men are not roustabouts, they are men who stand high in the communities in which they live. Three of them are ex-representatives of that community in the state legislature, one is a state humane officer, one is a state commissioner of labor, two are now in the state legislature, one is in the senate of that state and one is in the congress of the United States. So I say they are men highly respected in the communities in which they live, and they are brought into this case without any reason for their being there except that they are members of organized labor.

Now, what does it mean to my organization or to your organization? It means that if any officers or group of agents of your international do anything that brings it within the scope of the Sherman Anti-Trust law your property can be taken away, your wages garnisheed, your bank account attached. It is the most important question you have before you for consideration, because it is an attempt, as this report says, to say to organized labor, "You cannot afford to affiliate with your union, because if you do you become individually responsible to answer in damages for what that union or the members, officers or agents of that union may do."

It is a great question. It is the first time in the history of jurisprudence in this country that a man could be made

a party to a conspiracy without his knowledge, that a man could be charged as being a party to carrying on a conspiracy against the law without his knowing he was participating in such a conspiracy. Now as to the future. We anticipate we will be able to reverse this case again in the Circuit Court of Appeals. When the case was sent back for retrial the Circuit Court of Appeals said no man could be held to answer in damages unless he participated in the unlawful acts alleged or that he had such knowledge that these unlawful acts were being committed by his officers and agents that he could be charged with having acquiesced therein. But when the case was submitted to the jury last month it was put to them in this wise: That no man can be held to answer unless he knew or ought to know that these acts were committed. They introduced a great volume of testimony, a cartload, they said. They brought in newspapers to show articles on this boycott had been published, they brought in everything the American Federation of Labor through its conventions assembled, its Executive Council and its president had ever said on the boycott question. They dug up the relics of the past and paraded them before the jury, evidence which we believe was absolutely incompetent in the trial.

There is another little story of human interest in connection with this trouble. In 1886 the manufacturers of the Danbury District organized and elected this man Loewe as secretary. They organized for the purpose of unionizing their shops and making a contract with the Hatters' organization that they might get the use of the union label. At that time forty-eight, I think, of the men who are now defendants in this case, were coerced into joining the union by Mr. Loewe's organization. So we have the ridiculous situation of men now being summoned in the court for doing that which Mr. Loewe said they must do or lose their employment in the shops of Danbury.

The Hatters' organization is composed of about 9,000 members, and I was interested to find that it is an organization that has been in existence for more than one hundred years. In the course of the preparation of this trial we dug up an old charter or certificate of affiliation more than one hundred years old. These old men who are defendants began to work at the trade as boys. They have been in the hatters' business for longer than most of us have been on this earth. They are not so familiar with some of the modern conditions in the trade union movement as you and I possibly. There are men that are made defendants who belong to the Hatters' Union because at the time they became affiliated with the American Federation of Labor they were members of the old hatters' organization, but they had not worked at the trade for years. These are mostly old men who have not been active either at their trade or in the labor movement for many years, but are made defendants in this

case, as Mr. Loewe said, merely because in looking over the records of the county in which they lived he ascertained they owned property on which an attachment might be levied.

What is your remedy? I know of no other remedy than that which has been suggested through the legislative branch of our government. We do not know what the Supreme Court will say when we again come before that body; but I cannot conceive of the Supreme Court of this country saying that you or I can be parties to an unlawful conspiracy without our knowledge of the existence of such a conspiracy. I thank you most heartily for your careful attention.

Delegate Walker (J. H.)—**Mr. Chairman,** I listened very attentively to the address of Mr. Mulholland. I agree with him that it is a big question and that it is one the labor movement has to meet. I feel, however, that they ought to meet it squarely, and I believe that until we do meet it squarely and fight it out that every labor organization in our country is in jeopardy. Under existing circumstances it is only proper and it is only fair that, aside from meeting the real issue squarely, everything should be done in court that can be done for these men to avoid sacrificing their little properties or their savings. At the same time the big issue is so much greater than what is involved in that respect, and it so vitally affects every labor organization in our country, that provision should be made for caring for that phase of it, and the occasion should be taken to meet this issue squarely and the fight started should be continued until the finish.

I feel that if it were possible the labor movement of this country should stand behind these men, pay the costs of attorneys and whatever the decisions may be; if damages are assessed against them, that they be reimbursed by this movement for their losses; and the issue itself should be kept in mind, should be kept forever before the people of our nation and particularly the workers of our country. I agree that they have done what every human being would do under the circumstances in using every atom of evidence and every means within their power to avoid being assessed for damages by that court; and the things that are incidental on both sides have been taken advantage of, justly so, by them in their desire to avoid being sacrificed; but the thing I believe that court should be compelled to decide, so we would know where we stand, is this question of

whether men have the right under our law to not only refuse to spend their money for any particular product of any particular concern, but whether or not they have not the right to ask every other man and every other woman to refuse to buy that particular article. That is the question, in my judgment, that this Supreme Court should be compelled to decide in this case. I feel that it should be made clear, that it should be acknowledged, if the defendants charged have been guilty of it, that they did refuse to buy that product and that they did ask their friends and sympathizers to refuse to buy that product, and then have the court decide under our law they did not have the right to do that very thing. If they haven't the right to do that, then we haven't the right to do that anywhere in any phase of our work. And if we haven't the right to refuse to buy a product that another man has for sale, a product we think is unfair, why, it necessarily follows we haven't the right to refuse to work to manufacture that product.

I think the right to live on the part of the labor organizations in this country is involved in this issue, and I feel we should not dodge the real issue, that we should meet it squarely and compel them to make a decision that cannot be misunderstood. We should not dodge ourselves and we should make it impossible for that court to dodge the issue. If under our existing law we haven't the right to refuse to buy those things and ask our friends to refuse to buy them, then there is only one thing left for this movement. If we find under the law that we have not the right to do this we should immediately set about and have something done in our country similar to what was done in Great Britain—change the law and the courts so that we will have those rights and be able to exercise them to the same extent as the employers from time immemorial have exercised those rights on their side. That, in my judgment, is the real issue, and I do not believe we should dodge it or let them dodge it. The only way we can be fair in taking that kind of position is to arrange to protect those men who are simply being made the scapegoats, the figureheads, on which to decide this issue that affects the entire labor movement.

Delegate Hayes (M. S.)—I understood Attorney Mulholland was given the floor

for the purpose of explaining some of the incidents connected with this case, and that he would be followed by the committee with a report and recommendation bearing on the subject. Was not that the order agreed upon?

President Gompers—The chair did not so understand it. The committee reported, as you know, favorably on the suggestion of the Executive Council that the subject matter of the Sherman Anti-Trust law and the interpretation placed upon it by the Supreme Court of the United States and the application of that law to the organization of the working people be made a subject of general discussion for a session or for a day. The chairman of the committee informed me this morning that what the committee had in mind was to hear the general discussion and base a recommendation upon their conception of what the convention desired the committee to do.

Delegate Furuseth—That is right.

Delegate Hayes (M. S.)—Delegate Furuseth shakes his head and then says it is all right.

President Gompers—Please make a statement in regard to the present situation as you understand it, Delegate Furuseth.

Delegate Furuseth—We found in the recommendations of the Executive Council and of the president a recommendation that this matter be given to the convention for a general discussion, to consume such time as the convention might feel inclined to give it, be it a session or a day. We took that recommendation, reported it back to the convention with our favorable recommendation and moved for the special order to-day.

We understand, or think we understand that something of tremendous importance is going on. We would like to understand what is the information and what is the possible desire of the convention in the matter of the action to be taken. We were impelled to this action for several reasons, one of the most important of which is that there is, as we have found, a disposition to listen to what is being said on those tremendously important questions, then adopt the recommendation and promptly go home and forget it. Now if you all get your fighting clothes on, tell what it is doing to you and give us some idea of what you think you want to do to

it you may not forget it when the convention is over, you may possibly be induced to go on with it. And so we hope to hear what this thing has been doing to you, what you fear it may do to you, if you have any fears in the matter at all, and then it will be more easy for our committee to suggest what can be done to it by this convention and by the labor movement as a whole.

Delegate Hayes (M. S.)—I was under the impression, as were other delegates here on the floor, that as usual the committee would present a report and recommendation and it would be recommended to carry on this contest that has been waged by the Hatters. In the absence, however, of recommendation by the committee and the committee suggesting that the matter be discussed by the delegates here and the recommendations be made afterwards—as a representative of one of the international unions that is interested in this case I can say that, in my opinion, from coming in contact with printers in different parts of the country who are interested in this subject, who know something about it, who have read the newspapers regarding certain steps that have been taken in the courts in Connecticut and up to the Supreme Court of the United States, there is a general disposition on the part of members of the Typographical Union that organized labor of the country ought to be a unit, as Delegate Walker stated, and get behind the United Hatters and fight the case to the very last ditch. It is the only thing, practically, that we can do, because if the statements that were made by Attorney Mulholland are correct, as I believe they are, then certainly every person here can appreciate that we are all in the same boat and that if the Hatters are finally worsted in the United States Supreme Court in their second appeal that decision will rebound on the entire organized labor movement of this continent.

Since the Hatters case was filed and after the first decision was rendered I noticed quite a number of other damage suits were filed in the courts. And you perhaps realized, too, what was on foot when a few days after the second decision was rendered mulcting the Hatters out of \$250,000, \$240,000 and costs, suit was begun against the officials and members of the United Mine Workers in the State of West Virginia for damages amounting to \$750,000, or three-quarters of a million.

I suppose they want to make it an even million while they are in the sandbagging business through their courts.

There is the position. This is not a beautiful theory, this is not a case of a dreamy rainbow with which we are confronted, but a solid, substantial fact that we are compelled to face. I am sorry to say that after more than a century of supposed liberty we have enjoyed as a people, which people is overwhelmingly composed of labor, of working men who have had the power in their own hands to control the administrative, the legislative and the judiciary branches of government, and instead of using them in their own interests have deliberately gone out for generations and thrown that power into the hands of the enemy, with the result that the enemy is in control of the courts and is using that club for the purpose of beating us into submission or into a condition of degradation and wage slavery.

That is the condition with which we are confronted, and largely because of the fact that the workers have been negligent in the matter of directing, of saying who should be in control of the powers of government, who should frame the laws of this country and who should have the appointing power of United States judges, those judges who have usurped such power unto themselves, who have encroached upon the liberty of the people, to an extent, by the gods, that has even sickened a former president, who went out in an insurrection and bullmoosed it in the last campaign in favor of recalling the judges or their infamous decisions!

Now when such a condition confronts us, a political condition absolutely, because I don't see how we are going to upset these decisions by hurling a thousand or ten thousand or one hundred thousand men on strike against the edicts of this little tyrannical crowd of judges who have the final say—so as to the interpretation of the law, and if they so feel disposed, even where a law is interpreted against a labor organization and the workers are assessed—some of them tottering on the verge of the grave, seventy years of age, 36 defendants already dead, 2 insane—yet these workers are assessed their little meagre savings in the bank, their homes are taken from them in order to satisfy the greedy combination organized under the name of the National

Association of Manufacturers, who have a poodle dog called the American Anti-Boycott Association to fight their cases in the court, and Mr. Davenport has so far succeeded very well, yet they interpret this law against the propertyless workers, and, on the other hand, if it pleases this august assemblage of old fossils down at Washington, in order to permit some their own class to escape, they can read the word "reasonable" into the same law and whitewash them when they are dragged into court.

Oh, yes, they tell us we have laws in this country affecting the rich and the poor alike! On the face of things that may be true, but it depends on who interprets the law and how it is interpreted. The judges are corporation judges—none others are appointed. Even this distinguished rebel politically who went up and down the line a few months ago running amuck against the traditions he upheld, was the one who appointed the infamous Judge Wright, who is attempting to destroy the liberties of the workers of this country. Theodore Roosevelt appointed United States Judge Wright at the dictation of Big Boss Cox of the City of Cincinnati, who tried to grab the whole State of Ohio, yet he, as I say, has evidently sickened with this evident jug-handle justice that has been visited against the people of this country by these corporationists that have been appointed. Well, the only thing as I say, we can do is to here and now pledge this organization to stand behind the United Hatters financially as far as it is possible to go to wage this contest.

Secondly, we can call upon the workers of the entire country to take up the Hatters' case as a subject for discussion in their local and central body meetings, and if possible to call mass meetings in their various communities to stir up the great mass of people on the outside, the thousands and tens of thousands who are undoubtedly in sympathy with our struggle. In that way, by arousing public opinion, we can perhaps bring pressure to bear on the powers that be in Washington.

And thirdly, we have got to amend the Sherman Anti-Trust law, whether it be in some such bill as is now pending or some other, it is immaterial so long as we can get the results. This thing is a fact, that after pledging our financial and moral support we must begin to bring pressure to bear on the triumphant wing of capi-



talistic politicians who are in control of the powers of government, or will be after the 4th of March next. For more than sixteen years now we have heard the acknowledged leader of the Democratic party promise his support in behalf of the labor bills pending in Congress. Very good. Now is his brilliant opportunity to make good so that the working people of this nation will realize that he meant business instead of putting up a great big political bluff. I don't care a rap, as a matter of fact, I have already heard and read that if these radical measures are forced in Congress by William Jennings Bryan and the so-called progressive element of his party they will be opposed by the conservative or stand-pat element of his party, with the result that the same split will take place that occurred in the Republican party, for which I earnestly hope and pray every night before I go to sleep that it will take place as early as possible and that he will get some justice.

Delegate Frey—Mr. Chairman and Delegates: I feel it is a most fortunate thing that it is possible for us in a convention of this kind to discuss, not only the Hatters' case, but, what is more important to us, the Sherman Anti-Trust law. I feel that in our meetings and in our official publications in reference to this law we should take the same position an old Roman took years ago. Rome was built up, strengthening herself on the north, on the Mediterranean, and on the south the city of Carthage was growing. There was an old Roman Senator, called Cato, and whether the Senate was discussing the tariff of the day or the latest fashions of the Roman ladies, he would get up and say, "Carthage must be destroyed." No matter what we are doing we should say the Sherman Anti-Trust law must be repealed or amended, because it is as great a menace to the progress of our labor movement as the city of Carthage was to the city of Rome.

This Hatters' case first became important to us because the United States Supreme Court held that the Sherman Anti-Trust law applied to us. They claimed we came under its scope. They applied it to one organization, they will probably apply it to others. If we are to be an illegal conspiracy under the law whenever in defense of our position we can be held to interfere with interstate com-

merce, then there are very few of our contests with employers that will not bring us under the scope of that law. Our courts have told us that the law applies to us as well as to business combinations, and I want to very briefly—because I realize I would be unjust to go into this question at any great length—I want to call attention to a decision or two handed down by the United States Supreme Court that may be an indication of what is in the minds of a great many as to the application of that law in the future to our own movement.

Two great cases, great cases because they enjoy popular attention, came before that court, the case of the American Tobacco Company and the case of the Standard Oil Company. In both of those cases the Supreme Court held they were illegal conspiracies because they had endeavored to restrain interstate commerce. The Supreme Court held that not only were they illegal conspiracies but that their organizations must be dissolved and gave to a lower court the authority to dissolve those two corporations. I have no desire to discuss that order of the court upon those two corporations, but I do want to ask you to think for a moment, and then afterwards a great deal, of what would happen if any of our affiliated organizations came before the Supreme Court under the Sherman Anti-Trust law and the Supreme Court should take the identical position it did with the American Tobacco Company and the Standard Oil Company.

Mr. Chairman, this question is a fundamental one, this question of the law as it reads and its application and interpretation by the United States Supreme Court and inferior Federal courts. It means, in my opinion, that so far as the law and the interpretation of that law by the court is concerned most of our international and national unions can, not only be declared illegal conspirators, but the court may take upon itself the authority to order our dissolution. It is the one great menace that confronts our movement. We are studying the courts carefully these days because of the extraordinary, the astonishing decisions some of them are handing down.

We believe in the right of organization. Employers believe in the right of organization. They enjoy that right and through their organizations exercise their right of breaking down our own. They

apply their so-called open shop policy to disrupt our union; where we haven't a 100 per cent organization they force non-union men upon us and through all the other methods with which we are familiar some employers' organizations are carrying on a continuous effort to break down our own. Their right to do this has never been questioned on any ground, it has never been questioned by the court; but while our American courts, or some of them, have held that the employer has a legal right to endeavor to break down our own organization these same courts have held that we did not have a right to retaliate, that we had no right to defend ourselves when the employer was trying to disrupt our organization.

You may be familiar with one of those recent decisions handed down by the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, in which that court held, and has now made it part of the judicial legislation of that state, that union men shall not have the legal right to strike against the introduction of nonunion men among them.

Now, Mr. Chairman, we are face to face with a law the United States Supreme Court has held applies to organizations, applies to living beings as well as to business and property rights, a law that is now so interpreted that it applies to our flesh and blood and our efforts to elevate our standard of living, exactly as it applies to the methods of huge business corporations in their methods of driving competition out of the field. That court has given us an indication of what it had in its mind in the American Tobacco Company and Standard Oil cases; and I believe unless this law is repealed or amended we will have a decision in regard to one of our own international unions which will be on a par with the decision in the two cases I have cited; but it will not be used in the same way, because of the efforts of the government will be used to assist the employers to break down our union and deny us the right to protect ourselves and maintain our organization.

And for these reasons and many others I have not mentioned I believe we should have a slogan in our movement that should be sounded everywhere, and that is that the Sherman Anti-Trust law must be either repealed or amended, so that our right to associate together and to use our associations in our contest with em-

ployers shall not be decided an illegal conspiracy but shall be held as an essential right.

President Gompers—It is my hope to be able to contribute something toward this discussion a little later on, but before we proceed further I desire, with your permission, to make this statement: That one of the preponderating causes in influencing the two juries which have tried the Hatters' case, the first and the second, was the statement that the American Federation of Labor would bear the cost of any award the jury might give to D. E. Loewe & Company. Efforts were made by the attorneys for the Hatters to show that the American Federation of Labor made no such pledge, and could not and would not. Secretary Morrison was on the stand in the last case, with Vice President Mitchell, Vice President O'Connell, Treasurer Lennon and myself, those who had been in continuous attendance on conventions of the American Federation of Labor, those who had been on committees, to testify that no such pledge was made and no such idea contemplated. The statement made by two delegates this morning that the American Federation of Labor should get behind the Hatters in these cases and stand the cost of the award would do more to damage the situation as it exists than any other one thing.

I cannot understand how it is possible for the American Federation of Labor to do that thing. And if you did, it would simply invite additional litigation, more suits, because it would be urged that the American Federation of Labor and the membership of its affiliated organizations would come to the rescue of defendants in suits brought against them and it would amount to about eight or ten or twelve or fifteen cents a member on all the organizations, and hence make the impression on the minds of the juries that after all, no matter how large the amount of the award, it would be a mere bagatelle which all would bear.

The American Federation of Labor realized that the onslaught upon the Hatters involved a principle and that the Hatters could not alone bear the expense of such litigation; and as a consequence the Federation took up the case where the Hatters were almost compelled to abandon it for want of financial resources, and undertook to carry it up to the higher courts

and then to pay the costs in the legal presentation of the defense before the courts.

My only purpose in rising at this time is to impress upon the minds of the delegates the utter futility of attempting to meet that phase of the case which would pledge the Federation to bear the costs of the award. You could not do it, and if you did it you would be simply inviting additional litigation of this character by any employer or business man who felt or imagined he had a grievance and could present it in a suit for damages against any of our organizations or unions or our men. My purpose is to warn the delegates of this convention against a very injurious and perhaps dangerous proposition.

Delegate Ryan (J. P.)—Mr. Chairman and Fellow Delegates: I take it we are gathered here to-day to do that which will be beneficial to the trade union movement. The reason I rise to my feet is because of the fact that the delegate who just preceded President Gompers said that one of two things had to be done, that we had either to repeal the Sherman Anti-Trust law or amend it. He did not say how he should amend the law. Although I have not been prominent in this movement I have been identified with it for years, and I want to give some suggestions that may be beneficial to you in your deliberations.

As you all know, prior to the Sherman Anti-Trust law we had the common law conspiracy; that is, where two or more persons gathered together to do an unlawful act or a lawful act by unlawful means they were guilty of conspiracy under the common law. Now the trust conspirators can get in his office and so conspire that you cannot reach him. He has his blacklist that nobody can find anything about; but repeal the anti-trust law if you will and he is absolutely safe to do his own sweet will.

Now about labor organizations. You know there are many of them and that sometimes after our meetings our deliberations have been spread broadcast and have reached the ears of our enemies so that they are unable to get at us at once while we are prevented from getting any remedy against them. You can see at once, taking a safe and sane view of this thing, that if you repeal the Sherman Anti-Trust law, full of flaws as it is, you

can see where we could be held guilty while the trusts could go on their way rampant and destroy us. Now assume that you amend the law will you be in any better position? I say that before you propose any amendment—I don't know what the Executive Council has in mind, but I know they will thresh it out well before making a proposition that will reduce us to a worse condition—some amendment should be found that will prevent its being applied to organizations of labor. Suppose that were done and it went up to the Supreme Court of the United States what would be the decision? I believe Mr. Mulholland will agree with me that undoubtedly they would say it was class legislation and that the law was unconstitutional.

Now there are two kinds of arguments, the argument to the man and the argument to the thing. We must strike at the root of the evil. I must admit at this time that I do not know how that law should be amended; but I know there is some way out of it and I hope you will weigh well your actions before you attempt to repeal the Sherman Anti-Trust law. That law should have been known as the Edmunds law, because Senator Edmunds really drew the act. When it was drawn there was a proposition, I believe by Senator George of one of the Southern States, to eliminate from the law the labor organizations. They refused that thing over and over; it was said if that was done it would be an unconstitutional law. I know and feel there is some way out of this situation, but I have full faith that when the American Federation of Labor comes to propose an amendment it will be one that will stand and we will have a remedy complete and adequate against these encroachments on our rights.

Delegate Rowe—I do not believe we ought to waste much more time in a discussion of the Sherman Anti-Trust law. The majority voters of the United States have elected a Democratic President. You have a Democratic House, you are going to have a Democratic Senate, and you have been promised that all these laws of which labor has complained are going to be remedied, they are going to remove this porous plaster application by the United States Supreme Court of the Sherman Anti-Trust law. According to the press of the country a special

session of Congress will be called in April. If we indulge in talk from now to April it will not bring about a meeting of the United States Congress at an earlier date. The people who have confided in the Democratic party, I believe, can afford to wait patiently on their promises.

I therefore move that the address of Attorney Mulholland and the remarks of President Gompers be printed verbatim in the minutes of this session and be printed in pamphlet form and distributed gratis to the various organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor for the enlightenment of their constituents. (Seconded by Delegate Ryan).

President Gompers—Might the chair suggest that you withdraw the motion for the time being?

Delegate Rowe—Yes.

President Gompers—One of the reasons is that thus far I have not addressed the convention upon this subject, and I do hope to be able to say something upon it.

Delegate Furuseth—There is another reason why it should be withdrawn for the time being, and probably withdrawn altogether, that is if anybody here has any desire to run away from this question.

Delegate Biggs—Of course it is all right to stand by the Hatters, that is our duty, but this is just on the face. What we want to do is to get at the bottom of this thing, to destroy the source of this trouble. And how can we do it? I don't believe we can get any amendment to the Sherman Anti-Trust that will exempt the labor organizations from its provisions, and if we do get such an amendment it would take a very long time; but I do believe if we were to go into a crusade throughout the country for the repeal of the law, not because it applies to you men, but on the theory that the Supreme Court has read into that law language Congress did not put into it. If we appeal to the country at large for the repeal of the law we would get men back of us, small business men and others, who have been ground fine by the trusts under the interpretation these judges have given of the law and the language that has been read into it that Congress did not put there. If we do that we will have a better show to have the Sherman Anti-Trust law repealed

rather than have it mended to exclude voluntary organizations like the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Brais—There is something further than the empty effect of this law, there is a cause. It seems to me the trade unions stand in a very peculiar position; we want the protection of the law, yet the trades unions are trying to dodge responsibility. It seems to me an incorporation law that would make the trades union legal before the law should be one of the points touched on. Then we would have a standing before the bar to stand for our rights and justice. The small business men the previous speaker mentioned are for the Sherman Anti-Trust law. The small business men are being ground between the trusts and the so-called labor trusts. We all know the trend of industry is towards centralization, towards combination, and the big corporations of the country want to see the Sherman Anti-Trust law repealed. The small business man does not want it repealed, and don't forget for a minute that the small interests are not going to stand for the repeal or the amendment of the law because it would affect their business. It works against the big trusts and they are all against the big trusts. The big trusts want to see the law repealed because it interferes with their progress. The trusts are here, they are here to stay. They claim it is a law against progress because it prevents the centralization and combination of industry. We find the law as applied to trades unions is injurious. The trades unions are on the one end and the trusts on the other and a large army in the center is fighting against both. I think we should ask to have the Sherman Anti-Trust law done away with entirely and let progress continue as it should continue. A proper incorporation law would do away with this trouble. If we were incorporated the corporation would be liable to damages and not the individual members. The incorporation of trades unions has been a subject of discussion for years but has never been decided upon. Many of our trades union officials do not know which side to jump.

President Gompers—Will an interruption interfere with your trend of thought?

Delegate Brais—Not at all.

President Gompers—The chair would like to call your attention to the fact that there is a Federal law on the statute

books of the United States providing for the incorporation of any national trade union by providing simply a technical office in the capital of the nation, Washington, D. C. The law has been passed more than twenty years. Any national or international union can incorporate under that law if it so desires.

Delegate Brais—Has that proposition ever been taken up?

President Gompers—Time and time again.

Delegate Brais—Has it ever been decided to do it or not to do it?

President Gompers—Many international unions decided they would not. There are a few national trade unions incorporated under that law.

Vice President Duncan—The law further provides that even if there is an incorporation under that law the incorporation only applies to the District of Columbia and the territories of the nation, not to the states.

Delegate Brais—It is my opinion that before we can solve the problem we are discussing to-day the trades unions will have to assume some responsibility before the law. I am also of the opinion that the Sherman Anti-Trust law must be repealed, and I am sorry to say we must take sides with the trusts and combinations to get it repealed.

At 12.45 the convention was adjourned, to reconvene at 2 p. m.

## Sixth Day--Tuesday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2 p. m., Tuesday, November 19th, President Gompers in the chair.

**Absentees** — Noschang, Klapetzky, Kline, Huber (Wm.), Strom, Conway, Meyer, Yount, Feeney, Hannahan, Dolan, Dyche, Taggart, Bailey, Bryan (W. E.), Healey (Dennis), Lowe, Powers, Allen, Price, Call, Daly (T. M.), Crane Skemp, Murphy (P.), Whitehead, Gallagher (T. J.), Huddleston, Welch (M. R.), Curtis, Vanderveld, Swick, McGinley, Elyea, Doherty, Fahey, Bryan (F. O.), Bonner, Stokes, Niven, Bates, Spencer, Snellings, Lampa, Bohm, Waldron, Lebowitz.

Vice President Mitchell moved that the report of the Committee on Adjustment be made a special order of business for 11 o'clock Thursday morning. (Seconded and carried.)

President Gompers—Resumption of the discussion on the subject of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law and its application to organized labor is in order.

Delegate Furuseth—With some of the things said about the Sherman Anti-Trust law and the courts with reference to it I have very little sympathy because here is an instance in which, in my opinion, the courts have done what the legislative branch of the government instructed them to do. I cannot for the life of me understand what construction you could possibly give to Sections 1 and 2 of the Sherman Anti-Trust law that will not make it an anti-combination law and that will not, of its own necessity,

compel it to be applied to organizations of labor as long as it forbids any arrangement or agreement, in the form of a trust or otherwise, and makes it illegal. I see no possible way out of the application where the courts have gone along—I don't speak just of the rulings that may be made before a jury—but where the Supreme Court has gone is in reading into the law "reasonable" and "unreasonable."

What is a corporation? And I ask your attention for a minute. What is a corporation? It is a person, so created by law, so held by the courts, so that Brown & Company is a person, Green & Company is a person, Black & Company is a person, and the law says that these three persons shall not combine together to hold their goods or that which they have to dispose of at their own terms and conditions with reference to the rest of the world. Now these three corporations join together and they become a trust. There are three persons, if you please. The question is taken before the Supreme Court and it dissolves them into their original component parts.

Now go on with this comparison. Take this line of reasoning, which is the line the law follows and that the court follows. John and Jim and Tom and Joe join together to dispose of their labor power jointly upon conditions prescribed by themselves. They work on some

things that are matters of interstate commerce, and it doesn't make any difference how small their union is, if it be but of three persons, if the work it has to do is to produce something for interstate commerce or that goes into interstate Commerce that little organization comes under the Sherman Anti-Trust law. If somebody wants to go after you, whether your organization be the miners, which is the biggest here, or the carpenters, which is the next biggest, or the smallest local union, if its product goes into interstate commerce it becomes subject to the Sherman Anti-Trust law. And the United States court sitting in any part of the country can call this union before it upon the motion of the District Attorney or upon the complaint of somebody who considers himself injured and the court can dissolve it into persons, as it dissolved the Standard Oil Trust into its separate corporations, as it dissolved the Tobacco Trust into its separate corporations. And it has in its power to send the officials of that organization to prison and to fine them \$5,000 each.

There isn't any question at all as to what this law is. I cannot understand how anybody ever could have conceived of any question as to what it meant, except on one proposition I have always found coming to the consideration of every man, and especially every American working man, and that is that, no matter what you do or permit to be done it is going to turn out all right. That peculiar fatalistic optimism that is the national characteristic has made it impossible to see until somebody gets a very hard bump, such as the Hatters got. But this is not the first time the law has been employed. It was employed in all its severity within twelve months after it was enacted, and you need do no more than to look into the court records to find it was so applied in New Orleans.

Now what is the remedy? There must be an absolutely clear line established between the product of labor which is property, and necessarily is the property of somebody, beginning with being the property of those who made it, and the power which makes it possible to make this property. You must make a clear line of distinction between the real labor power, which is not property but life, and the result of the labor power in opera-

tion, which is property, capable of being owned by somebody.

On that proposition there was introduced in the House of Representatives nine years ago a bill which makes the cleavage absolute and distinct. The bill was considered absolutely tight on that proposition. It takes the working people and labor power absolutely out from under the Sherman Anti-Trust law. It does not do it by exempting labor at all, so far as labor has any property, but it exempts energy, ability to work, the capacity to work, the labor power inherent in man. Nothing was done about it but it can be dug up and made use of.

In the last session of Congress a committee was established by the Senate to investigate into the Sherman Anti-Trust law and what it is doing to modern society. The Senate sat a long time and heard a great many witnesses. It has not so far made a report. There is a possibility that it may make a report upon the lines suggested in this statement of mine; I hope it will; I don't know whether it will or not. All I can say is that I hope it will. The trouble with existing society is this: That it cannot conceive of the worker being without a master. He belongs to somebody all the time. The employer says, "He belongs to me, he is part of my property." He capitalizes him and uses him, and when he is through with him he throws him away. But underlying all these things is this proposition: That the carrying on of a business carries with it a right to so much working power and at such prices and conditions as will make that business profitable.

Then, lo and behold! Among ourselves arises, and you hear it on every side expressed unconsciously, "My union. "My men," "Our men." You hear it right and left. So if he is not the property of an employer he is the property of some combination of working men, not his own combination, not something that arises voluntarily in himself, but something he may be compelled to get in. Or there is a third possibility, and it is growing, the padrone system. Always the poor devil belongs to somebody or something except himself.

Now if you want to write something into the law you can write into it that the man belongs to himself, that he is an individual entity, that he has a right

to affiliate himself with others in the same way and combine with others in the same way as have the fishes of the sea, the birds of the air and the animals in the field. And if you will write that into the law so as to protect him from those who undertake to be the masters, no matter what they call themselves, you will have accomplished something that will cure this trouble finally and make it possible for the individual man to live his own life as he should be permitted to live it.

Delegate Heberling—We can go back a few years and see that year after year the courts of this country have arrogated a little more power to themselves and have enslaved the workers little by little until we have come to this momentous question in regard to the Hatters. In 1894, in Colorado, while there was a peaceful assembly composed of citizens of the state discussing a strike that was on at that time, and it was an open meeting, men with bayonets surrounded the hall, took the citizens off to the city and incarcerated them in jails. Some of them were held more than thirty days before they allowed them to have bail, because they assembled to listen to the statements of men who were strikers. There has never been any redress for that to the workers.

A little later on we saw in the same state men taken away from their families and homes and deported; we saw the commissary departments and stores destroyed by the powers that controlled the government. And I want to say to you the courts never returned a dollar of that; it was left to the legislature of Colorado to return to the miners by an act of the legislature some sixty thousand dollars for damage that was done the commissary department that was to keep women and children from starving.

The courts are arrogating to themselves a power that, in my mind, the constitution never intended them to have. We find from the statement made by the eloquent attorney who defended the Hatters that they have gone so far as to take away from the workers their homes and their savings, and when they have that power they can take away from you the right to strike. This question is far deeper, to my mind, and far broader than the Sherman Anti-Trust law, it is a question of the liberty of the citizens of this nation. If a judge by decree can

read into a law that you must spend your money for an article that is obnoxious to you, that you do not want, then you have no business to have money in your pocket because it is not yours, it is beyond your control if that can be done, and it now appears it is what they have attempted to do.

In all I have read in the history of the past, in the history of nations that flourished and fell, there is no greater crime committed than to take the home away from an honest man who in his old age is not able to work any more to satisfy the arrogance of the money power of this country. It should be the duty of every working man in this country to insist upon laws being enacted to have the recall of judges if necessary if they will not do the right thing. We have in this country a class of men who have no sympathy with the toilers of the nation. They have received large salaries from the corporations and it is impossible for them to know the wants or know what justice would mean to the rank and file of the citizens of this country that produce the wealth of the country. And those are the men who are given a life tenure of office in this republic of ours. They set aside the will of legislatures. In Colorado they have disfranchised the people of the sovereign state. After a Governor of that state was elected by a conceded majority of 10,000 and inaugurated the Supreme Court set him aside and a man served in the office who was not elected by the people. We have seen those things come to pass. Now if step by step this has been done in the past, step by step you will be enslaved by the action of the court. We have seen men without trial by jury put in jail although they committed no crime. Other men have been put in jail for standing up and giving a public opinion; and we have got before us in the labor movement a case where they have been attempting to put in jail three prominent men in the labor world, three men present in this hall to-day, because they exercised the right of free speech that each and every one of us believes was guaranteed to us by the constitution of the United States.

The great trouble with the people of this country to-day is that they are too indifferent. If a union is attacked you forget the principle that is involved. If

the Hatters or any other organization is unjustly dealt with it should be to the interests of every working man in this country to see that the wrong is righted. If the Sherman Anti-Trust law is unjust it should be repealed. Each decision is getting a little worse as far as labor is concerned, and it appears that a majority of the judges who have had to do with labor disputes in this country were controlled by the money powers and the employing class; and if it is settled to be a fact that a working man cannot buy with what he earns a product that suits him then we are not free. And it is going down the line until the day will come when they will disfranchise you as they have done in some of the states for certain things.

I want every man to go out of this convention and be active and energetic in declaring the rights of the citizens; and if the courts of the United States will stand out against the liberties and the rights of the people of a republic, if they will use coercive measures against the liberties of the citizens, then we will take measures, if need be, to amend the constitution of the United States so that we can put a brake on this power that has been arrogated by a few men who put other men in jail without trial by jury. The day will come when these wrongs will come home to every working man if they are allowed to continue. I want to thank you for your kind attention.

Delegate Gold—I move that this convention go on record that the American Federation of Labor is in no way responsible, directly or indirectly, for the liabilities of the Danbury Hatters.

President Gompers—It is within the right of the delegate to not only make the motion but insist upon it. Before he continues the chair would suggest that the entire subject matter, when the discussion is closed, be referred to the Committee on President's Report. Then the Committee will report to this convention. If the report does not meet with the approval of this convention it is subject to amendment or change. In the meantime it would be better to permit the committee to work out its own proposition in its own way.

Delegate Gold—This means I must bring it before the committee.

President Gompers—The chair suggests that you withdraw the motion temporarily, and if the committee's report does not

meet your views you can offer that as an amendment.

Delegate Gold—I withdraw it.

Delegate McDonald (D).—In discussing the Sherman Anti-Trust law it is a difficult matter to do so without also discussing the attitude of the court in connection therewith, and I believe our objection is based more especially on the position, the attitude of the courts than on the Sherman Anti-Trust law itself. And reviewing the attitude of the court after just reading the "History of the Supreme Court," written by Gustavus Meyers, and reading "Big Business on the Bench," written by Mr. Connolly, and other works along that line I am inclined to the belief that unless we can find some other method of selecting our judiciary it will be almost immaterial what kind of laws we have on the statute books, and immaterial whether we amend the Sherman Anti-Trust law or not.

The Sherman Anti-Trust law was not intended, so far as the great bulk of the people were concerned, and many of our leading legal lights have said it was not intended to apply to labor, it was intended to curb the powers of the great corporations and trusts. And since the attitude of the court has been expressed I am rather inclined to the belief it was a very clever scheme on the part of the trusts to get the law on the books and then have the Supreme Court rule on it and include labor, get labor in the net, while the trusts that are supposed to have been "busted" are doing business at the same old stand.

When the Standard Oil Company was prosecuted under the Sherman Anti-Trust law as being a combination in restraint of trade—after it was "busted" and you could see the pieces flying through the air—the stock went up on the New York stock market. When the Tobacco Trust was "busted" they started putting in more United Cigar Stores. We find other cases where the Sherman Anti-trust law was used apparently to "bust" the trusts and the trusts profited by it. Now we find that after they have "busted" the trusts the Supreme Court has taken upon itself the privilege to read the word "reasonable" into the law we find the concerns it was originally intended to curb have escaped and the people not supposed to be affected are the victims of the law.



I maintain it is not so much a question of the legal phase of the matter as the decisions rendered by the courts thereon. If we look into the history of the men who have occupied positions in the Supreme Court of the United States and the various states we will find they have had their training as corporation lawyers. We find that many of the men sitting in federal courts were recommended for those positions by the financiers, the Steel Trust, the railroad interests and others. I have not heard of one of them being appointed that was endorsed by the common people of the country. It means that the men in control of our industrial institutions to-day, the men this law was intended to curb, are the ones that have been instrumental in putting the men on the United States Supreme Court bench and the federal benches. They get their training as attorneys for railroad interests, trustified interests, and like the rest of us they are only a product of their surroundings. Men who have been surrounded by corporation interests, employed to defend railroads and other large corporations when damage suits are pending, we find are still occupying the same position on the bench when handing down decisions in reference to this and other laws on the statute books.

What is the remedy? We all want a remedy. Whenever the men who have the power to appoint these men to a life term job, without the possibility of recalling them, realize that the American people in registering their protest are no longer going to tolerate men sitting on the bench in this country who have been recommended by the money interests, the landed interests and the vested interests, and when the people demand their recall there will possibly be a way out of this proposition. But I fear very much, even if you are instrumental in repealing or amending the Sherman Anti-Trust law they will find some other law to nail labor to the cross.

When the Taff-Vale decision was rendered in England the workers protested by sending 58 members to the next Parliament. And whenever the people of this country, regardless of their political affiliations or anything else, realize their powers, and when we get one of those lemons handed to us by the courts we will wake up at the next election and register

our protest, they will discontinue this practice of nailing labor to the cross at every opportunity.

I find in going over this "History of the Supreme Court of the United States, and article "Big Business on the Bench," there are scarcely any men sitting in the federal courts of this country or in the Supreme Court of the United States, and in very few instances in the State Supreme Courts, that were not when practicing attorneys fighting for these interests, and they are put in there for the express purpose of giving labor the worst of it and defending the men who originally employed them. Not only that, but some men were placed on the Supreme Court of the United States who had brothers and relatives directly interested in the concerns, and they would not be good brothers to the other fellows if they rendered decisions against them.

We may disagree on some of the technicalities, but we all agree there is something wrong, and if we adopt the same policy our British brothers adopted a few years ago when the courts there laid hold of the funds of the engineer's in what is known as the Taff-Vale decision, and send about seventy-five labor representatives to the next Congress of the United States they will sit up and take notice, and not until that time.

The organization with which I am connected is now being sued for \$750,000. The Darbury Hatters' Case was very ably presented this morning, and after those cases, if there is another organization that begins to assert its power they will bleed us and take our funds every time an organization is able to make a reasonable fight for its membership. I will positively refuse to go to the ballot box and endorse anyone for a position who has been found guilty of putting men on the Supreme Court bench who have been employed previously in defending the interests of "big business." I wish everyone would read the books I have referred to. I find there where men who had defended railroad corporations were on the bench when women sued for damages. In one instance a woman who sued a railway company was taken into court, this man who acted as the corporation lawyer said she was shamming; the court abused her; she got fifty or sixty dollars damages and a few weeks after died of her injuries. I want

to say we have seen too many of that stripe sitting on the Supreme Court bench. We ought to have the recall, not only for the lower courts but for the highest courts in our land. Destroy this principle and privilege that has been granted the chief executive of the nation to put men on the bench for life, largely because of the fact that they are endorsed by the great legal combinations.

There is only one way we can make a vigorous and successful protest and that is by combining. We will do it in time. Let us have a few more cases like the Danbury Hatters Case, the miners sued for \$750,000, and the officials of the American Federation of Labor threatened with jail, and we will wake up and make our protest the only place it can be successfully made, at the ballot box.

Delegate Hayes (F. J.)—Mr. Chairman, this is one of the most important questions the American Federation of Labor has to deal with. The very future of this great labor movement is at stake in this great issue. If the employers of labor have the right to take away the property of the workmen for standing out for better conditions of employment and higher wages, then the future of this great humanitarian movement is threatened. This is essentially a great political question, and the remedy is to be found in political action. The courts of this country have usurped the power time and again of the executive and legislative branches of our government. The power of the courts should be curbed by Congress. The Supreme Court of nine men should not have the power and the authority, and would not in a real democracy, to set aside the wishes of ninety million people, to set aside the wishes of both houses of Congress. And yet they have that power. We are far behind Great Britain and Germany in so far as social legislation is concerned, in so far as protecting our rights is concerned, and I say to you, the working class of America should rise and should hold protest meetings all over this country calling the attention of the workers to these wrongs.

The United Mine Workers of America has been sued, and the officers of it, for \$750,000, and the strike that was inaugurated in the mining regions of West Virginia was not inaugurated by the offi-

cial, but the oppression became so severe down there the miners themselves came out on strike. After they came out we naturally supported them and enrolled them in our organization. And now because they are part of our organization we are held responsible and they are trying to take away from us the little property we have—I don't think it is very much; I know I haven't any—in the courts of this country; and if they can do it in the Danbury Hatters' Case they can do it in the United Mine Workers' case and in every other case, and they will destroy by this method the militant character of the American labor movement. Men will be afraid to go out on strike, men will be afraid to place on the unfair list the product of scab labor, and our movement here in America will be destroyed by the courts of the land.

It is largely a question of interpretation of the law. The trusts have not been seriously disturbed under the operation of the Sherman Anti-Trust law. On the contrary, they have increased their capitalization from three billions about eight years ago to thirty-five billion dollars today. The Sherman Anti-Trust law has not affected the increase of the trusts in the least, and the Supreme Court, true to its class character, wrote into that law the word "reasonable." They said that reasonable trusts could not be disturbed, and if there is any more reasonable organization in the world, any organization that has higher principles than the American labor movement, I have yet to see it. If it is reasonable for a few of these industries to combine, and the Supreme Court has so decided, ought it not to be reasonable for this great labor movement that has for its purpose the uplift of men and women of toil, making life sweeter and better and brighter for the men who produce the wealth of the world, to exist? If there is any more reasonable set of men in the world than are to be found in this American Federation of Labor, I do not know where they are.

If you remember these questions, my friends, on election day and go to the ballot box and vote to send men from your own ranks to make your laws, men who have lived your lives, men who know your needs and aspirations, those men and those influences that control our

courts to-day will not be in evidence. Such was the history of the trade union movement in Great Britain. The Taft-Vale decision levying on the funds of the British trades unionists aroused those men and they went to the ballot box and sent men from their ranks to Parliament. Then this evil disappeared. I say to you men to-day that some action should be taken towards calling protest meetings in every town where there is a branch of the American Federation of Labor. Let us decide here to-day upon some constructive policy. Let us not merely talk, but let us make a protest that will be heard from the Atlantic to the Pacific and from Canada to the Gulf. Let us show the plutocrats of this nation that we are aroused and that in the name of humanity we demand justice for the men and women who toil.

Delegate Kemper—Mr. Chairman and Delegates to this convention: I want to say first that we are with the Hatters in this fight just as we were at the inception thereof. We are also in favor of the American Federation of Labor and the entire American labor movement doing all in its power to eliminate from the Sherman anti-trust act that part which applies to organized labor, knowing it is a menace. We are also in favor of electing our own legislators instead of sending our lobbyists and pleaders to the different legislative bodies begging them to enact some legislation which will be of benefit to the laboring class. We believe that if we had men from our own ranks in these legislative bodies the other would be superfluous.

The Hatters case has demonstrated to us the necessity of a closer affiliation of all the workers of this country, not only in the economic but also in the political field. We have been flimflammed long enough by the different parties who have been in power from time to time making promises but fulfilling none of them. It is time for us here to decide upon some line of policy whereby we can obtain better results than we have achieved up to the present time. I personally feel that if anything of that kind had been done heretofore we would not be confronted here with a case of this nature. To think it is possible in this advanced stage of our civilization that men and

women and families could be deprived of their private property because of the fact that they had refused to buy a certain article! If we buy that article they skin us, and if we don't buy that article they take what we have got away from us! This is the condition confronting us at the present time. And why? Because we ourselves have been so blind to our own interests all this time.

What good does it do us to go into a campaign and fight for either one of the parties that up to this time have been predominant? Not one iota of good. It does not do us any good, it is immaterial whether a Democratic or a Republican governor or president, or a Democratic or a Republican legislature, a Democratic congress or Republican congress legislates against us or send their trusted henchmen and police against us whenever we arise to protest against oppression or any condition we deem intolerable.

I will go further in this and say we are also in favor of electing the judiciary. We do not believe the judiciary should be appointed by somebody who has simply the power, and that judiciary afterwards misconstrue the laws that have been made, in some instances on the face of them appearing as though they were in our favor, and afterwards so applied as to be absolutely against us. We know that all these things cannot be brought by mere resolutions nor can they be brought about by lobbying. In this instance we feel it is our duty here and now to pledge ourselves that we will in future see to it that men from our ranks, men representing our ideas, men knowing the needs of the workers will be put into the different Legislatures, into the Congress and Senate of the United States and into the judiciary.

We complain of the operation of the Sherman Anti-Trust law. And who is more responsible for that law than we the citizens of this country? We have made it possible; it is only through our own action it is made possible that such a law could be enacted in the first place, that amendments thereto could be introduced in the second place, and that judges are appointed who interpret it and interpret it according to the wishes of their masters, in the third place. It is only natural that each servant shall serve his master; and because of the fact that the Federal judges

and the different judges can be appointed by those in power makes it positive they will serve those who put them there. And that is what we are doing every day, and the longer we continue it the more reason will we have to complain, and I hope that at this convention some steps will be taken to alter this mode of procedure, or at least that some measure be taken by which organized labor will exercise its franchise in the right direction.

If we went out on election day as we do on Labor Day and marched in one united phalanx to the polls and deposited our votes, not for any one of the old political parties, for they have not at any time shown a desire to aid us, but would march there in a solid phalanx, cast our votes for candidates pledged to do that which we deem to our interests, then we would achieve the results we are looking for. But until that time we have no complaint to make and we have no kick coming. Until such time as we are ready and willing and courageous enough to get out in the open and declare ourselves and vote as we strike, we should sit idly by and let them do as they choose.

Delegate Gillespie (G. W.)—After hearing the discussion of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law, after having studied the labor conditions of our country and knowing that we within ourselves are responsible for our conditions, being sovereign citizens, having the right of franchise, having the right to exercise the franchise, and by exercising the franchise having put in power men antagonistic to our labor movement, men who have the greed for gold, men who try to see who can accumulate the most of this world's goods—when we consider these conditions and then protest against the laws made by men put in power by our votes, it is no less than the echo of our franchise rebounding against our own citizenship and the privileges we should exercise through our own franchise.

When we looked over the Federationist in October we saw advertised in that journal a few of the political parties, and one in particular which has been swept into power, that would make this agitation here unnecessary. It was advocated that if this great party went into power they would give us the legislation we needed. If that is the case why should we agitate throwing the Sherman Anti-Trust

Law into the limbo of the past, for with a Democratic Congress and Senate would it not be possible for Mr. Woodrow Wilson as President of the United States to give us the legislation necessary even without any agitation or any lobbying committee paid by the wage slaves and maintained in the city of Washington?

Vice-President O'Connell in the chair.

Vice-President Hayes—I have noticed that previous speakers here to-day advocate political action. I have heard the ballot box mentioned frequently, and I want to express my approval of all those gentlemen who urge action at the ballot box. It is a pleasure to notice that all who have spoken endorsed the policy decided upon by the American Federation of Labor, for I take it that these speakers in their remarks about political action and voting, favor the policy of the American Federation of Labor. I assume this, because this is a convention of trade unionists; we were elected as trade unionists and it is the money of trade union treasuries that sent us here to legislate in support of trade union principles, trade union policies and trade union protection.

At the time the decision was handed down by the United States Supreme Court declaring that the Hatters' Union was subject to prosecution under the provisions of the Sherman Anti-trust Law, the American Federation of Labor enunciated with particular emphasis its political policy, which if persisted in will lead to the amendment of the Sherman Anti-trust Law and also lift from the shoulders of organized labor the burden of other laws that discriminate against labor unions. This policy is that we should place in the state legislatures and in the Congress of the United States men of character, courage and ability, from our own ranks, and whenever the opportunity presents itself, to support men who are in close touch with the needs and desires of the working people and who are free from the domination of wealth. I believe in the political policy of the American Federation of Labor for the welfare of the working men and no other political policy. We have not gone "begging" to the law makers. The American Federation of Labor can show more practical results from its efforts to secure favorable legislation, than those who criticize and disparage our policy. The

American Federation of Labor has past achievements to build upon and from practical experience it can point the way, so what is all this talk about ballot boxes and voting—what is meant? The policy of the American Federation of Labor? That is what we are here to promote. When you talk in this remote way about political action and standing together, etc., state what you mean, state what political party you want us to support. If it is the one with which some of the previous speakers are identified, I won't support it. Trade unionism has proven to me that it is capable of doing things, and those who preach against it, or try to beguile men away from it, have never shown me anything but the talk intended to lead men away from it. If there is any one here anxious to advance the interests of a political party, he should go to the convention of that party and not try to divert the labor movement toward any political party. I have read criticism since I have been here about trade unionists and trade union officials; if I were one of those who expressed or inspired such statements I would leave town in the middle of the night. I respect and will uphold every man who works for the trade union movement. I can not forget what a trade union has done for me, or what it has helped me to do for others.

We have heard here of partisan politics and ballot boxes. I tell you it is not partisan politics, whether Republican, Democratic, Socialist or Prohibitionist, but it is the heart and brain of men which are at fault. Politics will not change human nature and no opposition against each other here will change it. What is required is sincere action along the line which our best judgment tells us is the most effective.

This is the place to join in an effort to have trade unionism expand and grow, not for division. This is not the place for division; it is the place to talk cohesion. No matter what our politics are, we should not preach them here. Here we should be trade unionists and nothing else. I am glad that the trade unionists here are not men of weak faith, we are not men of weak heart; we have fought oppressive capital and it can not be said that trade unions have been the losers. You have got to wait for the years to come to complete the history of

what trade unions have done. Some of you who have grown impatient, blame our methods, when those who only give weak or indirect support to trade unionism are most at fault. Let us stand together, line up. The American Federation of Labor has proclaimed, urged and pleaded that wage workers go to the ballot box and vote for real men, men who have been brought up in the school of hard work and know by experience what labor suffers.

I do not believe in class legislation. We talk about the other parties putting corrupt judges on the bench. Suppose we had power to put judges of our own choice on the bench; suppose we had all the power. It would only array all the other people against us and would there not be the same conflict of interests. A broader education is what mankind needs. If bad judges are put on the bench or bad laws are made, it is because the clear light of justice and humanity has not penetrated sufficiently into the brains and hearts of men.

Delegate Walker (J. H.)—I want to reply to a statement that was a criticism of a statement made by myself. This means setting myself right although it has a bearing in the way of argument.

Chairman O'Connell—Do you intend to enter into the discussion?

Delegate Walker—Not a discussion of the case, but to put myself right on a matter I spoke on and that President Gompers made a criticism of. It is a question with reference to the organizations in the American Federation of Labor agreeing to protect the old men and those that are being made the figureheads in the settlement of this dispute. President Gompers said that a statement of that kind did more real injury to the present status of the case than anything that could be done. I do not agree with him on the proposition. I feel it will have the opposite effect. According to the information given us this morning thirty-six of these old men have died and two have gone insane. The chances are that the action of this court hanging over their heads has been the main influence that has murdered those old men and driven two of them insane; and it may be that the same influence will have the same effect on a considerable number of others before this case is settled. Until this question is settled in such a way that the

workers will know they are not going to be subject to that kind of condition, it will act as a deterrent, not only of those within the organization attempting to protect themselves and make progress, but on those outside the organization from coming in. I believe that, and I believe this movement should not countenance any kind of proposition that will mean that influence hanging over those old men, all the members of this organization and those outside who ought to be in.

I believe further, if the statement of President Gompers is true that if it were known that this organization was going to stand behind and protect those men, then every employer would seek the same sort of action with regard to our organizations and muct them in damages in the same way; it would have just the opposite effect to that conveyed by his statement; it would mean if every man knew this whole labor movement was behind him he would not hesitate to act in securing his rights, making progress or protecting himself. It means, too, that if they want to attack every organization within the Federation in that way there is nothing they could do that would stir up the entire people of our nation to eliminate and wipe out the condition of affairs that makes it possible now, and strip every court of every anarchist that is sitting on the bench at the present time and put real men in their places.

Chairman O'Connell—The chair decides that Delegate Walker cleverly avoided the question of personal privilege.

Delegate Walker—Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Treasurer Lennon—This seems to be an opportunity to talk upon almost anything you desire. I am afraid there may be at least one delegate inclined to go home with the idea that there is some obstacle confronting the labor movement that if not overcome in his particular way will absolutely annihilate the labor movement. My friends, when the militant labor movement of the world began those who participated met on a high hill where their pickets could see in every direction in order that they should not be assaulted and killed upon the spot. When Sparticus made his fight in Rome no doubt there were many who believed that if the things for which they were contending were not secured freedom would be lost to the hu-

man race. But we moved on with the militant labor movement of the world in spite of these things, and we meet here to-day and can as trades unionists express our views on the questions that are of interest to mankind. I have been in the labor movement forty-three years. Oh, yes, many times have I seen things confronting me and the organization of which I was a member, and confronting the other trades unionists of the country, that it seemed to me we must get out of the way in some particular manner; but they did get out of the way after a while, and very often not in my way either.

Now as to this question. Trade unions are going to win this fight, don't you forget it. I know, as does President Gompers, that it was not the intention of the majority of the members of Congress when the Sherman Anti-Trust Law was enacted—it was not the intention of Congress in the main, at any rate—to include within the scope of that law the labor organizations and the labor movement. And we are by this means and by the evolutionary process of the trades union movement and by its educational processes convincing the people by the thousands and the tens of thousands that our view upon this case is correct.

And, my friends, do not be discouraged. The men of the days gone by, the men who first laid the foundations of the labor movement, overcame difficulties so much greater than this that any trades unionists of to-day should be ashamed to even have the idea in his mind that we are not intelligent enough, not militant enough, not insistent enough, not opportunists sufficient to solve this question as we should in the interests of the workers of our great nation.

Delegate Conroy—It occurs to me that the point in this discussion where the truth is about to be told has been reached. We have sat here for several hours listening to the advice and the counsel of men of great experience, men learned in the labor movement, with some hope that a trade union solution of this most obnoxious question would be reached. But, just as has always happened in my few years in the labor movement, some man, when a trade union effort is being made, will say and do that which goes out to the world as a division on the part of labor rather than a united action.

I do not see why any man here should fail to tell the truth. Delegate Hayes made my argument for me. When men we know who have been officials of international organizations for years, men with great responsibilities upon them will enter into a question of such great moment as this, and when approaching the vital point of their arguments drift off into a political discussion without leaving in our minds an impression of just how they want the question solved, I think it is with the intent to deceive and mislead. I know many of the men who have spoken in this manner and I know they represent a political cause in the labor movement of America that never has and never will, in my estimation, join hands with the real labor movement in solving such an important question as this one is.

I don't believe it is out of order for delegates in this convention, after having come hundreds of miles, sent by their constituents to act and legislate honestly in their interests, to tell the truth. Where in this country has the Socialist Party ever joined hands with the labor movement to put labor men in legislative positions?

Delegate Walker (J. H.)—I rise to a point of order.

Vice-President O'Connell—State it.

Delegate Walker—Under the laws governing the American Federation of Labor partisan politics are not to be considered, and an attack on a political party is just as much a violation of that law as an argument being presented in its favor. I raise a point of order on that ground.

Vice-President O'Connell—The point of order is well taken. We will not discuss any political party.

Delegate Conroy—I beg the pardon of the chair and hope that any gentleman, taking the floor in the future will be similarly treated.

Delegate Walker—I do not ask any favors of the chair nor of the delegate either.

Vice-President O'Connell—The chair will not grant any favors.

Delegate Conroy—This is not a pleasant duty for me and I am not going to get personal; but the principle represented by some of the delegates is not as I have been taught in regard to trade union principles, and I do not believe they present it to us with any good intention.

If the members of the Hatters' Union, some of whom will probably have to lose their homes, are deserving of our support here is the place to give it to them; and when we take the floor in an endeavor apparently to devise ways and means of supporting them, let us do it out in the open, and if the ballot box is the place—and I am of the opinion that it is—let the trade unionists of the country handle that ballot box proposition. For myself I would have the Executive Council with the leading men of a certain political party get into conference with the end in view of having the organized labor movement go to the ballot box and put labor men in positions. When that time would come the old division would cease.

I believe the constituencies of these men are not at all in accord with the thoughts expressed on this floor. If we are to do business let us do it right. The time has come when the American labor movement must put men in legislative halls, the time has come when legislative action is necessary in our interests. But who are we going to put there? How are we going to do it? The political party that enters the halls of labor unions nightly and the American Federation of Labor yearly? No, they cannot. If a member of that party were to vote for the most honest labor union man in this country he would be immediately expelled from his party. Then where is the sincerity of this advice given us here this afternoon?

I cannot make a motion just now, Mr. Chairman, but I as one delegate believe if the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor with the leading men of a certain political party were forced together by this convention we would smother the nigger out of the wood pile and probably get something for the trades unionists of the country.

Delegate Cannon—Mr. Chairman, I am going to try to bring this discussion back to the Danbury Hatters and the Sherman Anti-Trust Law, from which two esteemed members of the Executive Council so skillfully shifted it. Now, Mr. Chairman, I am going to find some fault with the political policy of the American Federation of Labor in connection with this convention. I am going to point out, if I can, wherein that policy might be bettered, and in so doing I realize that I will champion what in this hall seems to be

an unpopular cause and lay myself open to be an unpopular delegate and perhaps a subject for the steam roller. But with all that I deem it my duty upon this occasion to give my views on the subject before us.

Now, in the first place, in the Danbury Hatters' case we are confronted with a cordition. It is not a theory. As has been pointed out to you, over thirty of our members against whom these cases are brought are now in a graveyard, some are in an insane asylum, and many of them who are over seventy years of age will no doubt be dead before the case is finally ended. The part of the American Federation of Labor policy against which I propose to bring argument is that in dealing with these conditions instead of dealing with the movement responsible for these conditions, instead of dealing with the parties responsible it deals to a great extent with the individuals responsible; and in dealing with the individuals responsible for wrongs when you are successful in your contention you find you have merely removed an individual to let a like individual get back in his place and perpetuate the indignities against which you protest.

Society is divided. We have an employing class and we have a working class. The employing class has absolute, complete control of the government of this country, of the industries of this country, and, as Delegate Furuseth so ably and brilliantly pointed out this morning, the worker belongs to somebody—and I never was more disgusted in my life than I was a few minutes ago when you cheered because they did belong to somebody. Now according to the laws of the United States, not these laws upon the statute books, if it were the laws upon the statute books we had to deal with we would find some way of counteracting them, it is the law in the mind of the judge that causes the difficulty. A man this morning moved to shut off debate because the Democratic party was coming in. Why, three of the judges are Democrats and they are three of the worst we have to contend with in the Supreme Court.

While I do not agree with Delegate Furuseth down the line I am going to concede that he made the most brilliant and able argument on this question. He pointed out to you that the worker is a chattel

just as is a horse or a mule. The employer who is using your labor does so as his property right, belonging to him to do with almost as he pleases. When the Dred Scott decision was rendered, before the Civil War, it was that the slave had no right the master was bound to respect; and when the Danbury Hatters' decision was written it was that the wage slave had no right the master was bound to respect. And some of those who discussed this question, instead of trying to find a way out, got up and attempted to ridicule the only political party that stands absolutely, solely and wholly for the interests of the working class in the United States.

In England, where they are so backward, England about which we laugh in derision and think how green they are, they had a like experience, as was pointed out by Delegate McDonald, and Delegate McDonald wants to do as they did in England when they sent fifty-eight labor representatives into Parliament, and not only had the Taff-Vale decision repealed, but they put the members they sent into Parliament under pay. And then some of you are insulted at such a suggestion! I wonder why? You ask who to send to Congress to represent you. You ask who you would send to the Supreme Court to render decisions. I will tell you who to send. Send the most able men you have in your labor movement, keep them tied up with the recall and the moment they do anything against your interests pull them out of there.

If this was an army facing another army, and this army selected some of the most able leaders of the other army to lead this army you would be doing exactly what you are doing with the industrial and political situation with which you are confronted.

Now, Mr. Chairman, we have reached the stage in the development of society where we cannot lay the wrongs committed upon individuals. We have passed that stage. Very few of us seem to realize this; but the individuals are not responsible for the crimes they commit, and in this category of crimes I am going to include most of the decisions of the Supreme Court and many of the lower court. It is the complex society in which we live that is responsible for these things; they are not individual wrong doings, they are social wrong doings; they are not the



wrong doings of any particular person, they are the wrong doings of the class of which that person chances to be a representative.

Now there is none of you going to contend, I hope—I will give the delegation credit for having better sense—that this great working class people of the United States are responsible for the moves that were needed to bring about the election of any of the recent Presidents we have had in the United States. The campaigns of these Presidents were financed by the great corporations of the country, and when judges were to be appointed they did not consult the President of the American Federation of Labor or the presidents of any of the international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; they consulted Harriman, Rockefeller, Morgan and other men and judges to their liking were selected to fill the positions. There is but one way you can command the respect of your opponents and that is by fighting, and fighting like hell. You cannot get their respect by allying yourself with them, by dividing your forces and giving half of your strength to that arm of the capitalist party called the Democratic Party and the other half of that arm called the Republican Party, you will have to get a working class party and the stronger it is the better you will be off in the end.

Delegate Furuseth—Will the speaker answer a question?

Delegate Cannon—Certainly.

Delegate Furuseth—Suppose you could get a law that would add this dividing line, that there is property as such and life and its attributes as such, do you think you would have a remedy against the present situation?

Delegate Cannon—In the Danbury hatters' case?

Delegate Furuseth—Yes, or in any similar case.

Delegate Cannon—I believe if we would send fifty members of the American Federation of Labor down to the next Congress they would forget all about the Danbury Hatters' case, they would drop it like a red hot coal. We must show them our strength. They may do as President Gompers suggested, bring the fight upon one union after another. This brings to my mind another policy of the A. F. of L. I will not approve, and one which if adopted will not cause me to

hold my head high; I will hold it down. If this convention does not go on record as standing irrevocably behind the Hatters I think they will be disgracing themselves. Those men in carrying on the struggle to try to better their condition have been chosen as the victims. Nobody contends they have committed any crime; nobody will stand up and say they violated any of our laws. No, it is the old struggle between the employer and the employe; the Danbury Hatters were selected as the victims, and if the employers succeed in that case they will go down the line, whether you stand behind them or not, and if you give up the support of those men we might as well surrender our charter and try some other method.

The Sherman anti-trust law was passed in 1890. Within three months after its passage, perhaps within one month, I read an editorial in the Philadelphia Record which stated that if after a complete application of the Sherman anti-trust law it would be discovered that it applied only to the labor unions of the country it would be quite a joke—and you fellows are the butt of the joke! The Standard Oil Company under the Sherman anti-trust law was fined \$29,000,000 and released from paying the fine. The Tobacco Trust was dissolved, and within a few months after the dissolution of that trust its stock was worth \$350 a share, about twice as much as it was worth when the dissolution took place. When the Standard Oil Company was dissolved its stock was about \$650 a share. At the writing of this article in September this year it was worth \$1,000 a share. Now that is a "reasonable" application of the Sherman anti-trust law. When the Danbury Hatters' case was taken up under the Sherman anti-trust law the Hatters were fined, not only the amount of money for which they were sued, but three times that amount, which with the expenses of the attorneys and the expenses of the trial amounted to more than \$240,000. That is an unreasonable application of the Sherman anti-trust law.

Yes, labor is the joke, the biggest joke, and the attitude of a great many is that they want to continue the joke instead of trying to get out of the hole the other fellow has put them in. If the workers of this country get together and organize their union more thoroughly and more

firmly, and then at the same time organize the workers' political party and begin to go to this government you will find a changed attitude on the part of the court towards labor, organized and unorganized. At the present time you cannot go into a court possibly in the United States, and especially a federal court, and get something for labor. Labor loses all the time. At the present time the attitude of the people of the United States toward the court is one of reverence; but if they only studied the history and the works of these courts they would soon find out there was nothing in them deserving of their reverence. If they would get the history of the Supreme Court spoken of by Duncan McDonald, read it, and then let every local union put canvassers in the field and educate the people, the people would soon understand the real meaning of the United States Supreme Court. And unless people understand that court and its ramifications that court will continue to put labor under foot.

Sometimes when you bring up technicalities from which they cannot get away you will win in these courts, but only to have the case started all over again. We have the case of the executive officers of the American Federation of Labor pending, God knows how many years, and we have been spending thousands of dollars defending it. The Danbury Hatters case has been pending for ten years and tens of thousands of dollars have been spent. That is one of the policies those courts have in view in this persecution—I refuse to call it prosecution—and the only remedy is a united front to the enemy every place we can meet them; not only to go on strike, but to go to the ballot box—and if you give me my preference I would say to the Socialist party—but I am big enough and broad enough to meet with you and try to find out what is the best way we can accomplish our purpose.

Delegate McCauley—I feel somewhat timid about rising to speak, because so far as I am aware I am the first woman delegate to speak on the floor. I have listened attentively to the various addresses on the subject before the convention and have been very much interested. I have regretted to hear the American Federation of Labor criticized for the policy advocated during the last

campaign, which advised all trades unions to stand by our own friends and to defeat our enemies. I was inspired by that word from the American Federation of Labor to such an extent that, as President of my local, the Commercial Telegraphers of Buffalo, I had the temerity to go among other labor organizations of that city and appeal to them to support the candidate running for Congress from the Forty-fourth District who was a member of the Commercial Telegraphers' Union, Hon. Charles Bennett Smith, who served in Congress the last two years. He was running for the same position this year, and I found not only sympathy among the trades unionists of other organizations there, but when the polls were opened on the 5th day of November, the trades unionists stood behind the trade union candidates and elected Congressman Smith and sent him back to Washington for two years more.

I would like to say to the trade unionists of all organizations that if they would be as active as the Commercial Telegraphers' Union of America during a political campaign and elect trades unionists to the state legislatures and to Congress they would be doing good work. The Commercial Telegraphers' Union has three representatives in what is called the labor group of fifteen in Congress, James McDermott of Illinois, William J. Carey of Wisconsin and Charles Bennett Smith of Buffalo. I don't think you can find fault with the action taken on any bill affecting labor in Congress of any of these three gentlemen. I desire to say again that I wish all trades unionists would stand for and by and back of trades unionists and put them into positions, even to the presidency, where they can be of assistance to us. Then we can expect remedies for these evils of which we have heard so much.

I regret to say that in the campaign to which I have referred when I appealed to members of a so-called labor party to stand back of the members of the Commercial Telegraphers' Union I found no sympathy whatever, and I question it if our candidate received one vote from any member of that party, however well meaning they may have been. When they had candidates of their party our telegraphers voted for them, and I advised them to do so regardless of party, saying

If a man was a trades unionist he deserved our support and we gave it to him.

Delegate Curran—I think attention ought to be called to the fact that visitors and guests should take no part in the proceedings; that at least they should not cheer some of the speakers and hiss others from the gallery. They have been admitted here and they are to take no part whatever for or against any proposition; they are here merely as listeners.

Chairman O'Connell—The visitors, while perfectly welcome to be with us, are requested to take no part whatever in the debate.

President Gompers—Mr. Chairman and Fellow Delegates: I may be all wrong in thinking that when advice is given, founded upon palpable truth, unquestionable truth, it ought to have some influence upon the minds of the delegates to this convention. If our attorneys, retained by the authority of the American Federation of Labor to defend the Hatters in the suit brought against them—and not only for the Hatters, but in defense of the principles for which our movement is contending—I say if our attorneys ask the officers and other representatives of the American Federation of Labor to testify to the fact that the Federation has not pledged itself to pay the award which a jury may give to Loewe, if the argument of the attorneys for the plaintiff will not only show that this great combination—using their term—was engaged in the boycott against Loewe & Co., but further that this great combination had pledged, and would pledge, the payment of any award which a jury might give, if that is the position which is sought to be presented to the jury from each side of this controversy, it does seem to me we ought to profit by the experience and govern our course accordingly.

I will not have any man place me in the position of lacking in sympathy or lacking in practical aid, not only with the Hatters, but with any man or set of men engaged in the struggle for their rights and for human liberty. In so far as I am personally concerned and affected, I will go as far as any man can and to the limit of any means I may have and can scrape together; but the question of this Federation going on record pledging to the Hatters the payment of the award

would not only be dangerous to the Hatters' interest in the case still pending upon appeal, but I repeat that it would be inviting litigation by other employers of labor and other associations, the National Association of Manufacturers and the so-called American Anti-Boycott Society. So much for that.

A Delegate—I think Delegate Cannon—in beginning his remarks upon the subject said that two vice-presidents of the American Federation of Labor and delegates to this convention skillfully avoided discussion on the real merits of this subject under consideration. Now I ask you to contemplate just for a moment what contribution he made toward the solution of the question now before us. And, after all, that is the question. I take a great deal of satisfaction in having recommended to the Executive Council and the adoption by the Executive Council of the recommendation to this convention that this day be given over to a discussion of this one question.

Delegate Frey of the International Molders' Union called attention to the fact that in the Roman Assembly, Cato, in season and out of season, called attention to the one specific thing which endangered the existence of Rome. And he sought to make, and did make, the application here to this question of presenting in every assemblage of labor a slogan, a watchword—the Sherman Anti-Trust law must be repealed or amended. With deliberation and with the purpose that this subject should be discussed by this convention was that recommendation made for this discussion to-day.

I was at Washington when the subject of the Anti-Trust law was being discussed, and it was my pleasure and opportunity to have made the acquaintance of a number of Senators who had previously been members of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor, Senator George of Mississippi, Senator Blair of New Hampshire, the chairman of the committee, and several others, and it was through my acquaintance with these Senators that I had the opportunity of appearing before several of the committees having the legislation in charge. And it was through the effort of Senator George, who introduced in the Senate, when that bill was under consideration, an amendment that in substance and in direct language exempted from the operations of

the bill then about to be enacted the organizations of the working people and the organizations of farmers; and thereafter a discussion arose and Senator Hoar and Senator George and Senator Edmunds, each of them, upon the floor of the Senate declared that with the adoption of that amendment it would seem that all the reform elements ought to be satisfied. And after the adoption of that amendment by a unanimous, or almost unanimous, vote the bill was resubmitted to the Judiciary Committee, of which Mr. Edmunds was chairman. The bill came back remodeled and that amendment adopted by the Senate was omitted.

I apprehended at the time the danger of such an omission, because I, too, knew something of the history of the struggles of the human family. I knew that the first effort to take away the liberties of the people and entrench privilege still greater, the first attack upon the rights and the liberties of the people, was to destroy their right of association, their right of assemblage, their right of free speech. And I recognized in the Sherman Anti-Trust law the beginning of an effort to take away from the toilers of our country the right of association.

The labor movement was young and almost incoherent in its expression. It had little influence upon the law-making power, and despite my protest it was enacted; but the assurance was also given to me that there was nothing in the law as enacted that would give the courts the right to interpret it so as to apply to the voluntary organizations of the working people. You can imagine that I had little confidence in that assurance when you know, or those of you who have cared to keep informed know, that in 1901 we succeeded in having adopted an amendment to the Littlefield bill strengthening the Sherman Anti-Trust law, an amendment adopted in the House of Representatives with only nine dissenting votes, affirmatively declaring that the Anti-Trust law as it existed and the amendment which was offered did not include the organizations of the working people nor the organizations of farmers that dealt in their own products.

Now when the bill was thus amended by the House of Representatives, the leaders in the party in power had no further interest in the measure. But it

was the amendment proposed by the minority and it passed the house with but nine dissenting votes. There has not been a congress that has held a session from that time until this but that we have been pressing home the demand of organized labor for the guarantee of the right of free association.

When the case was brought against the Hatters—the attention of the American Federation of Labor was called to it specifically. During the proceedings upon the appeals to the Circuit Court and to the Supreme Court of the United States your attention was called to it again and again. When the jury awarded the damages to Loewe in the first case your attention was called to it again. The organization's representatives were called into special conference in Washington so that the situation might be presented to them. And while every one knew the case had gone against the Hatters, yet there were very few who ever knew or cared to discuss the question. I have spoken upon this question to a number of the officers of international unions and some of them have said to me, "I doubt that the interpretation given the law has that far-reaching effect you seem to believe." Others have said to me realizing it, "You are right, but I am afraid to tell the men of organized labor of the danger in which they are placed."

How many of the official journals and labor papers have discussed the very essence of this law as now interpreted by the courts? How many have endeavored to arouse their membership to a realization of the dangers by which they are surrounded? It is true some did it, and very ably, too, but others have skimmed over it and sympathized with the Hatters; but as to the taking of action to bring the body of workers of the country and of the continent to a realization of the great wrong, there were not very many who did it.

You remember that when that decision was rendered I undertook to present the question in its essence and in its effect to the working people. An article appeared in the American Federationist for March, 1908. This decision was rendered on February 3,

1908, and in the March issue I published an article under the caption, "Labor Organizations Must Not Be Outlawed—The Supreme Court' Decision in the Hatters' Case," in which the matter was fully dealt with and in which the entire essence of the contention was presented, and it was shortly after that when the conference was called. It was held on March 19, 1908, and the conference prepared labor's protest to Congress. Now I want to read the caption of an editorial appearing in the issue of the March, 1910, Federationist, merely the caption, "The Hatters' Case. The Sherman Law. Amend It or End It," in which again the history of the legislation which I have tried hurriedly to describe was gone over and the meaning of the decision of the Supreme Court shown.

We are asked, "Why not organize a party or vote with the working men's party?" Apart from the general discussion of that subject, let me say as the question applies to this matter under discussion, so far as I am concerned I am impatient and will not wait with my protest until a party of working men has been entrusted with power. With us this is a vital question and in all your discussions and declarations, even of the party for which you directly claim or indirectly refer, where in one instance was there a declaration of that party to aid the organized labor movement to secure the repeal of this provision of the law as it applies to the trade union movement?

I am exceedingly pleased to have heard this one unanimous chord in the utterances upon the floor of this convention upon the subject, and that is: Let us present a united front! Let us present a united front! Arouse public opinion! Bring pressure to bear! Hold public protest meetings! Well, your late conversion to that which was proposed by the Executive Council more than six years ago and formulated in the conference in Washington over four years ago is pleasant music to hear. The protest conference and the Executive Council asked the labor movement of the country in every locality to hold mass meetings in protest against this interpretation of this decision and demand either the repeal of the law or that our unions, our humanitarian organizations, be exempt from the opera-

tion of the law. Where were you at those protest meetings, you who cry unity now? Where were you? At our meetings? No, on the opposite side or in another hall.

Delegate Cannon—I arise to a point of privilege. Our organization is on record, and the card of every member shows a twenty-five cent assessment levied for the Hatters. We didn't give them hot air.

Delegate Hayes (M. S.)—I stopped in New York City two weeks four years ago and discussed this matter. Possibly you or others can explain where you were.

President Gompers—I wonder whether the point of privilege raised by Delegate Cannon and the interruption of Delegate Hayes had any application to anything I said.

Delegate Hayes—You wanted to know where we were.

President Gompers—Yes, I know. You were elsewhere.

Delegate Hayes—I was in New York City four years ago, Mr. Chairman. That is the question you put to me, and you repeated some of the statements in regard to mass meetings. I spoke in New York City, sometimes at three or four meetings a night, and always took up the Hatters' case and pointed out to the trades unionists of New York the dangers contained in the interpretation of the law.

President Gompers—And in opposition to the policy as formulated by the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Hayes—Do you want me to reply to that?

President Gompers—Not now. I have not interrupted any delegate. You are on the opposite side of every policy enunciated by the American Federation of Labor, just as last Sunday you were in opposition to it.

I repeat that I am very glad to hear these expressions for unity. It is good that they come; but I promise you one thing, so far as I am concerned, either as President of the American Federation of Labor or as an individual union man or as a citizen, you may go off in your political parties just as far as you please without any word of interference or of objection interposed by me; but I have said to you time and again that when you run counter to the principles and the policies of the American trade union

movement as enunciated by the American Federation of Labor, you will at least find me fighting, fighting and fighting you, even unto hell, as Delegate Cannon said.

I do not preach unity in this convention to disprove my statement elsewhere. The thing for which I shall declare in this convention I will do anywhere and everywhere. I hold that it is the duty of the working people of this country to concentrate all their energies, without regard to any other fact, on this one point, to maintain, to secure the rights of our organizations to live.

Now I have said you may have other thoughts, you may have other theories. When men are engaged in the struggle for life they defend themselves and take such action as shall secure that life, without regard to any other theory or any other point to be gained; and I hold it to be the duty of every man who is a union man to subordinate every other thing to save the life of the organized labor movement of our country and our time.

I have heard it said that we go begging and pleading. Well, if any man would go to the committees of Congress and hear the statements made by the legislative committees, by the representatives of international unions, by the representative of the American Federation of Labor, by myself, he would find there is no pleading and there is no begging; it is the assertion, man fashion, of the rights to which the toilers are entitled and upon which they insist. Indeed, Walter Drew, the attorney of the Erectors' Association, one of the bitterest antagonists of organized labor, said last July before a meeting of the Judiciary Committee that he never heard Mr. Gompers make an address or argue before any committee of Congress unless it was accompanied with a threat. And when the opportunity was offered me I admitted that I did threaten, and propose to continue to threaten, the members of Congress with the assertion that if I could help to secure the defeat of men who opposed the legislation labor demanded, I would not only repeat, but emphasize and endeavor to carry that threat into effect. That statement is in print.

I ought to say to you the Sherman Anti-Trust Law has been invoked in the

strike of the men along shore in New Orleans, and a number of them were indicted, although I think for political reasons the indictment was not pressed. In Jacksonville only a year or so ago eighteen union men were indicted under the Sherman Anti-Trust Law. They were prosecuted and found guilty, but sentence was suspended. In Kentucky a number of farmers who endeavored to control their own product were indicted, tried, found guilty and sentenced to serve terms of imprisonment. Under that law the sweat shop manufacturers of shirt waists in Philadelphia brought suit against the ladies' garment workers' unions and some good women of means who had the heart to help the workers in their struggle. A suit is pending now, upon which we are taking an appeal, instituted by C. W. Post against the American Federation of Labor and the Buck Stove and Range Company combined as defendants for \$750,000. A suit has been brought against the United Mine Workers of America under it.

Now, what have we done? What have we tried to do? We have tried to arouse public opinion. Four years ago the American Federation of Labor in a conference at Washington decided to enter that campaign and make the question now under discussion the issue of that campaign. And it was made, it was made. You talk about labor men in Congress! Why, don't you know that if John Mitchell had given his consent he would have received the nomination for Vice-President of the United States? But you who speak of unity, you who speak of creating this public conscience, arousing it to the duty of aiding and securing for labor the right of life, would you have voted for John Mitchell for Vice-President?

A Delegate—No.

President Gompers—Of course you wouldn't. Why, when organized labor of Illinois was seriously thinking of nominating John Mitchell for Governor of that state one of the members of his union, an active member of the party for which you are proclaiming, when he advocated that course, only saved himself from expulsion from that party by resigning. And so all through.

You say we have made no progress. Do

you know as a matter of fact that the fight which organized labor made just before and during the campaign of 1908 against Mr. Taft, upon these very contentions, he was defeated in 1912? The other political parties—I will say three, if you please, or four, a few more or less do not make much difference—but the Democratic party and the Republican party and the Progressive party in their platforms included the declaration of the American Federation of Labor; and Mr. Taft for his party ignored the subject and so accentuated it that it aroused the people of the United States as perhaps they were never aroused before; and it is not written in the history of the United States that ever a man who was a candidate for re-election to the Presidency of the United States was so utterly and humiliatingly defeated as Mr. Taft. Twelve million voters, counting the Democratic party, the Progressive party—and say the Socialist party—twelve million votes were cast on November 5th last in favor of the candidates standing upon the platforms containing that demand made by the American Federation of Labor.

And now you have no right, no moral right to say that we have made no progress. Before you make the statement that no progress has been made you should read or re-read the report submitted to you by the Executive Council and by me as to the legislation enacted. Now if you read it and can prove that the statements made by us as to the laws that have been enacted are not true, then you may say we have made no progress. But if you read them and you cannot controvert the statements that progress has been made, that the laws have been enacted to which we have referred, and the progress in legislation still pending, I say that you are not justified in stigmatising our movement and our policy as failures. If you contend—and I hope that you and I and all of us will contend, and continue to contend—that that which we have secured is ours, we shall demand additional legislation, we shall demand additional laws, more laws, more rights, more for the men and women who toil and more opportunities for the children. But in that fight and in that demand don't let us libel ourselves, our intelligence and our movement by declaring

that which we have done is a complete failure.

I desire to impress this upon your minds: No matter how much we may differ upon anything else, to me it is a source of splendid satisfaction that we have to-day attracted the attention of all our delegates to the fact that there is this law which must be amended or ended. If we have done that, if we have secured and riveted the attention of the American labor movement, if we have riveted the attention of the people again to the danger which confronts us, we have done a splendid day's work. Don't for a moment imagine I am fearful there is any power on earth which can dissolve or destroy our movement. No power except ourselves can do that. Our greatest danger is from within, not from without.

If the labor movement depended for its success upon the kindness of others, the patting upon the back, the sympathy of others, we would have gone long ago. The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church, and it is as true in its application to the labor movement as it has been to any other movement on the face of the globe. Try to crush us out by opposition, by hostility, by relentless antagonism and we will stick like a rock, we will stick and fight back. Our only danger is, as I say, from our own shortcomings, our own bickerings, our own divisions. If this movement of America was as united in action as it is in spirit, depend upon it we would have less difficulty in securing the rights for which we are contending.

The bills now before Congress, two of them, passed the House of Representatives. I don't know what the Senate will do, but if it is at all amenable, if it is at all responsive to the protest entered by the people of the United States on November 5th, it will yield and pass these laws. But if it does not it may be true there may be a division in the party coming into power—as was stated by one delegate—and we hope that it will spring from—what? From the desire for our legislation. If that party should divide we cannot get that legislation. I hope at least until our legislation has been enacted it will remain united and give us the opportunity to test it if it will keep its pledges. Thus far it has not had the

opportunity. I am not a member of that political party. I owe allegiance to no political party; I owe allegiance to the trade union movement, and I am going to give it without stint, without hindrance and without limitation.

Now just this one word. I am a trades unionist. I am a trades unionist that yields the field of activity in the interest of labor to no other organization. I am a trades unionist that regards no organization on earth as paramount to the trade union movement. And in that fact, and in that faith, and in that cause, the cause of common humanity and justice I will go on, and go on, and go on until I either drop off my perch or dry up and blow away.

Delegate Cannon—Will you yield to a question, Mr. Chairman?

President Gompers—Certainly.

Delegate Cannon—In the telling of his activities or the activities of the organization, the chairman said he was impatient—speaking of the particular case under discussion—that he wanted to get results and he could not wait until the workers would get united at least politically. That is about the sense of his statement. And then in the very next sentence he tells about his activity before the committees of the House of Representatives and the United States Senate in his efforts to get the Sherman Anti-Trust Law amended. And by his own statement his activity in that particular case is dated back just twenty-two years. How can he reconcile his impatience to get immediate action now with the dilatory results that have been obtained in trying to amend that Sherman Anti-Trust Law?

President Gompers—It is a most interesting and illuminating question, when I endeavored to make clear to this convention the fact that so many of our own fellow trade unionists were lax in their understanding or their knowledge or their activity in trying to secure the remedy we were seeking. It is only within the past few years our fellow working men began to understand it, and I am sure that, entirely disregarding what I may have said on the subject, I think there are quite a number of delegates attending this convention who got some little new light on the question at issue.

Impatient? Yes, I am always impatient. I always want the very best results in the least possible time, and when I get it I am still impatient for more, and more, and more in the interest of labor.

Delegate Walker (J. H.)—I would like to have the statement I make go in the record just at the close of President Gompers' statement so those reading it can understand their relation to each other. While my name was not mentioned it is plain I was the person meant when President Gompers stated that I resigned rather than be expelled from the party. I would like to have the floor now so that both statements can go into the records together.

Chairman O'Connell—If there are no objections, you will have the floor to make that statement.

Delegate Walker—Being a member of that party, to leave the statement as made by President Gompers would leave the party and myself in a false light without the explanation. The reason the sentiment expressed by a number of the members of that party was responsible for my resigning rather than precipitating trouble at that time within the party was just as much because of the extremists in our own labor movement here as it was because of the extremists in that party. Had this movement prior to that time, and I introduced a resolution myself in the Norfolk convention, and the convention has not acted upon it up to the present time—had our movement shown a tolerant spirit and a willingness to meet anything like half way with the members of that party who were members of this movement it would not have been necessary for me to resign; and I am satisfied the chances are Mitchell would have been Governor of our state at that time and I would be a member of that party yet. As a result of the extreme opposition, not for any reasons expressed as to the actual merits of the position of that party, or in opposition to it, but simply because a member of our organization happened to be a member of that party, because of the attacks made upon him, and then a feeling was created in that party of resentment and they acted in the same way. As a result of that feeling it was impossible for a man to assume a middle ground at all; we had to take the attacks, not only of the extremists in the party, but the more bitter and sustained



attacks of the extremists in our own movement. That was responsible for that condition being created. I feel convinced if the Norfolk convention treated the matter with reason, had they gone about it in such a way as to show they were willing to meet on the common middle ground we would have forty or fifty members in Congress and the Danbury Hatters case would be absolutely impossible of rising at this time.

Chairman O'Connell—The chair rules that Delegate Walker is imposing upon his generosity.

Delegate Scharrenberg—There are a number of men who desire to speak and I am one of them. Delegate Walker has spoken twice and I suggest that he allow some one else an opportunity to speak.

Delegate Wheeler—Mr. Chairman, I yield to no man in this convention or anywhere else in devotion to the cause of organized labor. For twenty-five years and more I have carried the card of the Carpenters and Joiners, and, God helping me, I will carry a union card with me to my grave if permitted to do so. I say to you this: That within my memory—and I am still a young man—or within the distinct memory of the older men of this convention, organized labor in this and in the other countries has made more progress and brought better conditions to the working class than they have achieved in any 500 years before the advent of the modern trade union movement. I stand on that as a Socialist; and I am not going to say a word against this movement for which I once walked the streets for thirteen months hungry and in want. And as president of the carpenters' union, the largest in this country at this time, for three years and a half employed by a great corporation, and my work was secure, but when I went out and took political action, and when as a member of the Charter Commission a few months ago I inserted sections in the city charter of Los Angeles, I was politely told next morning by my employers my services were not required. As a trade unionist, pure and simple, they did not fear me much, but as a trades unionist taking action they trembled.

You heard the president speak of the mass meetings to secure the repeal or amendment of the Sherman Anti-Trust law, and asked if it was in our platform. Yes, it is, and it has been there for twenty

or thirty years. We stand ready when we assume the reins of government to repeal every law under which the labor movement is attacked.

I do not like to have my record and my standing as a member of the trades union movement attacked. If I go farther than they do I try to show to them a better way than striking against conditions and then go and vote for the conditions against which we are striking. We do not believe that is the proper thing. I have been engaged for twenty years in the fight in the storm center of unionism in America, Los Angeles. Possibly some of you have heard something about it. I have carried in my pocket, beside the card showing my dues paid, a card showing \$16.50 assessment—paid to my own craft? No, to the iron workers, the machinists and other organizations that were on strike. When the great parade marched down the streets of Los Angeles, twenty thousand men and women, carrying at the head of their procession the stars and stripes and the red flag, and when they went to the great auditorium, with 22,000 people present, they vowed a vow that from that time on, those workers and toilers who had been beaten and buffeted about by the system of capitalism, that from that day on they would go the straight and narrow way that leadeth to industrial salvation. They struck at the ballot box, and when the anti-picket law was enforced and the injunction was used against us and 400 of our men were behind prison bars for fighting for unionism and they began to fine them and they could no longer go there, what happened? And I want to answer that brother over there—I will tell him what happened to the trade union movement of that city. I went to the headquarters. They said they could no longer picket. I said, "I will get a way for you to picket." I got papers signed and sealed and went to the foundries and the machine shops and there we did our picketing. The chief of police with three hurry-up wagons and 35 men came down there where a man was on a soap box. They said: "You are violating the law." We said: "No, it is a political meeting, a meeting of the Socialist party, a regularly ordained party." And again brothers, I want to say for three long months we did the picketing for the unions when the unions themselves would not do it.

They got out an injunction, they passed the anti-picket law. There is a man

sitting in this room, not a delegate, whose house was invaded in his absence. His wife, a frail little woman, and a little girl of three years old were there. The police went there before the break of day and demanded admittance. They took her to the police station and sweated her for three long hours. It was these things that were heaped upon organized labor of Los Angeles until they could stand it no longer. An organizer of the American Federation of Labor came and advised us, saying that legal methods were without avail and the courts were against us and the militia and the police against us and the movement, that we take political action. This organizer of the American Federation of Labor said, "You fellows have got to take political action. It is the only thing left for you," and we took political action. And what was the result? When I was put up as a candidate for Mayor I came within a few hundreds of being elected. In San Francisco a union carpenter was elected Mayor. Then we went down the line and put up a labor ticket, and in spite of all the things that were brought against us we found when the votes were counted that 55,000 men and women in that city voted the straight ticket. And what happened? To-day when the government of the city of Los Angeles has in view some undertaking of importance they come to us and ask us how we stand upon these propositions.

I did not intend to make a political speech, but I say to the brother over there that our movement in California has gone on record that wherever and whenever the trades union movement or the laboring class are engaged in any conflict or contest, a strike, a boycott or a lockout, the Socialist movement says to its members, "It is your place to back up organized labor in all its fights, there is where we have been, there is where we are, and there is where we are going to be, and you cannot drive us out either.

Vice President Gompers in the chair.

Vice President Duncan—As there is no formal motion before the house, and as this discussion has taken such a wide course, I move that the general discussion now cease and the subject matter be referred to the committee for considera-

tion and further report to this convention. (Seconded.)

Delegate Barnes (J. M.)—I desire to offer as a substitute or an amendment the following:

WHEREAS, The United Hatters of America have been in litigation for a period of more than nine years; and

WHEREAS, The Supreme Court of the United States ruled that the Hatters in the Danbury case were liable under the provisions of the Sherman anti-trust law; and

WHEREAS, In two trials awards were granted to the prosecution for sums neighboring a quarter of million dollars; and

WHEREAS, A number of the members of the Hatters Union for years and now have their savings accounts and homes attacked; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation recognizes this to be an assault on the whole labor movement; therefore, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation assume all obligations or penalties involved in this litigation; therefore, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council provide and promulgate such plan as it may deem wise to meet the (Seconded and carried.)

Delegate Barnes (J. M.) offered a preamble and set of resolutions as a substitute or an amendment to the resolution offered by Vice-President Duncan.

President Gompers ruled that a motion to refer was not subject to a substitute; that the matter offered by Delegate Barnes was not germane to the question proposed by Vice-President Duncan; that the time for the introduction of resolutions had passed except by unanimous consent.

Delegate Barnes asked if when the committee presented its report an amendment could be offered. The chairman answered in the affirmative.

The motion offered by Vice-President Duncan was carried.

Vice-President Hayes asked that Resolution No. 10, originally referred to the Committee on Boycotts, be referred to the Committee on Labels. (Seconded and carried.)

At 5.30 the convention was adjourned, to reconvene at 9.30 a. m., Wednesday, November 20th, 1912.

## Seventh Day—Wednesday Morning Session

The convention was called to order at 9.30 a. m., Wednesday, November 20th, President Gompers in the chair.

**Absentees**—Noschang, Fischer, Klappetzky, Kline, Thomas, Conway (H. J.), Tracy (T. F.), Strom, Yount, Conway (Jas.), Larger, D'Andrea, Farrell, Miller, Bailey, Bryan (W.), Healey (D.), Lamb (B. F.), Lowe, Allen, Price, Daly (T. M.), Leary, Weber (Jos.), Miller (O.), Carey (D. A.), Hannah, Sheret, Tracey (W. J.), Leonard, Murphy, Whitehead, Gallagher (T. J.), Huddleston, Jette, Golden, Carolan, Corley, Vanderveld, Swick, Thorp, Tracy (M.), Privett, Burns, Elyea, Docherty, Evans, Bryan (F. O.), James, Stokes, Wood, Bates, Spencer, O'Rourke, Lampa, McAndrews, Lebowitz, Johnson (J. E.), Beckman.

Delegate Furuseth announced that a meeting of the Committee on President's Report would have to be held before any further report could be made by that committee to the convention.

Vice President Valentine stated that copies of the report of the General Committee on Industrial Education were in the hall and requested the delegates to supply themselves with copies.

Secretary Morrison read a communication from Mr. Brand Whitlock, Mayor of Toledo, inviting the American Federation of Labor to hold its 1913 convention in that city.

A letter was read from John A. O'Dwyer, Secretary of the Convention Bureau of the Toledo Commercial Club, inviting the American Federation of Labor to hold its next convention in that city.

Secretary Morrison read Resolution No. 116, introduced by the United Mine Workers' delegates, which had been reported on unfavorably by the Committee on Education during a previous session. He also read the report of the committee in which was reaffirmed the autonomy declaration of the Scranton convention, including the declaration of the Scranton convention, and also read the minority report of the committee.

President Gompers stated that the mi-

nority report of the committee had been offered as a substitute for the majority report, and that discussion would be on that subject.

Delegate Scharrenberg spoke in favor of the adoption of the majority report and opposed the minority report offered by Delegate Walker.

Delegate Berry (G. L.)—In the second day's proceedings, on the fifth page is Resolution No. 13, introduced by the Printing Pressmen's Union, having to do with the federation of crafts in industries. I would like to know just why that resolution was not included in this matter and referred to the Committee on Education. It was referred to the Adjustment Committee. I want to find out if I can substitute this proposition or rather amend the committee's report with this proposition.

Delegate Berry read Resolution No. 13, and after a short discussion moved to amend the committee's report, not touching upon the minority report, by adding Resolution No. 13.

President Gompers—While Delegate Berry is in order, yet that resolution has been referred to the Committee on Adjustment and no doubt has received the consideration of that committee. They will make a report upon it to this convention. The adoption of that resolution at some other time during the convention would have equal application to its being introduced now.

Delegate Berry stated he would be satisfied to discuss the question when it came up under the report of the Committee on Adjustment.

Vice President Valentine discussed the question briefly, stating the majority of the committee felt that as far as they could go was the declaration of the Scranton convention.

Delegate Sullivan (J. L.) spoke in favor of the majority report and opposed the minority report.

Delegate Kugler spoke in favor of the

minority report offered by Delegate Walker.

Delegate Hayes (F. J.) spoke in favor of the minority report.

Treasurer Lennon spoke in favor of the report of the majority of the committee.

Delegate Walker (J. H.) spoke at length in favor of the minority report. Vice-President Mitchell also spoke in favor of the minority report.

Delegate Gallagher (A. J.) moved that debate close. (Seconded but not carried.)

Delegate Egan spoke in favor of the majority report and opposed the minority report. Delegate Hayes (D. A.) also spoke in favor of the majority report and opposed the minority report.

Delegate K'ruseth opposed the minority report and spoke at length upon condi-

tions on the Pacific Coast as they affected the seamen's organization.

Delegate Barnes (J. M.) spoke in favor of the minority report.

Delegate McCullough (T. W.) spoke at length in favor of the majority report and opposed the minority report.

Delegate Dyche spoke at length in favor of the majority report and opposed the minority report.

Delegate McDonald (D.) opposed the majority report and spoke in favor of the minority report.

Delegate Comerford spoke in favor of the majority report and opposed the minority report.

At 12.30 the convention was adjourned, to reconvene at 2 p. m.

## Seventh Day—Wednesday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2 p. m., Wednesday, November 20th, President Gompers in the chair.

**Absentees**—Klapetzky, Kline (J. W.), O'Shea (Dan.), Ford, Moser, Huber, Bailey, Bryan (W. E.), Healey (D), Coakley, Lowe, Allen, Price, Daly (T. M.), Hannah, Whitehead, Gallagher (T. J.), Huddleston, Suarez, Golden, Curtis, Vanderveld, Swick, Tracy (M. F.), Burns, Elyea, Doherty, Bryan (F. O.), Stokes, Bates, Spencer, Bohm, Waldron, Lebowitz, Beckman.

Delegate White (J. P.) discussed at length the question that was pending at the time of adjournment, the minority report of the committee, and discussed Resolution No. 116, which he stated was presented by the United Mine Workers' delegation acting under instructions of their last international convention.

Delegate Tobin (D. J.) opposed the minority report and spoke at length in favor of the majority report of the committee.

Vice President Duncan in the chair.

Delegate Cannon discussed the question at length, spoke strongly in favor of the minority report and opposed the majority report.

Delegate Coughlin opposed the minority report.

President Gompers spoke in favor of the

majority report of the committee and spoke at length of the progress that had been made in the American Federation of Labor in the last thirty years. He referred briefly to organizations that had preceded it and to the cause of their downfall. He read portions of the report of the Executive Council, and called attention especially to their statements on the question of industrial organization.

Delegate Carey (J. T.) spoke at length in favor of the majority report.

Vice President Perham spoke in favor of the majority report of the committee, and referred briefly to the form of organizations of the railway employes connected with the A. F. of L. and their progress and development.

Delegate O'Connor (T. V.) moved the previous question. The motion was seconded and carried.

Delegate McDonald (D.)—I desire a roll call on this.

Vice President Duncan—Is there a sufficient number calling for the roll to warrant its being called?

A sufficient number of delegates indicated their desire to have the roll called.

Secretary Morrison, before calling the roll, read the following report:

## MAJORITY REPORT.

"The committee reported as follows: That we non-concur in Resolution No. 116, and that we reaffirm the autonomy declaration of the Scranton convention, which is as follows:

"Scranton, Pa., December 14, 1901.

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

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

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

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

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

"2. We hold that the interests of the trade union movement will be promoted by closely allied and sub-divided crafts giving consideration to amalgamation, and to the organization of District and National Trade Councils to which should be referred questions in dispute, and which should be adjusted within allied crafts' lines.

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

## MINORITY REPORT.

"That where practical one organization should have jurisdiction over an industry, and where in the judgment of a majority of the men actually involved it is not practical, then the committee recommends that they organize and federate in a department and work together in such manner as to protect, as far as possible, the interests of all connecting branches."

President Gompers—The vote will be upon the minority report offered by Delegate Walker—Those in favor of the minority report will vote aye and those opposed will vote no.

Secretary Morrison proceeded with the roll call, which resulted as follows:

**Ayes**—Myrup, Koch, Goldstone, Proebstle, Kemper, Ward, Kusler, Sullivan (J.), Wheeler, Crozier, Barnes, Zuckerman, Cursi, O'Neal, Williams (John), Johnston, Van Lear, Buckley, White (John), Mitchell, Hayes (F. J.), Walker, Lewis, McDonald, Green (Wm.), Williams (J. C.), Scanlan, Young, Cannon, Skemp, Tazelaar, Rodriguez, Arnold, Berry, Halpine, Hart, Wilson (Harry), Sutor, Ryan (M. F.), Weeks, Adames, Paquin, Brown, (M. G.), Brais, Biggs, Robinson, Hayes (M. S.), Holt, Moyer, Smith (Jos.), Behrens, Donoghue, Coates, Corcoran, Brockhausen, Shrivner, White (R. H.), Gillespie (G. W.), Hays (C. A.), Diel, Weber (F. J.), Phillips, Keane (J. J.), Niven, Morris (J. F.), Simpson, English, Lawler, Weiss, representing 5,929 votes.

**Nays**—Mullaney, Noschang, Fischer, Klapetzky, Anderson, Kline, Kramer, Glover, Franklin, McGuire, Garvey (T. J.), Pring, Streile, Tobin (J. F.), Baine, Anderson (Mary), Howes, Harrington, Butterworth, O'Shea, Thoman, McClory, Huber, Duffy (Frank), Swartz, Featherston, Kelly (W. J.), Hemsell, Gengenback, Goellnitz, Shiff, Gompers, Tracy (T. F.), Fitzgerald (W. H.), Mueller, Conway, McCauley, Scooby, Doyle, Meyer, McNulty, Glynn, Yount, Ford, Feeney, Comerford, Hannahan, Moser, Dolan, Healy, Brennan, Friel, Rowa, Clarke, Green (C. F.),

Conroy, Rickert, Larger, Daley, Altman, Schwarz, Rosenberg, Dyche, Pierce, Rosenberg (Meyer), Hayes (D. A.), Heritage, Marx, Ring, Nestor, Duncan, Garvey (James), Archie, Lawlor (Martin), Shavoy, Green (M. F.), D'Alessandro, D'Andrea, Etchison, Marshall, Kenehan, Flore, Sullivan (J. L.), Farrell, Miller (George), Pattberg, McSorley, Taggart, Bailey, Coakley, O'Connor, Chlopek, Neesham, Harrison, Lamb, Wharton, Lowe, Powers, Allen, Call, Daly (T. M.), Leary, Rumsey, O'Sullivan, Crane, Hynes, Walsh, Valentine, Frey, Curran, Lanigan, Weber (J. N.), Miller (Owen), Carey (D. A.), Winkler, Hedrick, Wright, Carey (J. T.), Wilson (James), Gernon, Sheret, Woll, McGovern, Cook, McDermott, Clark (W. D.), Alpine, Tracey (Wm. J.), Leonard, Murphy, Nelson, Menge, Mallin, Dacey, Perham, Brown (W. T.), Miller (J. F.), Gallagher (T. J.), Commons, Furuseth, Hanson, Hylen, Shay, Suarez, Lemke, Freel, Sumner (C. A.), Short, Jette, McKay, Grmshaw, Heberling, Welch, Connor, Tobin (D. J.), Hughes, Neer, Gillespie (J. M.), Morris (J. J.), Golden, Starr, Williams (T. J.), Evans, Shilling, Lynch, Morrison, Stevenson, McCullough, Hanley, Cooke, All, Birnes, Gallagher (A. J.), Keane (J. A.), Holder, Corley, Sumner (Stephen), Pfeiffer, O'Brien, Shaughnessy, Donnelly, Ryan (P. J.), Walls, McGrath, Shamp, Vanderveld, Prinz, Egan, Young, Preble, Hoefgen, Creamer, Fitzgerald (T. D.), Cone, Sullivan (James H.), Sharp, McCarthy, Collins, Coughlin, Morton, Mullen, Smith (Frank), Garman, Sause Cavanagh, Landers, Sontheimer, Privett, Kane, Smith (J. T.), Butler, Fahey, Welch (M. R.), Holland, Hunter, Evans, Norman, Draper, Bryan, McGrath, Brower, Bonner, Hirschberg, Koveleski, James, Latham, Scharrenberg, Henley, Wood, Bates, Spencer, Snellings, Youhan, Wilberger, Vell, Duffy (Kathryn), Lampa, McAndrews, Cunningham, Woodhouse, Sinclair, Mulhern, Johnson, Beckman, Gold, representing 10,934 votes.

**Not voting**—Labraico, Bryan (W. E.), Healey (Dennis), Price (Walter V.), Hannah, Whitehead, Mahon, Taber, Huddleston, Carolan, Curtis, Swick, Lennon, McGinley, Tracy (M. F.), Burns, Elyea, Campbell, Chance, Doherty, Hannon, Stokes, Fello, Purcell, O'Rourke, Morris (E. C.), Bohm, Waldron, Lebowitz, Dunne, Seddon, Smillie, Bruce, representing 444 votes.

President Gompers—The minority report is lost and the majority report is before the convention.

The motion to adopt the majority report of the committee was carried by viva voce vote.

President Gompers stated that arrangements had been made for the use of the hall by another organization during the evening, and that a request had been made for an adjournment at 5 o'clock.

Delegate Woll requested unanimous consent to the introduction of a resolution.

No objection being offered the following resolution was submitted by Delegate Woll:

Resolution No. 131—By Delegates Matthew Woll, International Union of Photo Engravers; James J. Freel, International Union of Stereotypers and Electrotypers; James M. Lynch, International Typographical Union; George L. Berry, International Printing Pressmen; Edward C. Strelle, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders:

WHEREAS, We learn with deepest regret of the illness of a life long trade unionist and fellow worker, Robert Glocking, president of the Bookbinders International Union, and who has devoted his whole life to the interest of the trade union movement and his fellow workers, as well as in the interest of all humanity; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates to the 32nd Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, convey to him and his family our heartfelt sympathy, and express our wishes for his early recovery; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of these resolutions be spread upon the minutes of this convention, and also a copy be transmitted to him.

The resolution was adopted by unanimous vote.

At 5 o'clock the convention was adjourned to reconvene at 9.30 a. m., Thursday, November 21st., 1912.

## Eighth Day—Thursday Morning Session

The convention was called to order at 9.30 a. m., Thursday, November 21st, 1912, President Gompers in the chair.

**Absentees**—Noschang, Klapetzky, Kline (J. W.), Conway (H. J.), Conway (Jas. B.), Larger, Bryan (W. E.), Healey (Dennis), Lowe, Allen (C. C.), Price, Crane, Hannah, Murphy (P.), Whitehead, Huddleston, Welch (M. R.), Carolan, Vanderveld, Swick, Burns (E. S.), Elyea, O'Rourke, Stokes, Bates, Spencer, Lebowitz, Johnson (J. E.), Beckman, Gold.

### Supplemental Report of Committee on Credentials.

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

November 20, 1912.

To the officers and delegates of the Thirty-Second Annual Convention of the A. F. of L.:

Your Committee on Credentials desires to report that request has been received from the delegates of the American Brotherhood of Cement Workers to seat F. C. Gengenbach, one of the regular delegates of the organization, who has just arrived, in place of G. E. Strom, who was temporarily seated in his absence. We recommend that this request be complied with and that F. G. Gengenbach be seated in place of G. E. Strom. Also John J. Keegan, representing the Evansville, Ind., Trades Assembly, one vote.

Respectfully submitted,

E. J. MARX,  
W. A. NEER,  
DUNCAN McDONALD,

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted and the delegates seated.

Treasurer Lennon in the chair.

### Report of Committee on President's Report.

Delegate Furuseth, Chairman of the Committee, reported as follows:

To the Officers and Members of the Thirty-Second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

We, your Committee on President's Report to which has been referred sundry matters in that report, and in the report of the Executive Council, and several resolutions, beg to report upon the various subjects under their respective sub-head titles. Where the two reports deal with the same closely related matters, we

have deemed it best to deal with them jointly.

On that portion of the President's report under the caption "Carl Legien's Visit," and that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the caption "International Secretariat," the committee reported as follows:

We endorse what the President says with reference to the importance of interchange of delegates and endorse the recommendations made by him relative to the possible meeting next year of the International Secretariat; and if it be held in 1913, we endorse the recommendation that the Executive Council be authorized to select a representative to attend that meeting and to extend an invitation to the International Secretariat to hold its meeting in 1915 in the city of San Francisco, California.

We call attention to the way in which the copies of the report of the International Secretariat may be obtained and endorse the suggestion that they be procured and studied by the officers and members of labor organizations of this country.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted, the vote being unanimous.

Under that portion of the President's report under the caption "Arbitration, Mediation and Conciliation," the committee reported as follows:

### Arbitration, Mediation and Conciliation.

We commend the action taken by President Gompers in using his influence to prevent the extension of the Erdman Act at a time when its extension might have meant disaster to large numbers of workers who were seeking to negotiate adjustments of their wage scales by direct conferences with their employers.

We endorse the position taken by him upon this subject. We particularly desire to call attention to his language when he says: "We want peace in industry, but we want peace with honor, progress, and freedom." We are opposed to the introduction into our laws of any form of compulsory arbitration whether the power to enforce the award of the arbitrators is specifically provided in the law, or through the means of an organized and directed public opinion. We welcome arbitration as a means of industrial peace when the parties to the proposed arbitration are given the opportunity of establishing a proper basis upon which the arbitration shall proceed before it is entered into. No other method can protect the rights and liberties of the parties at interest.

Compulsory arbitration, in order to be effective, must be binding upon both parties to the controversy. That condition would mean that if an award was

made unfair to an employer, he would be compelled to operate his plant even though at a loss, which would mean confiscation or the taking of property without proper compensation therefor. It would also mean that the workmen would be compelled to work under the terms of the award whether they were satisfactory to them or not which would mean slavery. It would be unjust to the workmen because of the fact that in every arbitration entered into there is a clean cut dividing line between profit and loss readily and easily established by records which will protect the employer against any award injurious to him, while no such distinct dividing line protects the workmen.

The standard of living is a flexible proposition which may be easily raised or lowered and the workman still live. Having no distinct protecting line in his standard of living, he would be more liable to have an unjust award imposed upon him than would the employer.

No one can conceive of any compulsory arbitration being so constructed that it would compel the employer to operate at a loss, thereby taking from him his previous accumulations. But it is conceivable that a workman would be required to work upon a lower standard of living than he had previously worked under, or which he would be willing to accept.

It may, from time to time, occur that large numbers of the people not directly interested in an industrial conflict may be embarrassed because of such a struggle taking place, but it is better that they should suffer the embarrassment incident to such a conflict than that the workers as a whole should have their right to end a civil contract to labor and their right to work, or not to work, as their judgment may dictate, impaired by legislation of this character.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted, the vote being unanimous.

On that portion of the President's Report under the caption "American Federation of Labor Political Campaign—Its Results," and on that portion of the Executive Council's Report under the caption "Labor's Political Campaign, 1912," the committee reported as follows:

These portions of the reports constitute a review of the political program and progress under the direction of the American Federation of Labor.

We commend them to the consideration of the members of all affiliated bodies and others interested in the work that the American Federation of Labor is doing in this direction. We recommend that the work be continued.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be concurred in.

Delegate Brockhausen stated that he had a protest to present against the campaign of 1912; that the protest came from the city of Racine, Wisconsin, and ob-

jected to a circular sent out mentioning the Progressive and Democratic party platforms as they dealt with labor and omitting all mention of the Socialist platform.

Delegate Hayes (M. S.) spoke at some length in opposition to the position taken by the Executive Council in its report.

Delegate Furuseth spoke in defense of the report of the committee.

Delegate Gallagher (A. J.) spoke at length on the subject, referring to the success attained in San Francisco when organized labor went into politics and elected a mayor and other members of the city administration, and advocated a national labor party.

Treasurer Lennon in the chair.

Delegate Cannon discussed the question and opposed the report of the committee and the position taken by the Executive Council and the President in their reports.

The question was discussed briefly by Delegate Bryan and Delegate D'Alessandro.

President Gompers discussed the question at length, explained the policy of the American Federation of Labor in regard to political campaigns, and defended the position taken by the Executive Council in its report.

Delegate Rodriguez spoke at length in opposition to the policy advocated by the Executive Council and by the President in his report.

Delegate Walker (J. H.) discussed the question, and in replying to the statements of President Gompers stated the position of his own organization, the United Mine Workers, in regard to the industrial form of organization, the initiative and referendum and recall.

Delegate Scharrenberg spoke in favor of the report of the committee.

Delegate Gallagher (A. J.) offered the following amendment to the report of the committee:

"I move that the committee's report be amended and that the following words be inserted: 'That the Executive Council of the Federation be instructed to consider the advisability of the formation of a strictly speaking national union labor party which shall be in strict accord with the policies and aims and legislative demands of the American Federation of Labor.'"



The amendment was seconded by Delegate McGuire (M. J.).

Delegate Furuseth opposed the amendment.

Delegate Rowe arose to a point of order and stated that the amendment was in violation of Section 8, Article III, of the constitution of the American Federation of Labor.

Chairman Lennon—The chair believes the point of order is well taken and that the amendment is not in order.

Delegate Gallagher—I appeal from the decision of the chair.

President Gompers in the chair.

The chairman stated that the delegate who appealed from the decision of the chair and the chairman from whose decision the appeal was taken would make statements.

Delegate Gallagher and Treasurer Lennon made statements of their respective positions.

The decision of the chair was sustained by a vote of 161 to 31.

Delegate Furuseth—I move the previous question on this part of the committee's report. (Seconded and carried.)

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried by a vote of 166 in the affirmative to 43 in the negative.

President Gompers stated that 11 o'clock was the hour appointed for the report of the Committee on Adjustment as a special order of business, and the report of the Committee on President's Report was deferred.

#### Report of Committee on Adjustment.

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

Resolution No. 5.—By Theatrical Tailors and Dressers Union No. 12,719:

WHEREAS, Theatrical companies are playing on the road in different cities of the United States of America and Canada in which members of local 12,719 are employed; and

WHEREAS, In all theaters in these cities in which Hebrew companies are playing men are employed on the stage as stage hands, electricians, etc. who are members of the Theatrical Stage Employees International Alliance; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor request the Theatrical Stage Employees International Alliance to demand that every Hebrew company playing in the cities of the United States and Canada have a costume dresser who is a member in good standing of the Theatrical Tailors and Dressers Union No. 12,719.

The committee recommended that the matter be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor with instructions to confer with the Theatrical Stage Employees' International Alliance for the purpose of bringing about a satisfactory understanding between the two organizations.

On motion, the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 13—By Delegate George L. Eery, of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union:

RESOLVED, By the Thirty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that the Executive Council of this Federation be instructed to arrange conferences between the representatives of the various international unions where there is more than one international membership employed in any given industry, and that every effort by the Executive Council be extended to bring about a federation of such unions to the end that joint action may be assured in all disputes between organized labor and the employing classes.

The committee reported as follows: Your committee reports that the principle contained in this resolution is covered by Section 2 of the Autonomy Declaration of the Scranton convention. We, therefore, recommend that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, with instructions to do whatever it properly can to establish co-operation among the organizations of kindred trades.

On motion, the report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 14—By Delegation of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America:

WHEREAS, In the lock-out instituted against the members of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union by William Randolph Hearst, in the City of Chicago, and joined later by all members of the Publishers' Association of that city, and

WHEREAS, It became necessary for the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union to bear the expense of financing the controversy for other organizations that joined in sympathy; and

WHEREAS, The Executive Board of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union requested financial assistance from the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and an endorsement of their position, and same having been given through the authorization of the issuance of an appeal to organized labor and its sympathizers for financial assistance; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** That this resolution of thanks submitted by the representatives of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union to organized labor and its sympathizers throughout the North American continent, be adopted.

The committee recommended that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to appoint representatives from the Council to proceed to Chicago at the earliest date possible, for the purpose of endeavoring to effect an adjustment of the controversy now existing between the printing trades unions and the newspaper publishers of that city.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be adopted.

Delegate Berry (G. L.)—What is the position of the committee on the thanks we have offered? Is the proposition accepted by the committee, or is the purpose of the committee to have the Executive Council recommend that we have a right to thank the movement for the contributions made or not?

Vice-President Mitchell, Chairman of the Committee—There is no question about the right of the Pressmen's Union to thank the organization of labor for

their contribution. We assume that that is done by the introduction of the resolution and that the endorsement of your vote of thanks is not necessary. The report of the committee is simply a practical declaration that the American Federation of Labor through its representatives shall proceed to the city of Chicago and endeavor to bring about an adjustment of the questions that are in dispute.

Delegate Berry discussed the question and gave an extended history of the events leading up to the trouble between the Chicago newspaper publishers and the members of the Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union.

Delegate Lynch (J. M.) discussed the question at some length and stated the position taken by the International Typographical Union in regard to the question.

At 12.30, the discussion on Resolution 14 and the report of the committee not being completed, the chairman stated that the discussion would be resumed upon the convening of the afternoon session.

At 12.30 the convention was adjourned to reconvene at 2 p. m.

## **Eighth Day—Thursday Afternoon Session**

The convention was called to order at 2 p. m., Thursday, November 21st, President Gompers in the chair.

**Absentees** — Noschang, Klapetzky, Kline, Baine, McClory, Hemsell, Strom, Barnes (J. M.), Conway (H. J.), Yount, Feehey, Healy, Larger, Ring, D'Andrea, Etchison, McSorley, Healey (Dennis), Lowe, Allen (C. C.), Price, O'Sullivan (M.), Frey, Cook (F.), Welch, Murphy (P.), Whitehead, Gallagher (T. J.), Huddleston, Swick, Sharp, Smith, Burns, Elyea, Doherty, Bryan, Stokes, Lapham, Niven, Bates, Spencer, Lawler, Waldron, Lubowitz.

Delegate Short, President of the Building Trades Department, made a brief statement of the efforts he had made to adjust matters between the organization in the printing trades and the newspaper publishers of Chicago. He stated that he had not ceased his efforts to bring about such an adjustment, and requested that discussion on the question be limited as

much as possible in the convention.

Delegate Freel (J. J.) discussed the question at length and favored the adoption of the report of the committee. He referred to the Chicago situation as it affected his organization through the action of one of the stereotypers' local unions in that city.

Delegate Woll discussed the question and deplored the fact that the troubles in the printing trades were brought into the convention. He stated that internal difficulties could better be adjusted in their own organizations than by bringing them before the Federation convention. He favored the report offered by the committee.

Delegate Gallagher (A. J.) discussed the question at length, and moved that the report of the Adjustment Committee be amended by inserting the following

words: "That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled endorse the efforts of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union to preserve their organization in the cities of Chicago, San Francisco and other places, and if the efforts to be made at adjustment by the Executive Council fail, then they are instructed to use the whole power of the Federation to compel a recognition by the American Newspaper Publishers' Association of the rights of said international union." (Seconded.)

Delegate Furuseth requested to know what Delegate Gallagher meant by the words "whole power."

Delegate Gallagher—I mean this: That if when the Executive Council proceeds to Chicago and finds the American Newspaper Publishers will not adjust this fairly, then they shall call on Mr. Lynch, they shall call on Mr. Freel and Mr. Woll and everybody else to tell the publishers, "Either you shall adjust this or something is going to happen in Chicago and other places."

Vice-President Mitchell—As chairman of the committee I desire to direct the attention of the convention to the language of the resolution and the report of the committee. This resolution and no word in it even suggests an endorsement of the strike of the Chicago pressmen; no suggestion is contained in it and that the strike be repudiated. This resolution recites the fact that a strike has been inaugurated in Chicago and concludes with the resolution that the thanks of the pressmen be conveyed through this convention to organized labor for financial assistance rendered to them. And we are told that financial assistance amounted to something over \$3,000 out of \$300,000 expended by the printing pressmen in conducting this strike. What help would it be to the pressmen if the committee had brought in a report asking you to thank your members when you go home for the money they contributed to the pressmen, to thank the two million organized workers of America for contributing \$3,000? The committee felt it was its duty to recommend to this convention that practical assistance be rendered the printing pressmen and direct a committee of members of the Executive Council to proceed to Chicago at the earliest possible moment to endeavor to bring about an ad-

justment of the dispute. Could the committee do any more than that in view of the language employed in the resolution? If it was sought to get an endorsement of the pressmen's strike, why did not the resolution ask for that endorsement and direct the Federation to use all its power to secure a recognition of their claims on the Chicago publishers? It does not do that; it asks you to convey to your members the thanks of the Pressmen's Union for financial assistance rendered during the strike.

Delegate Hayes (M. S.) opposed the amendment offered by Delegate Gallagher and spoke in defense of the report of the committee. He referred at length to the position taken by the International Typographical Union in regard to contracts and agreements with employers.

Delegate Tobin (D. J.) spoke in favor of the report of the committee and referred briefly to the connection of a local union now a member of the teamsters' organization with the dispute between the publishers and organizations of the printing trades in Chicago.

A motion was made and seconded that debate close.

Delegate Berry asked the privilege of replying to statements made by Delegate Lynch and other speakers.

President Gompers stated the convention would have to decide whether debate should cease or not.

The motion to close debate was lost.

Delegate Morton (J.) and Delegate Nelson discussed the question and replied briefly to statements that had been made concerning the Chicago Federation of Labor.

Delegate Rodriguez spoke in favor of the amendment and upheld the position of the stereotypers and printing pressmen in the Chicago difficulty.

Delegate McCullough (T. W.) spoke in favor of the report of the committee and opposed the amendment. He defended the action of the International Typographical Union throughout the difficulty.

Delegate Berry again discussed the question and defended the action of the Printing Pressmen in every detail.

Delegate Lynch again discussed the question, referred to matters leading up to the dispute in Chicago and the action taken by the International Typographical

Union since the dispute occurred. He defended the action taken by that organization in every particular.

President Gompers begged the indulgence of the convention while he made a brief statement, and said in part: Delegate Gallagher called attention to the fact that the Executive Council did not report any action in regard to the question in controversy. When I went to Chicago on my way to the Pacific Coast the strike was on—or the lock-out, I am not going to enter into the controversial side of that matter—I sought the representatives of all the organizations in interest and had conferences with the men engaged in the controversy, the men who were out, and later with the representatives of the Typographical Union. I then telegraphed the officers of all international unions asking them to meet me for the purpose of discussing this matter. The presidents of the organizations were considerable distances from Chicago, but I received responses from all of them, and though they were not personally in attendance each one had a representative.

The conference was held and, together with the President of the Cigar Makers' International Union, Mr. Perkins, and with the President of the Chicago Federation of Labor, Mr. Fitzpatrick, I sought to obtain an interview with the Newspaper Publishers Association of Chicago. The conference lasted more than two hours. I ought to add that it was the unanimous desire that I should seek the conference. The conference was held and my associates and myself, who believed that it would not last more than a few minutes, were very greatly astonished, and they paid me some compliment on the manner in which the discussion on my part was conducted, but it resulted simply in that discussion. The newspaper publishers declared that though they were glad to meet me and my associates they did not believe they could meet, at that time at any rate, with the representatives of the men and boys who had been and were then engaged in that conflict.

Upon my return east, and discussing the matter with the Executive Council by correspondence, the application of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union for an endorsement of an appeal for financial aid was granted. You will recall in the report of the Executive

Council and in the report which I had the honor to submit as President, probably in the preface, it is stated that only a few of the many important matters with which the Council and myself had had to deal could be reported to the convention. If the Executive Council or your President would undertake to report all the controversies, great and small, important and comparatively unimportant, with which we are compelled to deal and do deal throughout the year, you would have reports that would cover thousands of pages. The history of the American Federation of Labor and the work during the year it is impossible to report comprehensively. And so far as the Executive Council had to do it was simply a question of endorsing the appeal to be made by the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union for financial aid, and such an endorsement had been given, not only to one international union, but to dozens of them. That is the reason why, or among the reasons why, there is no report made upon that very interesting incident in the struggles of the past year. There is no wrong or intention of wrong nor evasion, simply that, insofar as the Executive Council is concerned, it had nothing to report of a constructive character to this convention.

Secretary Morrison read the report of the committee and the amendment offered by Delegate Gallagher.

A viva voce vote was taken and the chairman stated that it seemed to be lost. A division was asked for, and a count of the vote showed that 61 were cast in the affirmative and 144 in the negative. The amendment was declared lost.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried by unanimous vote.

President Gompers stated that he wished to present to the convention Vice-President O'Connell, who desired to make a statement to the delegates.

Vice-President O'Connell stated that he had a very pleasing duty to perform on behalf of the delegates. He spoke briefly of the custom of exchanging delegates between the American labor movement and the British Trades Union Congress, and referred to the pleasure it gave the delegates to entertain during the convention members of the British trade union movement.

At the close of his address, Vice-President O'Connell presented to Fraternal Delegate Robert Smillie a handsome gold watch, and to Fraternal Delegate J. A. Seddon a diamond scarf pin. A diamond scarf pin was also presented to Fraternal Delegate John W. Bruce, of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

Each of the three fraternal delegates made a speech in which he expressed his appreciation of the courtesies extended during his stay and of the kindness of the delegates in presenting the gift.

President Gompers made a brief address in which he stated that the emblem of the American Federation of Labor given to each delegate was a gift of the Federation, but the other gifts presented by Vice-President O'Connell were given by the delegates as their personal expression of admiration and confidence and respect and good will toward the fraternal delegates.

At 5.45 p. m. the convention was adjourned to reconvene at 9.30 a. m., Friday, November 22d.

## Ninth Day—Friday Morning Session

The Convention was called to order at 9:30 a. m., Friday, November 22nd, President Gompers in the chair.

**Absentees**—Kline, Kramer, Anderson (Mary), Strom, Tracy (T. F.), Conway, Yount, Feeney, D'Andrea, Bryan, Healey, Lowe, Allen, Lewis, Miller (O.), Hannab, Murphy (P.), Whitehead, Gallagher (T. J.), Huddleston, Welch (M. R.), Preble, Schrivner, Coughlin, Smith (Frank), Sause, Burns (Ed. S.), Elyea, Doherty (P. J.), Hunter (J. P.), Stokes, Spencer, Lawler, Lampa, Waldron, Lebowitz, Johnson (J. E.)

Secretary Morrison read an invitation to the American Federation of Labor, from Frank L. Mulholland, President, and John D. Biggers, Secretary, Toledo Commercial Club, to hold its next convention in that city.

An invitation from the Secretary of the Labor Temple, Seattle, was also read, in which the American Federation of Labor was invited to hold its next convention in Seattle.

### Report of Committee on Adjustment.

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

**Resolution No. 17**—By Delegates Kline, Kramer and Glover, of the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths:

WHEREAS, The St. Louis Convention of the American Federation of Labor acting upon the report of the Committee on Adjustment in reference to Resolution 22-81, and which subject matter was referred to the Executive Council and the said Executive Council directed President Gompers and Secretary Morrison to act for them in the matter; and

WHEREAS, The deputized officers of the Executive Council succeeded in bringing the international officers of the several organizations mentioned in the resolutions together; and

WHEREAS, The result of this meeting was that an agreement between all parties concerned was signed on the 19th day of April, 1911, for the purpose of organizing the carriage, wagon and automobile industry, according to the several clauses specified in said agreement; and

WHEREAS, The agreement entered into has been willfully and grossly violated by the Carriage and Wagon Workers International Union, which is guilty of disrupting unions formerly existing under a charter issued by the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and Helpers; and

WHEREAS, The Carriage and Wagon Workers International Union has repeatedly issued shop cards to firms whose plants were not unionized or connected with the Carriage and Wagon Workers Union except probably by one branch of the wagon and automobile industry, namely the woodworker or painter, thus permitting the blacksmith and blacksmith helper to remain at work and outside of any legitimate labor union; and

WHEREAS, The Carriage and Wagon Workers International Union have taken persons into their ranks for less than one-third the amount specified in Rule 4 of the agreement; and

WHEREAS, The Carriage and Wagon Workers International Union are not using their best efforts in trying to organize the carriage, wagon and automobile industry, but try to get members already in our organization; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That we, the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and Helpers protest against the methods adopted by the Carriage and Wagon Workers, which is in direct violation of the agreement entered into; and, be it further

**RESOLVED**, That we, the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and Helpers, cease to recognize the further existence of said agreement entered into with the Carriage and Wagon Workers International Union, April 19, 1911, and purpose to organize the carriage, wagon and automobile industry regardless, but will deal justly with organizations that recognize the value of an agreement and respect jurisdictional lines.

The committee reported as follows:

The foregoing resolution involves the integrity of an agreement entered into and signed by the representatives of three international unions; namely, the Carriage and Wagon Workers' International Union, the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and Helpers, and the Upholsterers' International Union of North America. Your Committee recommend that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to arrange a conference between representatives of the three organizations, parties to the agreement, for the purpose of securing unity of action, and failing to secure such unity of action through a working agreement, the Executive Council be directed to define the jurisdiction of each of the three organizations involved in this dispute.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be adopted.

Delegate Glover—Does this mean if the recommendation is adopted it will go back again to the Executive Council?

Vice-President Mitchell, Chairman of the Committee—It goes back to the Executive Council to try to arrange a conference among the organizations in interest, and if they fail to secure an agreement between the organizations in interest the Executive Council shall then settle the question in controversy so far as it can settle it.

Delegate Glover discussed the question at length, and asked that the matter be settled in the convention, not referred again to the Executive Council.

Chairman Mitchell stated that the resolution presented by Delegate Glover, if adopted, would make no change in the existing situation, that the resolution did not ask the convention to endorse the claims made by the blacksmiths.

Delegate Crozier spoke in favor of the report of the committee.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

**Resolution No. 22—By John Hanley, Upholsterers' International Union of North America:**

**WHEREAS, The Carpet Mechanics' Union of San Francisco, Cal., is affiliated with the Building Trades Council of San Francisco, Cal.; and**

**WHEREAS, The Carpet Mechanics' Union referred to is a dual union and not affiliated with the Upholsterers' International Union of North America, whose jurisdiction covers the carpet layers, cutters, measurers and estimators; and**

**WHEREAS, Resolutions have been introduced at several conventions of the A. F. of L. by the representative of the Upholsterers' International Union of North America requesting that the Carpet Mechanics of San Francisco affiliate with the Upholsterers' International Union of North America or to be denied affiliation with central bodies affiliated with the A. F. of L.; and**

**WHEREAS, No action has been taken by the Building Trades Council of San Francisco indicating the compliance with the action requested by the Convention of the A. F. of L. in the case of the union referred to; therefore, be it**

**RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to appoint a representative who shall, in conjunction with the representative of the Upholsterers' International Union, confer with the Carpet Mechanics of San Francisco, Cal., for the purpose of inducing them to affiliate with the Upholsterers' International Union; and, be it further**

**RESOLVED, Should the Carpet Mechanics of San Francisco fail to apply for a charter to the Upholsterers' International Union before February 1, 1913, the officers of the American Federation of Labor shall instruct one of their organizers to organize a union of carpet mechanics of San Francisco, under the jurisdiction of the Upholsterers' International Union of North America.**

The committee recommended that "February 1" be stricken out and "April 1" be inserted, and that with the amendment the resolution be concurred in.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be adopted.

Delegate Hanley stated that a similar resolution had been offered at previous conventions, but action could not be obtained from the State Building Trades Council of California, which controlled the building trades in the city of San Francisco. He stated that he would like to have the date remain unchanged.

Delegate Scharrenberg spoke in favor of the recommendation of the committee.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

**Resolution No. 23—By Delegates W. D. Huber, Frank Duffy, Fred C. Wheeler, A. M. Swartz, D. F. Featherston, William J. Kelly, W. E. Hensell, of the U. B. of C. and J. of A.:**

**WHEREAS, The United Trades and Labor Council of Buffalo, N. Y., has illegally and in violation of the laws of the A. F. of L. seated in said central body a dual union of millwrights unaffiliated with the U. B. of C. and J. of A.; also two local branches of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters, a dual organization of electrical workers, and representatives of the Amalgamated Wood Workers; and**

**WHEREAS, The matter relative to this rump organization of millwrights has occupied the attention of several conventions of A. F. of L., and representatives have been deputized to investigate charges made by U. B. and said central body has always denied to said representatives that this rump organization was represented in the central body, further that these investigations were positively one sided, the complainants never being considered in the investigations; and since the reaffiliation of the U. B. in Central and B. T. Dept., we find delegates from these dual organizations seated in both bodies, and upon objections of U. B. delegates to the seating of dual and unaffiliated organizations, the representatives of said central body openly defied the A. F. of L. to discipline them; therefore, be it**

**RESOLVED, That this 32d Annual Convention of the A. F. of L. do at once order the United Trades and Labor Council of Buffalo, N. Y., to unseat the dual,**

and all local unions whose national or internationals are not affiliated with the A. F. of L.; and, be it further

**RESOLVED**, That failure upon the part of the U. T. and L. C. of Buffalo, N. Y., to comply with the action of this 32d Annual Convention, within thirty days from adjournment, that the charter of the United Trades and Labor Council shall stand revoked, without further action, and immediate action taken to reorganize a central body of bona fide trades affiliated with the A. F. of L.

The committee reported as follows:

Your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor with instructions to institute an immediate investigation, and if it is ascertained that dual or seceding unions are affiliated with the United Trades and Labor Council of Buffalo, said organization be instructed to comply with the constitution of the American Federation of Labor, and should it fail to do so the Executive Council is instructed to enforce the provisions of Section 1, Article XI.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 25—By Delegates A. W. Wharton, William H. Johnston, Thomas Van Lear, P. W. Buckley, B. H. Lamb of the I. A. of M.; William P. Hannon of the Sacramento, Cal., Federated Trades and Labor Assembly; Edward V. Wood of the Syracuse (N. Y.) Central Trades and Labor Assembly; J. W. Holder of the Florida State Federation of Labor; R. L. Corley of the Georgia State Federation of Labor; J. J. Keane of the Trades and Labor Assembly, Savannah, Ga.:**

**WHEREAS**, It has been very forcibly brought to the attention of a number of delegates attending the 32d Annual Convention of the A. F. of L. that Section 11 of Article IX has not been complied with by the President and Executive Council inasmuch as they granted a charter to the American Flint Glass Workers Union on October 21, 1912, notwithstanding that the issuance of this charter was protested by the International Association of Machinists, said protest being based upon the fundamental law of the A. F. of L., which guarantees protection to affiliated organizations in the maintenance of jurisdiction as per their charter rights; and

**WHEREAS**, The charter granted to the American Flint Glass Workers Union concedes this organization jurisdiction over all mould makers; and

**WHEREAS**, Mould making is a class of work, the entire product of which is of metal construction, requiring the use of machinery and tools and a well-equipped machine shop; and

**WHEREAS**, The American Flint Glass Workers Union is composed of men engaged in the making of glassware, which

is a separate and distinct operation in connection with the completion of the article manufactured, the comparison being as between a pattern maker and a moulder; and,

**WHEREAS**, The granting of a charter to any organization claiming jurisdiction over work which would be a trespass on the jurisdiction of existing affiliated unions is in direct violation of law; and

**WHEREAS**, Such action not only fails to bring about the solution of the question at issue, but establishes a more serious state of affairs; and

**WHEREAS**, This organization that has now been granted a charter withdrew from the A. F. of L. some ten years since because of differences arising and their unwillingness to abide by the laws of the A. F. of L. and no assurance that they would not do so again; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, By this convention that the President and Executive Council are hereby instructed to revoke immediately the charter illegally granted by them to the American Flint Glass Workers Union on October 21, 1912, and thus protect the affiliated unions in their charter rights and maintain the integrity of our laws.

The committee reported as follows:

Your committee reports that a request was conveyed to the Committee by a representative of the International Association of Machinists asking for the withdrawal of this resolution, stating that the following agreement had been entered into between the parties at interest:

"That representatives of the International Association of Machinists, the Glass Bottle Blowers of the United States and Canada, and the American Flint Glass Workers' Union meet at the American Federation of Labor headquarters within 90 days for the express purpose of reaching an amicable adjustment of the jurisdiction over the workmen making molds for molding glass ware, as now claimed by the American Flint Glass Workers' Union.

"T. W. ROWE.

"WM. H. JOHNSTON."

Your committee reports that a request request for the withdrawal of the resolution be granted and the agreement endorsed.

A motion was made and seconded that the recommendation of the committee be concurred in.

Delegate Johnston—In agreeing to withdraw the resolution we are actuated with a desire to save the time of this convention and to avoid creating any bitterness or injecting any bitterness into the question considered. We hope by getting the representatives of the organization interested together we may be able to adjust our differences without involving this convention.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.



Resolution No. 29—By Delegate Thomas J. Curtis of Tunnel and Subway Constructors International Union of North America:

WHEREAS, It is an indisputable fact, that the work performed by the members of the International Union of Compressed Air Workers is identical in every particular with that of the International Union of Tunnel and Subway Constructors, including similarity of tools; and

WHEREAS, We, the International Union of Tunnel and Subway Constructors, believe that the best interests of the workers in both of these vocations can be best conserved by the joining and amalgamating of the two organizations into one compact and solid organization; and

WHEREAS, The International Union of Compressed Air Workers have expressed a desire to so join and amalgamate with the International Union of Tunnel and Subway Constructors; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 32d Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled at Rochester, N. Y., November, 1912, direct the Executive Council to adopt at once such measures and plans as will bring about this desired result in the interest of the members of both organizations, thereby concentrating the power and effort in that industry and calling.

The committee reported as follows:

Your committee was advised that these organizations had agreed to amalgamate, and therefore it recommends that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor arrange a conference between representatives of the two organizations for the purpose of consummating the amalgamation of the International Union of Compressed Air Workers, and the International Union of Tunnel and Subway Constructors.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

Delegate Golden, Secretary of the Committee: Resolutions Nos. 45, 46, 47 and 89, all bearing on the one controversy in the matter of the White Rats Actors International Union, have been considered together.

Resolution No. 45—By Delegate James P. Holland of the Central Federated Union of Greater New York and Vicinity:

WHEREAS, The Central Federated Union during the past ten years have interested themselves in matters pertaining to the welfare of the organized actors of this country, and during that time have had many committees act upon legislation affecting the actors as a class, and during that time have been actively interested through especial committees appointed for the purpose of bringing about harmony and concerted action between

the two theatrical organizations, the Actors International Union, who were affiliated with the American labor movement and the outside association, known as the White Rats of America; and

WHEREAS, During that time the American Federation of Labor, through the Executive Council, have asked the Central Federated Union to assist in bringing about an understanding between the two mentioned organizations, and therefore, consider that they are vitally interested in the welfare and success of the eventually amalgamated association, known as the White Rats Actors' Union, to which President Gompers requested a committee of the Central Federated Union to appear at the first conference held for the purpose of bringing about harmony between the two contending organizations, therefore the Central Federated Union, from a close knowledge of the internal affairs affecting that new amalgamated organization, believe that action must be taken at this convention to preserve the identity of that organization within the labor movement for the following reasons:

First. There is a considerable defection of members who are dropping out of the organization on account of general dissatisfaction with the present aim and purposes of that order, and an absolute feeling of general discontent.

Second. That every principle and condition of the so-called agreement of amalgamation has been violated, not alone in spirit but in each and every vital section.

Third. That from an investigation, we believe that the organization as constituted at present is not a union in any sense of the word; that it assumes powers through its governing board to legislate without consideration to the general welfare of its members; furthermore, assuming, through its board of directors to wholly control its funds and investments without any consultation at any time with its general membership; and furthermore controlling a vital and important part of its membership the female branch, who have no say in any way, or no representation at any time, or no information at any time, of the conduct of their affairs, financial and otherwise; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor shall, in obedience to the decision of the Executive Council, at its meeting held in Atlantic City, which says, "Cognizance of any violation of the terms of the amalgamation agreement, which will show a division in the ranks of the White Rats Actors Union will be given by the American Federation of Labor;" therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the complaint and charges, as herein contained, shall be properly investigated by this convention, and a proper and equitable decision rendered that will tend to protect the actors and actresses of this country, who really desire a protective organization conducted on trades union lines, and given that protection guaranteed by the law, constitu-

tion and usages of the trades union movement, as recognized by the American Federation of Labor.

**Resolution No. 46—By Delegate James P. Holland of the Central Federated Union of N. Y.:**

**WHEREAS,** The Hebrew Variety Actors Union, an organization of actors affiliated with the American Federation of Labor for over ten years, through its chartered membership as a subsidiary local of the Actors International Union and for the past two years a component part of the White Rats Actors Union, an amalgamated association of the Actors International Union and the former White Rats of America, an independent actors organization until such amalgamation was effected during November, 1910; and

**WHEREAS,** During the affiliation of the Hebrew Variety Actors Union with the American Federation of Labor it has continuously held its membership and representation in the Central Federated Union of New York City, an American Federation of Labor central labor union and has at all times obeyed any and all mandates of the organized labor movement as submitted to them through their direct affiliation; and

**WHEREAS,** The Hebrew Variety Actors Union did sanction and agree to the amalgamation of the Actors International Union and the White Rats of America upon their positive promise that their standing and rights as individual members of the trades union movement should not in any way suffer any change by the combination of these two theatrical associations; that they should be members in full benefit and entitled to all the rights, benefits and privileges as enjoyed by them during their affiliation and membership to the Actors International Union, in the new amalgamated organization with no interference as to their jurisdiction and local autonomy rights; and

**WHEREAS,** Since such amalgamation has been effected the Hebrew Variety Actors Union has been denied every chartered right granted to them by their original affiliation with the Actors International Union, they having been denied the right of any representation in the governing body of the chartered union, thereby forcing a condition of taxation without representation; their denial of their right of vote upon any question affecting the order as a whole, the denial of any right to vote at any general election for officials to control the affairs of the general order, the absolute elimination of their standing as members of the order entitled to all the rights, benefits and privileges as members thereof, their designation as only a branch of the general order with the sole right to pay an increased per capita tax in advance; and

**WHEREAS,** The governing board of the White Rats Actors' Union have attempted to interfere with their union conditions fought for and maintained at considerable expense during many years

of activity and have aligned members of the order in opposition to one another in an effort to reduce wages and general satisfactory working conditions surrounding their employment, and the only answer to repeated complaints against the action of the Board of Directors has been threats of expulsion from the trades union movement of this country; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** That this convention of the American Federation of Labor held at Rochester, N. Y., shall take cognizance of this complaint and charges of violation of agreement upon amalgamation between the Actors International Union and the White Rats of America, following the official decision of the Executive Council at the quarterly meeting held at Atlantic City during August, 1912, which says:

"Cognizance will be given any violation of the articles of agreement upon amalgamation, which would show any division in the ranks of the White Rats Actors' Union;" and, be it further

**RESOLVED,** That the present charter of affiliation of the White Rats Actors' Union be investigated, and it calls for a form of national organization enjoyed by all other affiliated national unions and it is being wilfully perverted to a single union form of organization without any local representation or rights, and former local representation and rights denied without legal authority by either the terms of amalgamation or warrant from the general membership and a report upon their complaints and charges to be submitted to the convention with a recommendation thereon.

**Resolution No. 47—By Delegate Joseph Morton of the Chicago Federation of Labor:**

**WHEREAS,** There is seated in the Chicago Federation of Labor an organization known as the White Rats Actors' Union of America, incorporated, which organization is affiliated with the American Federation of Labor as a national union; and

**WHEREAS,** During an investigation of this organization by the Central Federated Union of New York City, a communication was submitted by the said White Rats Actors' Union of America, incorporated, from President Samuel Gompers, disqualifying the representation of this organization in any central labor union, by stating that the White Rats Actors' Union of America, incorporated, did not locally exist and therefore, he specifically states "that which does not exist cannot be represented"; and

**WHEREAS,** The Chicago Federation of Labor did institute a thorough investigation of this organization upon complaint of a committee of resident members of the aforesaid organization, who made claim, that the form, conduct and law of the said White Rats Actors' Union of America, incorporated, did not in any way conform to the law, constitution and usages of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The Chicago Federation of Labor upon the conclusion of an investigation of the claims as submitted, and upon Sunday, July 21, 1912, submit its report and findings of the Grievance Committee, which was unanimously adopted, which findings are as follows:

From evidence presented your committee find that the White Rats Actors' Union of America is a "membership corporation" operating under the state laws of New York.

We also find connected therewith as subsidiary corporations:

The Associated Actresses of America,  
The White Rats Publishing Company,  
The White Rats Realty Company,  
The Associated Actors Company (theater proprietors).

The Keystone Amusement Company (theater proprietors).

And the Lancaster Amusement Company, who are part and parcel of the order.

As to the Associated Actresses, we find they pay initiation fees and dues, yet have no voice or vote on affairs affecting them, or an accounting of their money.

We find that there is no local union form of organization within this "membership corporation," with the exception of German and Hebrew locals, who have local autonomy.

We also find that branches are established in various cities of the country, with a representative in charge chosen by the New York officials.

When meetings are held, no measures of importance can be adopted without the approval of the Board of Directors in New York City. All discussion on local autonomy is strictly prohibited and members have been summarily expelled for advocating same.

We find that where charges are preferred against any member of the order, the member so charged is compelled to appear (either in person or by representative member), in the city of New York, to stand trial, at their own expense—irrespective of their residence—and if found guilty there is no recourse except through the courts.

We find that legislation for or against local conditions must be referred to the New York officials of the order for final action thereon.

The complainants in support of the local union form of government stated that there were upwards of 2,000 resident actors in Chicago and vicinity who book in and out of this city. Similar conditions exist in other large cities of the country.

They further contended that the best interests of the organization would be protected in having local autonomy.

The defense claimed that the actors were "here to-day and gone to-morrow" and maintained that to be successful they must travel from city to city, giving this as one of the main reasons why local autonomy could not be established in the order.

From the evidence presented, your committee believe that the future best interests of the White Rats Actors' Unions of

America can best be served by the establishment of local autonomy and other changes necessary to conform with the fundamental laws of the A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, President Gompers has officially notified protesting members of the White Rats Actors' Union of America, incorporated, in Chicago, that "all letters and documents would be turned over to the coming convention at Rochester, N. Y.;" and

WHEREAS, Signed charges are submitted in connection with these resolutions, certifying to the violation of the terms of agreement of amalgamation between the White Rats of America and the Actors International Union, which charges are signed by members of the aforesaid White Rats Actors' Union of America, incorporated; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this annual convention of the American Federation of America, held in the city of Rochester, N. Y., does hereby instruct its President to select an impartial committee of three, who shall make complete and thorough investigation of the charges and findings as set forth in these resolutions, they shall submit their findings to this convention with the proper recommendation thereon.

Resolution No. 89—By Delegate James P. Holland of the Central Federated Union of Greater New York and Vicinity:

WHEREAS, The White Rats Actors' Union of America withdrew from the Central Federated Union of Greater New York and Vicinity; and

WHEREAS, Said body withdrew after the Central Federated Union of Greater New York and Vicinity had appointed a committee to investigate the said organization upon its invitation; and

WHEREAS, For the sake of harmony which does not exist in Greater New York in the Actors' Union, and which harmony is necessary in the interest of the actors and the general labor movement; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That for the purpose of bringing about such harmony and creating the required solidarity, this Thirty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor appoints and instructs an impartial committee of three representatives to arrange a thorough investigation of the White Rats Actors' Union of America.

The committee reported as follows:

Your committee understands that the American Federation of Labor has no authority to investigate or to interfere with the administration of the internal affairs of an affiliated international union, unless it be alleged that the rights and interests of another affiliated union are being encroached upon. No such claim is made in this case; however, it is alleged in the various resolutions now under consideration that the White Rats Actors' Union has failed to keep inviolate the terms of an agreement entered into at the time this organization was formed

through the amalgamation of the White Rats of America and the Actors' International Union, to which the American Federation of Labor was a party. Because of this your committee recommends that the whole subject matter be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor with instructions to investigate the charge that the terms of amalgamation have been violated, and if they find that the terms of amalgamation have been violated, they take such action as may be necessary to secure compliance with the terms of the agreement under which the charter of the White Rats Actors' Union was issued.

\* On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 58—By Delegate Henry Prinz, New York State Federation of Labor:**

WHEREAS, The Hat and Cap Leather Sweat Band Cutters Union, No. 11,307, of New York, on account of its isolation as a federal union from all affiliated unions connected with their craft, are unable to displace non-union sweat bands from union made hats; and

WHEREAS, The A. F. of L. has declared for one organization for each trade, which we heartily endorse and which would greatly benefit this union; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the A. F. of L. use its influence to the effect that the Hat and Cap Leather Sweat Band Cutters Union become part of the United Hatters of North America, or the Hat Trimmers Union, as a subordinate body in order to secure relief that is absolutely necessary for the maintenance and existence of their organization.

The committee reported as follows:

Your committee recommends that this matter be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor with instructions to assist the members of Local 11,307 in securing proper affiliation, or such protection as is possible to conserve the best interests of its members.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 74—By Delegate Butterworth of the Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers' Alliance:**

WHEREAS, The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor rendered a decision in the jurisdiction dispute between The International Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers' Alliance, and the International Union of Steam Engineers, wherein the control of electrically operated machines replacing hand

labor in brickyards was awarded to the engineers; and

WHEREAS, The International Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers Alliance has filed a protest with the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. contending that the Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers had not agreed to any form of arbitration; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. be, and is, hereby instructed to reopen and thoroughly investigate the dispute between the two unions.

#### **Brick Makers—Steam Engineers.**

In conformity with instructions given by you at our last convention, as per Resolution No. 132, a conference of the representatives of the International Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers' Alliance and the International Union of Steam Engineers was arranged, Vice-President Alpine representing the Executive Council. No agreement was reached upon the disputed points of jurisdiction and it was referred to the Executive Council. We thereupon sustained the Steam Engineers' in their contention for jurisdiction over men operating electric machines in brick yards.

On Resolution No. 74 and that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the caption "Brick Makers—Steam Engineers," the committee reported as follows:

Your committee finds that through a misunderstanding the representatives of the International Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers' Alliance were not present when the subject matter was considered by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, the decision of the Executive Council being predicated upon an agreement which authorized it to decide the jurisdiction of the respective organizations involved in this dispute should the organizations in question fail to reach an agreement themselves. However, in view of the claims made before your committee by the representatives of the International Brick, Tile, and Terra Cotta Workers' Alliance, your committee recommends that the Executive Council be instructed to reopen this case.

A motion was made and seconded that the recommendation of the committee be concurred in.

Delegate Hannahan—I would like to ask Delegate Butterworth to tell the convention whether he is in a position to assure the convention that his organization

will abide by the decision of the Executive Council after this case is reopened.

Delegate Butterworth—The protest of the international organization I represent is based on the fact that the matter was not properly before the Council, and I cannot say what action will be taken by my organization.

Delegate Hannahar discussed the question and stated that the delegates of the International Union of Steam Engineers were not objecting to the recommendation of the committee, but would approve of it if Delegate Butterworth would give the assurance that his organization would abide by the decision of the Executive Council if the case were reopened.

Vice-President Mitchell, Chairman of the Committee—For the committee I beg to say there were presented to the committee copies of agreements entered into between the brickmakers' organization and the manufacturers containing a clause providing that if a dispute arose as to jurisdiction over these electrical engineers the matter was to be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and the decision of the Council was to be accepted by the representatives of the Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers' Union. We are advised that the same clause was inserted in an agreement with the Steam Engineers, so that each side in this case had prepared to submit the dispute to the Executive Council and to accept its decision. The committee was influenced to recommend the reopening of this case purely upon the grounds that Mr. Butterworth for his organization stated that they had not been represented when the matter was decided and that they had not been notified to be present. There is a good deal of confusion about the matter, but the records of the Executive Council indicate that when the decision was made the Council had in mind the fact that the question might arise again and they so couched the language of their decision as to provide for the contingency that has arisen.

Delegate Hannahar—The last convention of the Brickmakers withdrew the power of their international officers to adjust or handle this case and placed it entirely within the hands of their local joint board in the city of Chicago.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 81—By Delegates J. A. Franklin, M. J. McGuire, George W. Fring and Thomas J. Garvey of the International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America:

WHEREAS, On November 12, 1910, in the city of Indianapolis, Indiana, the duly authorized representatives of the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers and the International Association of Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America in conference agreed upon all work and disputes except the question of smoke stacks and breachings; and

WHEREAS, All work not mutually agreed upon was referred to Mr. Jas. Duncan, First Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor, as Arbitrator, whose decision should be final and binding upon both parties at interest; and

WHEREAS, The decision of Vice-President Duncan was ratified by the St. Louis Convention of the American Federation of Labor, thereby settling all differences between the two organizations and constituting a bona fide agreement; and

WHEREAS, The representatives of the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers have repeatedly refused to sign the agreement entered into in good faith and have and are now doing work that was conceded to the International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers and have refused to comply with the terms of the agreement; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this the Thirty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that the agreement entered into between the representatives of the two organizations at interest, including the award of Vice-President Duncan, be and is hereby declared as binding upon both organizations; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the departments of the American Federation of Labor be requested to notify all local councils under their respective jurisdictions of the validity of the agreement as covering jurisdiction of the two organizations.

The committee reported as follows:

Your committee reports that J. A. Franklin, M. J. McGuire, George W. Fring, and Thomas J. Garvey representing the Brotherhood of Boiler Makers and Iron Ship Builders of America, and James E. McClory, Frank E. Thoman, and Daniel J. O'Shea, representing the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, appeared before your committee and agreed that the subject matter of this resolution should be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor with authority to decide.

Was an agreement entered into between the representatives of the above

named organizations defining the jurisdiction of each?

And if so the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall have full authority to decide the terms of the agreement and the application of same.

All of the above representatives pledged their organizations to accept as final and to comply with the decision of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor in the disputed question herein named.

The committee recommends the adoption of the agreement.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 93—By Delegate Stephen C. Summer of the Illinois State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The strike of the brick-makers, steam shovel and dredgemen and stationary firemen against the Purington Paving Brick Company of Galesburg, Ill., is still on; and

WHEREAS, This struggle has now been carried on for two and one-half years and the Purington Company still refuses to recognize the justice of the demands of the unions involved, which are the right of organization and union conditions; and

WHEREAS, This fight has received official recognition and support from the Illinois State Federation and of the city central bodies of the state, with benefit to the organizations involved; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor pledge support and assistance to the striking brickmakers, steam shovel and dredgemen, and stationary firemen in an effort to bring about an adjustment of the pending difficulty.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 100—By Delegates Martin E. Goellnitz, Frank Shillf, G. E. Strom, of the American Brotherhood of Cement Workers:

WHEREAS, The Hodcarriers & Building Laborers International Union have asked for an extension of jurisdiction over street, sewer and tunnel laborers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this jurisdiction shall not apply to laborers under the jurisdiction of organizations already chartered by the A. F. of L., and that it shall in no way interfere with the jurisdiction of the American Brotherhood of Cement Workers as granted to them by the A. F. of L. and as reaffirmed and interpreted at the convention of the Building Trades Department of the A. F. of L. held at Tampa, Florida, 1919.

#### **Building Trades Department—Hod Carriers—Cement Workers.**

The International Hod Carriers and Building Laborers Union appealed to your Executive Council from the decision of the Tampa Convention of the Building Trades Department of the A. F. of L., jurisdiction over laborers doing the mixing of concrete having been thereby conceded to the American Brotherhood of Cement Workers. After all parties in interest had been afforded a full opportunity of presenting their respective claims of jurisdiction, our best judgment was that the appeal of the Hod Carriers and Building Laborers should be sustained.

On Resolution No. 109 and that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the caption "Building Trades Department—Hod Carriers—Cement Workers," the committee reported as follows:

Your committee recommends non-concurrence in this resolution, and it further recommends the endorsement of the action of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor in extending the jurisdiction of the International Hod Carriers' and Building Laborers' Union so as to include cement laborers employed in the construction of sewers and tunnels; it also recommends endorsement of the decision of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor in sustaining the appeal of the International Hod Carriers' and Building Laborers' Union from the decision of the Tampa convention of the Building Trades Department, which had conceded to the American Brotherhood of Cement Workers jurisdiction over laborers doing the mixing of concrete.

A motion was made and seconded that the recommendation of the committee be concurred in.

Delegate Short, President of the Building Trades Department: I would like to move as an amendment to this motion that the subject be referred to the convention of the Building Trades Department. In making that amendment it is my belief that this convention has the right to override the decisions of the Building Trades Department in convention; but I do not think it is fair to the building trades men, when they decide a question in convention, for the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to override that decision.

I think this should be referred to the coming convention of the Building Trades Department. I believe I can speak for the building trades men when I say I believe they will be absolutely fair in this matter. The Tampa convention referred to occurred three years ago. It will be useless for the Building Trades Department to decide any dispute if in two, three or four years the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor can reverse that decision.

The amendment offered by Delegate Short was seconded.

Delegate Furuseth—That involves a very serious question as I see the meaning of it. The motion is to refer from this convention to the Building Trades Convention, and the reasons given are that it is no use for the Building Trades Convention to deal with these questions if the convention of the American Federation of Labor shall undertake to reopen or review.

Delegate Short—I stated it was useless for the Building Trades conventions to decide matters if they were going to be reversed by the Executive Council of the A. F. of L.

Delegate Furuseth—As I understand the proposition you have here a question of which is the body in authority, which is the body that has a right to review and to act. It seems to me that if the contention of the President of the Building Trades Department is accepted here the logical result is the Building Trades Department and its Executive Council becomes the superior body.

Delegate D'Alessandro discussed the question at length and contended for the jurisdiction asked in the resolution. He referred to the wage scales of members of the Hod Carriers and Building Laborers Union in various parts of the country and to the conditions existing in the various trades where laborers were employed. He opposed the amendment.

Delegate Goellnitz discussed the question at length and spoke in favor of the amendment.

The question was discussed briefly by Delegate Feeney.

The amendment offered by Delegate Short was withdrawn.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 96—By Delegate T. J. Dolan of the International Union of Steam Engineers:

WHEREAS, The International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen, through their affiliations with the I. L. A. and the I. U. S. E., have been the recognized union of the shovel and dredgemen of this country for years, by all union men, also by the railroad companies and the large contractors of the country, also by the United States government and foreign governments; and

WHEREAS, Excellent wages and conditions are now being enjoyed by all members of the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen through their present affiliations; and

WHEREAS, By continuing these affiliations, jurisdictional disputes (the present great curse of the labor movement) are being avoided; and

WHEREAS, The shovel and dredgemen are now working under labor contracts made in connection with the I. L. A. and the I. U. S. E. that run in some cases yet for eighteen months, and any change of present arrangements of affiliation with the A. F. of L. would only lead to breaking of contracts, or bring on a large, bitter jurisdiction fight, which the officers of the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen are, and have been for years anxious to avoid, and

WHEREAS, A number of seceders from the I. B. S. S. & D. have organized a so-called union of steam shovel and dredgemen (by name the Associated Union of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen), and have lately discovered that they cannot work on any union jobs in this country, unless they carry a paid-up card in the I. B. S. S. & D.; and

WHEREAS, These seceders have applied to the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. for a charter; and

WHEREAS, The granting of such a charter would only bring on a bitter jurisdictional fight and disrupt the fine conditions that now exist through the present affiliations of the shovel and dredgemen with the A. F. of L.; and

WHEREAS, Most of the good men in this so-called union by promises of certain individuals that the A. F. of L. would grant them a charter; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the A. F. of L. in Convention assembled, do hereby call upon all shovel and dredgemen in the country to affiliate at once with the I. B. S. S. & D.; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of all organizations affiliated with the A. F. of L. are hereby instructed to withdraw any and all support (if now given) the seceding organization of S. S. & D.

Resolution No. 113—By Mining Department, American Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, There are in existence two organizations of steam shovel men, one known as the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen, not in it-

self an international organization, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, but a subsidiary organization to the International Union of Steam Engineers, and one organization known as the Associated Union of Steam Shovelmen; and

**WHEREAS, A resolution was adopted by the Atlanta convention directing the Executive Council to call conferences of representatives of the different organizations interested for the purpose of uniting in one organization all the men in these crafts in accordance with the laws of the American Federation of Labor; and**

**WHEREAS, The Associated Union of Steam Shovel Men has co-operated with the Executive Council in its efforts to amalgamate the two organizations to its fullest extent; and**

**WHEREAS, The International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen does not seem desirous of amalgamation on terms fair to all, as is evidenced by the report of the Executive Council; and**

**WHEREAS, The said Associated Union has repeatedly made efforts to become affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; and**

**WHEREAS, It is imperative to this department that a bona fide international organization of steam shovel men affiliated with the American Federation of Labor be chartered immediately; therefore be it**

**RESOLVED, That the Mining Department of the American Federation of Labor, recognizing the necessity of and the right to affiliation with the American Federation of Labor of an international union of steam shovel men does hereby insist that the Thirty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor direct the immediate issuance of a charter to an international union of steam shovel men.**

On Resolution No. 96, Resolution No. 113 and that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the caption "Amalgamation Steam-Shovelmen's Organizations," the committee reported as follows:

Your committee recommends that the entire subject matter be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor with instructions to arrange a conference of representatives of all parties at interest for the purpose of securing an amalgamation of the two organizations, the members of which are now employed as steam shovel and dredge men. Should the Executive Council fail in its efforts to consummate an agreement amalgamating the two organizations, your committee recommends that the Executive Council outline a plan setting forth conditions upon which it believes amalgamation should be effected, and if either or both parties in interest fail or refuse to agree to the terms of amalgamation proposed by the Executive Council, then in

that event the Executive Council shall report the result of its efforts to the next convention, together with such recommendations as may seem necessary to bring about unity of action among the men employed as steam shovel and dredge men.

A motion was made and seconded that the recommendation of the committee be adopted.

Delegate Dolan (T. J.) stated that he agreed with the recommendation of the committee. He stated that since the affiliation of the International Brotherhood of Steam-Shovel and Dredge Men with the Steam Engineers' Union they had gained the eight-hour day for their men in all the cities where they are working and \$150 a month wages. He referred to the fact that the members of his organization on the lakes were affiliated with the Longshoremens and that their wages and conditions had been improved by that affiliation.

Delegate Gallagher (A. J.) discussed the question and stated that he desired to see the two organizations of steam-shovel and dredge men amalgamated. He stated further that he would like to see the committee recommend that if one organization refused the terms decided upon by the Executive Council in the proposed conference the other side would be recognized and given a charter.

Delegate Moyer—I rise to move that Mr. Wilde, who is here representing the union of steam shovel men not affiliated with the American Federation of Labor be given the floor to speak for the organization he represents.

No objection being offered, Mr. Wilde was given the privilege of the floor and stated the position of the organization he represented, the Associated Union of Steam Shovel Men. He stated they were anxious to come into the American Federation of Labor for the purpose of working with other organizations for the welfare of the movement in general. He discussed briefly the question of one international being able to issue a charter to another international union, and asked if an international organization had power to issue a charter to an organization composed of members over whom they had no jurisdiction; that the steam engineers are an entirely distinct craft from the steam shovel men. He stated that the organization he represented did



not claim jurisdiction over the dredgemen; that the longshoremen's organization and the tugmen's organization were capable of keeping up the wages of those men and they were in the organization where they properly belonged.

Delegate Moyer stated he was not opposed to the report of the committee as far as it went, that he was absolutely in accord with it and desired to see the entire matter go before the Executive Council if authority were given the Executive Council to settle the matter before the next convention of the American Federation of Labor. He stated that he favored power being placed in the hands of the Executive Council by the convention, not to report back to the next convention, but to outline fair and just terms of amalgamation of the two organizations of steam shovelmen, but that both should be given to understand by the convention that if they failed to agree to the decision of the Executive Council the one refusing to agree to such terms would be refused recognition and the organization willing to agree would be granted the charter. At the close of his discussion Delegate Moyer offered the following amendment:

That the entire matter be left in the hands of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor with power and with the instructions that either of the factions refusing to comply with the fair and just terms of amalgamation proposed by the Council the other faction shall be given a charter and jurisdiction over the men in that industry. (Seconded.)

President Compers—The hour of adjournment is at hand and there will be no time for discussion of this amendment, if there is to be a discussion on it. If there are no objections that discussion will be taken up this afternoon upon reconvening. Before adjournment the chair asks if there will be any objection to the introduction of a resolution for the purpose of urging Congress to establish a museum and exhibition similar to the one that was mentioned by General Bryant who delivered the illustrated lecture to us.

No objection being offered, the following resolution was introduced:

**Resolution No. 132—By Delegate Compers of the Cigar Makers' International Union:**

**WHEREAS, One of the pressing problems confronting the great army of toilers of our country is the proper and efficient safe-guarding of their comfort, health and safety; and**

**WHEREAS, The safety devices and other methods of promoting the safety, health, and comfort of workers are ineffective and insufficient and the ready knowledge obtainable on the subject is of such meagre proportion to the importance of the problem; therefore, be it**

**RESOLVED, That the Thirty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor urge Congress to establish a Museum of Safety, wherein working devices may be on exhibition that will illustrate in a comprehensive manner the most approved methods of safe-guarding machinery, eliminating dusts, noxious fumes, and excessive heat, and furnish information calculated to promote the health, safety, and comfort of all toilers. A museum of this character should afford a means of establishing standards and offering an opportunity for factory departments of the several states to obtain information and assistance that will tend toward the accomplishment of more uniform enactments and effective enforcement of laws for the conservation of the life and health of the working people of America.**

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Secretary Morrison stated that several matters acted on by the convention of the Union Label Trades Department had been referred by that convention to the convention of the American Federation of Labor, and presented the following to the convention:

Rochester, N. Y., Nov. 13, 1912.

To the Officers and Delegates to the 32nd Convention of the American Federation of Labor:  
Greetings:

I beg leave to submit to you for your consideration and action sundry matters that were acted upon by the Convention of the Union Label Trades Department, held in this city, Nov. 7th, 8th and 9th, which I was directed to refer to this convention.

During the year the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor referred to this department the subject matter as contained in Resolution No. 141, introduced at the Atlanta convention, relative to a universal label or a universal design. This matter received the attention of the department, and upon recommendation of President Tobin a special committee of seven on universal label and universal design was appointed to consider this whole subject matter. The committee gave careful consideration to

this subject, and the conclusion arrived at by them is contained in the following report, which was directed to be reported at this convention.

To the Fifth Convention of the Union Label Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor:

Ladies and Gentlemen—Your special committee, appointed on the recommendation of the President of this Department to consider the question of a universal label or a universal design for combination with present labels, has had several sessions, and has gone into the subject committed to it as extensively and thoroughly as was possible with the data at hand, and the limited time at the disposal of the committee; and it is the unanimous conclusion of the committee that it will not be possible to present to this convention as comprehensive and thorough-going a report as the importance of the subject demands and the requirements of the question make advisable. Your committee recommends, therefore, that it be continued with the following instructions:

That prior to the assembling of the sixth convention of this Department, the committee make exhaustive and painstaking investigation of the universal label proposition and the universal design proposition; that officers of international unions having labels, shop cards or buttons be requested to furnish the committee their views on the universal label, or universal design, especially as applied to the product of their trade, and that these views be accompanied by opinions from their attorneys as to the legality and practicability of the universal label or design in that particular trade; that the committee be authorized to gather such other information and data as in the opinion of the committee will be valuable in connection with the consideration of the general subject; that the committee be also authorized to procure a legal opinion from an attorney of national reputation as to label registration and issuance; that the committee be authorized to meet at least one month prior to the assembling of the sixth convention and at that time consider all of the data and information that has been collected, compile its report, have this report printed and placed in the hands of the delegates to the sixth convention prior to the assembling of that convention.

Your committee is of the opinion that carrying out the program as outlined herein, together with such other measures as may in the meantime be suggested to the committee, or initiated or approved by the committee, the important question of the universal label, or universal design, will be before the sixth convention with a comprehensive report and accompanying data that will enable the convention to arrive at a conclusion that will be generally acceptable to the label trades and that will be of value to the international organizations affiliated with this label department and the trade union movement generally.

The secretary of this department is a member of the special committee, and therefore the machinery of the department will be at the disposal of the committee in the performance of the mission referred to it.

All of which is fraternally submitted.

JAMES M. LYNCH,  
THOMAS F. TRACY,  
COLLIS LOVELY,  
B. A. LARGER,  
MARTIN LAWLER,  
A. J. KUGLER,  
JOHN GOLDEN.

The following resolution was introduced by Delegate Flynn of the Metal Polishers. The committee to whom this resolution was referred recommended that the same be submitted to this Convention for their consideration and action.

#### The Report of the Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 7 by Delegate Flynn of the Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers, Brass and Silver Workers:

WHEREAS, It has come to the attention of the organized trades employed in the Whitehead Hoag Co., of Newark, N. J., that the said firm is on the unfair list of the American Federation of Labor, and advertised as such in trade and labor journals throughout this country; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That we, the Label Trades in Convention assembled, settle this question once and for all as to whether this firm is fair or unfair to organized labor.

It was also voted that the following report of the Committee on Label Propaganda be transmitted to this Convention:

#### The Report of the Committee on Label Propaganda.

To the Fifth Convention of the Union Label Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor:

Ladies and Gentlemen—To your Committee on Label Propaganda has been assigned the task of making suggestions that will advance a movement that for years has existed in association with the general trade union movement of the North American continent. Perhaps no field of trade union endeavor has been more consistently and industriously tillled in the hope that a new idea or a new method may be given life than has the field of union label propaganda. Every union that advertises its label has been anxious to make that label so well known and so persistently sought after that the results to the particular trade the label represents will more than justify the label's existence. Trained advertising men have been enlisted in this publicity crusade. For a committee of this convention, therefore, to suggest anything

that is distinctly new is almost without human probability or reasonable expectation. It has been asserted so often that it has become a platitude, but nevertheless a platitude worth reasserting, that if each individual member of the trade unions would expend his purchasing power in support of the union label, this instrument for the advancement of fair conditions, this sign of fair dealing and a decent wage, would be in such universal favor that it would be the most potent instrument for the advancement of the trade union cause. If this proposition is founded on the basis of truth, then it seems to your committee that the problem is to find the method that will interest the individual organized toiler, and to impress upon him that in order to be consistent in his trade union fealty and membership he must not only demand decent conditions of employment for himself, but he must insist on decent conditions of employment for his fellow worker in other industries. It has been sought to compel the trade unionist to purchase union labeled products; it has been sought to coerce him in this direction by fines and other penalties, and this coercion has not accomplished the result. In the opinion of your committee the appeal must be made to his trade-union consciousness. He must be reached with argument, with example and with precept, and at every opportunity the lesson must be impressed on his consciousness and the idea inculcated into his trade-union understanding that one of the best methods of asserting his trade-unionism and of exemplifying his consistency, a method always at hand, lies in the purchase of union-labeled products. In this crusade, founded as it is on a single idea, the organizers and business representatives of the American Federation of Labor, the various international unions, the central bodies and the local unions can and should be apostles of a persistent creed. If they could be induced to embody in their addresses to gatherings of trade-unionists a section devoted to the label, and the obligation of the trade-unionist to support the label, there would be gradually aroused that trade-union consciousness to which we refer, and which is a most desirable and necessary quantity in label advancement. It must be remembered, however, that these trade-union representatives are serving a particular cause, and are employees of a class of trade-unionists and expected to advance the interests of that class and craft. Frequently, and in fact, generally, they are so absorbed in the performance of their direct mission that the label feature of the movement escapes attention and memory. Is it not possible to find some instrument that will always serve as a reminder to these trade-union employees of the desirability of label propaganda as a part of their general work?

In order to carry out this feature of the general crusade it is recommended that the Secretary of this Department be in-

structed to secure a serviceable pocket or memorandum book for distribution among the various organizers mentioned above, and that there shall be bound in with this book an attractively printed section embodying the ideas herein set forth as to label propaganda, and containing the request to the organizer that a section of each address that he may make to trade unionists and sympathizers and friends shall contain a reference to the label and its utility as an instrument for the advancement of the trade-union cause.

In his report, the Secretary refers to space that has been so kindly placed at the disposal of this Department by the various journals published by international unions, and it is suggested that perhaps additional space might be accorded in which to make a brief but emphatic appeal to the label-consciousness of the trade-union member. It is assumed that the labor press will also publish these brief label messages if the request comes to them direct from the Secretary of this Department. It will not be necessary to advertise any particular label in this way, and it may be that better results will come from the short label messages that explain the object and mission of the insignia of fair dealing and decent conditions, rather than an advertisement for many labels that will result in confusion to an audience that is not familiar with our label gallery.

Every member of a trade union carries with him constantly a working card. Is it not possible to induce the various international unions to print on these cards the single line: "It is your duty to purchase union-labeled articles"?

Other methods and other instruments may be found which will also carry this brief and pointed message, and its iteration and reiteration cannot fail to leave upon the mind of the trade-unionist that trade-union consciousness to which we refer in this report—a consciousness which will, when he is expending his money, prompt him to distribute it through those channels which will be of benefit of his fellow trade unionists.

If the individual member of the trade unions can be interested in label propaganda to the extent that we so briefly outline in this report, and if he can be induced whenever possible to spend his wages, earned under a union scale, for label articles, then he will become a disciple in the label cause, and he will interest friends and sympathizers who are not directly associated with the trade unions through active membership.

So far as the international unions with labels, shop cards and buttons are concerned, those affiliated with this Department and bearing its financial burden and contributing to the success of its mission, are performing their part in the dissemination of the label creed. The unaffiliated unions are in the position of the individual member of the trade union who does not purchase union-labeled products. Indeed, such an international union, possessing a label of its own, and expecting

for that label the support and patronage of the organized toilers, yet declining to be of assistance in propagating the general label idea, is more culpable than is this individual trade-unionist, for it knows the right thing to do, and in failing to affiliate with this Label Department declines to do that right thing. We urge, therefore, upon all international unions that are not at present in affiliation with the Union Label Trades Department that affiliation be made effective as soon as possible. In order that the label trades department may advance this phase of the movement, your committee recommends that during the next year an agent of this department visit each convention of the non-affiliated unions and urge upon these conventions the necessity and desirability of affiliation. Your committee believes that this agent should be selected as soon as possible, and that it should be a part of his duty to visit these conventions and after explaining his mission to a convention, to remain on the ground until that particular convention has taken favorable or unfavorable action on the proposition for affiliation. At the present time officers of international unions are delegated to visit the conventions of non-affiliated organizations. These officers are busy men and of necessity they can not devote any more time to the mission that they consent to undertake than is necessary for the presentation of the suggestion of affiliation. On the other hand, if an agent is selected and made responsible for the proper prosecution of this work, we will have a complete report on each convention listed, and where affiliation is not decided upon, we will have the reason for that unfavorable action. This agent will also be of great utility in delivering label lectures between conventions and in otherwise advancing and propagating the work of this department.

It was also voted that the attention of this convention be called to the non-affiliated organizations to this department who issue union labels, store or shop cards or buttons.

At the close of the fiscal year there is an affiliation to this department of thirty-eight (38) national or international unions, with an aggregate membership of three hundred and seventy thousand (370,000). Since the close of the convention to this department two (2) organizations have signified their intentions to affiliate. According to the report of the secretary of the American Federation of Labor there are some sixty-seven organizations that are entitled to affiliate with this department, and whose label, store or shop card or button has been endorsed by the American Federation of Labor, and appears upon the Union Label Bulletin as

printed and distributed. This leaves practically twenty-seven (27) organizations who are not in affiliation with this department.

It should be remembered that affiliation with us is voluntary, and while it is not the aim or the desire of this department arbitrarily to compel an organization to affiliate, we feel it is the duty of each of these organizations to join with us and assist in the work that we are doing for the promotion of the sale of union label products, and the patronizing of such establishments as display a union store or shop card, and the individual member of an organization who wears his current monthly button. As to the progress made particularly in the output of articles bearing the union label, splendid gains have been made during the past year, and the increase in the number of union labels issued by our affiliated organizations was reported by this department to President Gompers, and is embodied in his report.

We cannot advance any stronger argument for the complete affiliation of all organizations than the one which is contained in the report of the Committee on Label Propaganda, and which is a part of this report.

Feeling as we do that the Union Label Trades Department is no longer an experiment, that it has established its value and worth, and that the work in which we are engaged has been and is productive of good results, we appeal to the officers of the international unions not yet in affiliation, to do so at their earliest opportunity, and we also ask assistance of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to bring about this much desired result.

Respectfully submitted by order of the Convention of the Union Label Trades Department.

Yours fraternally,  
THOMAS F. TRACY,  
Secretary-Treasurer.

The matter referred to the convention from the Union Label Trades Department was referred to the Committee on Labels.

At 12.30 the convention was adjourned, to reconvene at 2 p. m.

## Ninth Day—Friday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2 p. m., Friday, November 22d, President Gompers in the chair.

**Absentees** — Noschang, Klapetzky, Kilne, Kramer, O'Shea (D. J.), Strom, Shiff, Conway (H. J.), Yount, Ford (Chas. P.), Larget, Rosenberg (A.), Archie, D'Andrea, Bryan (W. E.), Healey (D.), Coakley, Lowe, Allen, Walker, Lewis, Miller (O.), Wright (T.), Clark (Wm. D.), Murphy (P.), Whitehead, Gallagher (T. J.), Huddleston, Golden, Gallagher (A. J.), Donnelly, Preble, Sullivan (J. H.), McCarthy (F. H.), McGinley, Landers, Kane, Burns (E. S.), Elyea, Weber (F. J.), Doherty, Hunter, Norman, Draper, Bryan (F. O.), Stokes, Spencer, Lawler, Sinclair, Waldron, Lebowitz, Johnson, Beckman.

Secretary Morrison read the following communication:

"Chicago, Ill., Nov. 20, 1912.

"Hon. Samuel Gompers, Rochester, N. Y.:  
"Dear Mr. Gompers—At its thirty-second annual session held in New Orleans the 7, 8, 9, 11 and 12th of this month, the Farmers National Congress, having in mind certain provisions in the Postoffice Appropriation Bill enacted into law August 21 last, unanimously adopted a resolution stating that it regarded with disfavor and apprehension any abridgment of the freedom of the press and demanding that the making of laws and rulings abridging the freedom of the press be discontinued.

"Of course, the Farmers National Congress is well aware that freedom is not license and it was the first national organization to adopt a resolution calling on all papers to stop the publication of fraudulent or immoral ads.

"It has reached the conclusion—such conclusion is inevitable—if events are carefully considered—that there is a movement gradually, subtly, but none the less effectually, to abridge the freedom of the press.

"As you know, periodicals have been harried during recent years and those classes of periodicals that have been most vigilant to expose public corruption have been most subjected to harassing rules and regulations.

"A little has been done here, a little there, until the total effect has become threatening and now all classes of periodicals have been affected. It is certainly time to call a halt.

"Certainly no organization should be more alert to maintain the freedom of the press than the American Federation of Labor. Considering what it represents, it may be asked if any other organization should be as alert? A free press is the best safe-guard of our liberties and institutions. It is the greatest foe of corruption and disloyalty. The Farmers

National Congress is not composed of publishers, but of practicing farmers. At its recent annual session 36 states were represented by delegates appointed by the governors of these states on the nomination of the agricultural organizations of the states.

"We respectfully suggest that the American Federation of Labor adopt a resolution along the lines of the one adopted by our organization, calling a halt on the making of laws and regulations further to abridge the freedom of the press and also asking for the repeal of laws already enacted when needlessly and unwarrantably interfering with the business of the publishers of periodicals.

"Respectfully yours,

"FARMERS NATIONAL CONGRESS.

"JOHN M. STAHL, Legislative Agent,  
Farmers National Congress, U. S. A."

The matter contained in the communication was referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Secretary Morrison read the following telegram:

"New York, November 21, 1912.

"American Federation of Labor, Convention Hall, Rochester, New York:

"Delegates—Accept the heartiest congratulations of the nine thousand furriers who struck and won. Long live unionism. "FURRIERS UNION."

President Gompers stated that the discussion on the resolutions in connection with the Steam Shovel and Dredge Men's organizations would be resumed.

Delegate Comerford spoke in favor of the recommendation of the committee and opposed the amendment offered by Delegate Moyer. He stated that in former years the members of the International Union of Steam Engineers had difficulties with the Brotherhood of Steam-Shovel Men and Dredge Men, that the hoisting engineers in various cities had members operating steam shovels, and various disputes occurred between them and the steam shovel men, but after a conference of the two organizations matters were satisfactorily adjusted and the steam shovelmen became part of the International Union of Steam Engineers.

Delegate O'Connor (T. V.) stated that he was heartily in accord with the report of the committee. He stated that dredge men had been affiliated with the longshoremen's organization for the past twelve years and they intended to retain them in that affiliation. He stated that

he had faith in the Executive Council's ability to bring about a peaceful adjustment of the matter, but that he would insist upon representatives of the longshoremens being present at any meeting where matters concerning steam shovel and dredgemens were under consideration.

Delegate Cannon—I want to know if international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor have power to charter international unions. I want to know the power of the international in this respect.

President Gompers—The chair is not in a position to answer that definitely. The fact is that the International Longshoremens's Association, whether by charter or other process, has taken as a part of that association other branches of industry being organized entities. I understand the International Union of Steam Engineers have issued a local charter to the steam shovel men as a local body.

Delegate Furuseth—I move as an amendment to the amendment that the arrangement shall be accomplished by June 1st or by the last of June. I understand the amendment goes to this extent, that any one not willing to accept the arrangements made by the Executive Council thereby loses, that it will have no further consideration paid to it, and those willing to accept will have a charter issued to them. I, therefore, offer as an amendment to the amendment that the arrangement shall be accomplished by June 1st or by the last of June. (Seconded.)

The amendment offered by Delegate Furuseth was accepted by Delegate Moyer as part of his amendment.

Delegate Tobin (D. J.)—If the amendment is adopted it will mean the revocation of the charter of the organization refusing to comply with the decision of the Executive Council. Will it not be necessary to have a roll call vote on that because it involves the revocation of a charter?

President Gompers—That is what it will require.

Delegate Gallagher—Has the International Association of Steam Shovel and Dredge Men a charter issued from this American Federation of Labor?

President Gompers—They belong to the Longshoremens. They are affiliated through their affiliation with the Longshoremens.

Delegate Gallagher—Then in passing on this the convention will not be revoking a charter?

President Gompers—That is true. The chair stands corrected.

Vice-President Duncan—In accordance with the amendment offered by Delegate Moyer, when conferences are held and one side objects to the conditions laid down the other side is to get a charter; it would mean that if the steam shovel and dredgemens and engineers now represented in this convention through the Engineers and through the Longshoremens agreed to the condition, the action of the convention would mean that the steam-shovel men in the Engineers Union and the dredgemens in the Longshoremens's Union would be taken out of both of those organizations and given a charter. If, on the other hand, they objected and the other side accepted the conditions the other side would get a charter and perforce by the passage of this amendment the Longshoremens and the Engineers would both have to renounce jurisdiction over and give up the organizations chartered by them, and if they refused to do so it would mean that the charters held by the engineers and the longshoremens, if you vote to pass the amendment, would have to be revoked. I think you will do a great deal better if you will pass the committee's report and go on with it without the apparent compulsory features the amendment throws into the committee's report.

Delegate O'Connor (T. V.)—The amendment to the amendment calls for the revocation of a charter on June 1, 1913. What charter?

Vice-President Duncan—In the event of this expected settlement not being effected to the satisfaction of the engineers and steam-shovel men and dredgemens the organizations in which they hold membership would have to lose their charters. There is no other way they are connected with the American Federation of Labor than through the charters of the Longshoremens and Engineers, and if their charters must be revoked it would mean either one of two things, the charters of those organizations would have to be revoked or the engineers and longshoremens would have to expel from their organizations the steam shovel men and dredgemens.

Delegate Furuseth withdrew the amendment to the amendment.

Delegate Moyer stated his amendment did not contemplate the revocation of any charter.

Delegate McNulty, in discussing the question, quoted the following statement from the chairman of the Committee on Adjustment in the Atlanta convention: "The committee wants this declaration to go out, that if a faction of a trade breaks away or the organization splits, the portion that goes out on the outside may know at the very start that there can be no recognition of two divisions of that organization in this Federation, nor can some faction of a craft not yet affiliated with the organization that is affiliated here, some independent portion of a trade on the outside, hold out with the hope that in the future it is possible for that portion of that craft to be chartered by the American Federation of Labor." Delegate McNulty asked, "In the event the recommendation of the committee prevails, or the amendment to the motion prevails, will that in any way mean that the declaration of the Atlanta convention will be set aside?"

President Gompers—Not in any event.

The amendment offered by Delegate Moyer was lost by a vote of 141 in the negative to 48 in the affirmative.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 110—By Chas. H. Moyer and Edwin Perry of the Mining Department of the A. F. of L.:

WHEREAS, The machinists, boiler-makers, moulders, carpenters, Associated Steam Shovelmen and miners have been on strike against the Utah Copper and other mining companies in Bingham Canyon, Utah, since September 18th, 1912, for the enforcement of recognition of organized labor and the establishment of better wages and working conditions; and

WHEREAS, The aforesaid mining companies operate in connection with their mines and reduction plants a railway system known as the Bingham and Garfield Railway; and

WHEREAS, The said Bingham and Garfield R. R. is manned and operated by members of the railway brotherhoods; and

WHEREAS, The operation of this railway is greatly jeopardizing the interests of organized labor and rendering succor to the mine operators; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled that we petition the railway brother-

hoods to call out their men on this road and join the allied unions in this industrial dispute; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Secretary of the A. F. of L. notify the railway brotherhoods of this action and that the President and Executive Council of the A. F. of L. put forth all legitimate means to the end of securing compliance on the part of the railway brotherhoods with the above resolution and petition.

The committee reported as follows:

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to do whatever it properly can to secure the co-operation of the railway brotherhoods, to the end that the dispute may be speedily and satisfactorily adjusted.

On motion, the report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 120—By Delegates Timothy Healy, William J. Brennan, M. J. Frel of the International Brotherhood Stationary Firemen:

WHEREAS, The proceedings of the bi-annual convention of the International Union of Steam Engineers held at St. Paul, Minn., in September, 1912, shows that the aforesaid organization extended a claim for jurisdiction by change of title and also by amending Article XIX, Section 1, to read as follows:

A candidate for membership in a Local of the International Union of Steam Engineers must be a competent engineer or apprentice engineer. He shall possess a license in localities where such is required. When a candidate presents himself for membership and is out of employment, the local union shall be judge as to the wisdom of admitting him to membership; and

WHEREAS, From many localities complaints have been received from local unions of the I. B. of S. E. against the actions of the I. U. of S. E. for their infringements on the charter rights of the I. B. of S. E. as granted by the American Federation of Labor in violation of Section 2 of Article II and Section II of Article IX of the constitution of the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the 32nd Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that the said action of the International Union of Steam Engineers was in direct violation of the constitution of the A. F. of L. and in conflict with the charter rights of the I. B. of S. E. as granted by the A. F. of L.; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the International Union of Steam Engineers be and is hereby instructed to refrain from admitting to membership firemen, oilers, water tenders, boiler washers and firemen's helpers under the guise of apprentices, or any other term which may be applied to them, while employed at any of the above.

The committee reported as follows: Section 2, Article IX of the constitution of the American Federation of Labor provides that:

"No affiliated international, national, or local union shall be permitted to change its title or name if any trespass is made thereby on the jurisdiction of an affiliated organization without having first obtained the consent and approval of a convention of the American Federation of Labor."

While the representatives of the Steam Engineers have assured your committee that it is not their intention to admit to membership anyone coming under the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen without first having complied with the provisions of Section 2, Article IX, as quoted above, yet it is not denied that the constitution of the International Union of Steam Engineers has been so amended as to make eligible to membership therein as apprentices men now coming under the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen.

In view of the plain provisions of the law, which requires that an organization must secure the consent of a convention of the American Federation of Labor before it shall have the right to extend its jurisdiction over the members of another affiliated organization, your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

Delegate Shamp—I move the adoption of the report of the committee. (Seconded.)

Delegate Comerford discussed the question and stated that the International Union of Steam Engineers had no intention of violating the laws of the American Federation of Labor, and said in explaining the reason for the change in the title of the organization: "About a year and a half ago an expelled member of our organization in New Jersey formed an organization of a handful of men and with the assistance of the Manufacturers' Association incorporated in that state with the title 'International Union of Steam Engineers.' Recently the attorney representing this corporation served notice on our local unions that they must cease using the title 'International Union of Steam Engineers' as it was the property of this New Jersey corporation. We tried to get our name registered but found that because we had used this title so

long we were denied that right. As a result, in our recent convention held in St. Paul, the title of our organization was changed to 'International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers,' we have again applied for registration and hope by this method to get some protection and not be again compelled by some corporation to change our title."

Delegate Comerford stated further that the organization he represented had no intention of doing what the resolution sought to restrain them from doing, but they intended to ask the American Federation of Labor for jurisdiction over their apprentices when the proper time arrived; that as soon as they could get their title registered they intended to ask the American Federation of Labor to give them jurisdiction over their helpers, just as every skilled craft represented in the convention had jurisdiction over its helpers.

Delegate Furuseth asked Delegate Comerford if the steam engineers claimed jurisdiction over the marine engineers. Delegate Comerford answered in the affirmative, and stated that they had some locals composed entirely of marine engineers.

Delegate Morton (J. W.) spoke in defense of the resolution and the report of the committee. He stated that after the recent convention of the steam engineers, in which they had changed their constitution to provide for taking in apprentices, members of that organization had sought to induce members of the firemen's organization to join the steam engineers.

Delegate McNulty stated he desired to go on record as protesting against the change in the title of the steam engineers' organization in a way that would conflict with the jurisdiction of the electrical workers, and stated that he would expect to be heard before the Executive Council when the question came up.

Delegate Ryan opposed the resolution introduced by the firemen's delegation and favored the position taken by the engineers.

Vice-President Mitchell, Chairman of the Committee, in speaking for the committee, said in part: "The committee reported favorably the resolution and reported at the same time the assurance given by the engineers that it was not their intention to infringe upon the juris-



diction of the firemen until they have complied with the law; but the law says that before they extend their jurisdiction or change their title so as to trespass upon the jurisdiction of another affiliated organization they must secure the consent of a convention of the American Federation of Labor. It seems to me the committee could make no report other than the one they have made in view of the plain provisions of the law."

On motion of Delegate Woll debate on the question was closed.

The motion to concur in the report of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 121—By Delegate James P. Holland of the Central Federated Union of Greater New York and Vicinity:

WHEREAS, The International Association of Steam, Hot Water and Power Pipe Fitters and Helpers was organized in June, 1888, for the express purpose of affording a complete system of self government for the men employed at the several branches of the trade of steam fitting; and

WHEREAS, The history of trade unionism has demonstrated that each trade through its membership is best qualified to enact laws and provide and promulgate rules and regulations tending towards the betterment of the trade in an organization confined exclusively to men of the same trade, viz., "One organization—One Craft," and

WHEREAS, Steam fitting has been recognized for many years as a trade and so admitted by the general labor movement; and

WHEREAS, The A. F. of L. has repeatedly, through its convention and officers, in no uncertain manner declared against compulsory arbitration as contrary to the spirit and purpose of the American sense of justice and fair play; with view therefore of offering a plan looking toward the solution of this difficulty along fair and just lines that permit the rank and file of the men engaged at the various branches of steam fitting to decide for themselves as to their future form of organization, the following proposition is submitted: be it

RESOLVED, By the Thirty-second Annual Convention of the A. F. of L., now in session in Rochester, N. Y., that the President of the American Federation of Labor, be, and is hereby instructed to issue a call for a convention to all men engaged at the various branches of the steam fitting trade irrespective of their affiliation, and request them to meet during May, 1913, at some centrally located city to be selected by the President of the A. F. of L., to determine for themselves their future form of organization.

On Resolution No. 121 and on that portion of the Executive Council's report under the caption "Steam Fitters—Plumb-

ers—Building Trades Department," the committee reported as follows:

Your committee recommends non-concurrence in the resolution and reports that it has considered carefully the efforts made by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to carry out and make effective the instructions of the Atlanta convention, which declared that both for harmony and practicability the pipe fitting trade should be represented in the American Federation of Labor, also in the Building Trades Department, by one general association of the pipe fitting industry, namely the United Association of Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters and Steam Fitters' Helpers of the United States and Canada.

Your committee has examined the plan outlined by the Executive Council under which it was proposed to amalgamate the United Association of Journeymen Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters, and Steam Fitters' Helpers of the United States and Canada and the International Association of Steam, Hot Water, and Power Pipe Fitters and Helpers, as a result of which we are convinced that the interests of all those engaged in the pipe fitting industry would have been conserved and promoted through amalgamation on the terms proposed.

We regret that the representatives of the International Association, by rejecting the terms of amalgamation proposed by the Executive Council and accepted by the United Association, declined to avail themselves of the opportunity of establishing unity in the pipe fitting industry.

Your committee has heard at great length and has given serious consideration to the arguments of all those appearing before it in connection with this matter. It is the judgment of your committee that the interests of all steam fitters demand that there shall be but one organization in the pipe fitting industry—the United Association of Journeymen Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters, and Steam Fitters' Helpers of the United States and Canada, and in order that the exclusive jurisdiction of this organization over all men employed in the pipe fitting industry may be speedily and permanently established, your committee recommends that in harmony with the action of the Atlanta convention on this

subject and the subsequent action of the Executive Council in connection therewith, the charter of affiliation of the International Association of Steam, Hot Water, and Power Pipe Fitters and Helpers of America be revoked, in accordance with the provisions of the constitution of the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee further recommends:

(1). That all beneficial members of the International Association of Steam, Hot Water, and Power Pipe Fitters and Helpers of America in good standing at the time they transfer their membership, shall be placed in full beneficial standing on the books of the United Association of Journeymen Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters, and Steam Fitters' Helpers of the United States and Canada, as provided for in the general constitution and laws of the United Association governing payment of benefits and donations;

(2). That all members of the International Association thus becoming members of the United Association shall be entitled to all rights and privileges accorded other members of the United Association;

(3). That all apprentices at present in good standing in the International Association shall, upon becoming members of the United Association, be credited with full length of time served and shall be entitled to all benefits and privileges of the United Association, as provided for in the constitution of that association;

(4). That in all cities or districts in which two or more locals of the United Association are located, a joint council shall be formed;

(5). That separate charters shall be granted local unions composed of steam fitters or steam fitters' helpers where a sufficient number of applicants for such charter exist, in accordance with the laws of the United Association;

(6). That steam fitters, members of the United Association, shall be entitled to and shall have complete control over all steam fitting work, and that the United Association shall do all in its power to promote the interests of the steam fitters and the welfare of all those engaged in the pipe fitting industry.

Delegate Woll—I move concurrence in the report of the committee. (Seconded.)

Delegate Holland discussed the question at length speaking in opposition to the report of the committee. He stated that steam-fitting had been recognized in New York for years as a separate trade, and urged that members of that craft be allowed to maintain their own organization.

Delegate Gallagher moved that debate on the pending question cease at 4.30 and that a vote be taken at that time. (Seconded.)

Vice-President Duncan moved as an amendment to the motion that the previous question be ordered immediately after a speaker on the other side had replied to Delegate Holland. (Seconded.)

Delegate Rowe—I move as a substitute that the time between now and 4.30 be divided equally between one speaker in favor of the motion and one speaker opposed to the motion.

The amendment offered by Vice-President Duncan was carried.

Vice-President Alpine spoke in favor of the report of the committee.

At 4.30 President Gompers stated that the discussion would cease, in accordance with the terms of the motion previously adopted, and that a roll call would be had on the motion to adopt the report of the committee.

**Roll Call on Report of Adjustment Committee on Resolution No. 121 and on the Portion of the Executive Council's Report under the Caption, "Steam Fitters—Plumbers—Building Trades Department."**

**Ayes**—Myrup, Koch, Goldstone, Noschang, Fischer, Klapetzky, Anderson (Ed.), Franklin, McGuire, Garvey, Pring, Strelle, Tobin (J. F.), Baine, Anderson (M.), Howes, Harrington, Froebtle, Kemper, Ward, Kugler, Sullivan (John), Butterworth, O'Shea, Thoman, McClory, Huber, Duffy (Frank), Wheeler Swartz, Featherston, Kelly (W. J.), Hemsell, Crozier, Gengenback, Goelnitz, Shilf, Gompers, Tracy (T. F.), Fitzgerald, Mueller, Conway, Zuckerman, McCauley, Meyer, McNulty, Glynn, Yount, Ford, Feeney, Comerford, Hannahan, Moser, Dolan, Healy (T.), Brennan, Friel, Rowe, Green (C. F.), Rickert, Larger, Daley (Margaret), Altman, Schwarz, Rosenberg (A.), Dyche, Cursi, Pierce, Rosenberg (M.), Hayes (D. A.), Heritage, Marx, Ring, Nestor, Duncan, Garvey (James), Archie, Lawlor, Shalvoy, Green (M. F.), D'Alessandro, D'Andrea, Etchison, Marshall, Kenehan, Flore, Sullivan (J. L.), Farrell, Miller (Geo.), Pattberg, O'Neal, O'Connor, Johnston, Lamb, Van Lear, Wharton, Buckley, Lowe, Powers, Allen, Call, Daly (T. M.), Leary (Geo.),

Rumsey, O'Sullivan, Crane, Hynes, Walsh, White (J. P.), Mitchell, Hayes (F. J.), Walker, Lewis, McDonald, Green (Wm.), Williams (J. C.), Scanlon, Cannon, Valentine, Frey, Curran, Lanigan, Weber (J. N.), Miller (Owen), Carey (D. A.), Winkler, Painters' Delegation (497 votes), Carey (J. T.), Wilson (James), Gernon, Sheret, Woll, Clark (W. D.), Alpine, Tracy (W. J.), Leonard, Murphy, Menge, Whitehead, Berry, Halpine, Hart, Wilson (Harry), Malin, Suito, Dacey, Perham, Brown (W. T.), Miller (J. F.), Gallagher (T. J.), Ryan (M. F.), Weeks, Adames, Paquin, Mahon, Commons, Taber, Brown (J. G.), Freel, Sumner (C. A.), Short, Jette, McKay, Grimshaw, Heberling, Welch (M. R.), Connors, Brals, Biggs, Robinson, Tobin (D. J.), Hughes, Neer, Gillespie (E. M.), Morris (J. J.), Golden, Starr, Williams (T. J.), Evans, Shilling, Lynch, Morrison, Stevenson, Hayes (M. S.), McCullough, Cooke, Ali, Birnes, Holt, Gallagher (A. J.), Holder, Corley, Sumner, Pfeifer, O'Brien, Ryan (P. J.), Walls, Smith (J.), Behrens, Donoghue, Shamp, Prinz, Egan, Young, Hoefgen, Creamer, Brockhausen, Schrivner, Fitzgerald (T. D.), Cone, Sullivan (J. H.), Tharp, Lennon, McCarthy, Collins, Mullen, Smith, (Frank), Garman, Sause, Tracy (M. F.), Cavanagh, Sonthelmer, Gillespie (G. W.), Hays (C. A.), Frivetti, Kane, Smith (J. T.), Butler, Campbell, Weber (F. J.), Fahey, Evans (E. E.), Norman, Bryan, Hirschberg, Koveleski, Philippi, James, Lapham, Scharrenberg, Henley, Niven, Simpson, Snellings, English, Youhon, Voll, Duffy, McAndrews, Cunningham, Woodhouse, Mulhern, Weiss, representing 15,766 votes.

**Nays**—Labraico, Kilne, Kramer, Glover, Barnes, Clarke (W. P.), Williams (John), McSorley, Taggart, Coakley, Chlopek, Neesham, Harrison, Young, Painters Delegation (228 votes), McGivern, Cook, McDermott, Furuseth, Hanson, Hyien, Shay, Suarez, Lemke, Carolan, Curtis, Hanley, Shaughnessey, Coates, Corcoran, White (R. H.), Coughlin, Diehl, Chance, Holland, McGrath, Bonner, Hannon, Wildberger, O'Rourke, Bohm, Beckman, representing 1,322 votes.

**Not voting**—Mullaney, Scoby, Doyle, Conroy, Bailey, Bryan, Healey (Dennis), Price, Hannah, Nelson, Huddleston, Moyer, Keane (J. A.), Donnelly, McGrath, Vanderveld, Preble, Swick, Morton, McGinley, Keegan, Landers, Burns, Elyea, Doherty, Welch (M. R.), Hunter, Draper, Brower, Stokes, Keane (J. J.), Felto, Morris (J. F.), Wood, Purcell, Bates, Spencer, Morris (E. C.), Lawler (C. V.), Lampa, Sinclair, Waldron, Lebowitz, Dunne, Johnson, Gold, Seddon, Smillie, Bruce, representing 230 votes.

**President Gompers**—More than two-thirds of the votes having been cast for the adoption of the committee's report, revoking the charter of the International Association of Steam and Hot Water Fitters, the motion has been adopted and the charter of the organization stands revoked.

A question was asked from the floor if the adoption of the report of the committee meant that the decision rendered by the Executive Council would go into effect immediately?

**President Gompers**—That is the understanding.

The question was asked: What action will the Executive Council take in the event the members of the Enterprise Association of the city of New York should apply for work with employers with whom they have an agreement that does not expire until 1916 and we should deposit U. A. cards with those people and they say, "We do not recognize that card, we had an agreement with the Enterprise Association." If we should say the American Federation of Labor has wiped out the international organization they may say, "That wipes out your agreement," and our wages at the present time are \$5.50 only under the international agreement, and they say to us, "You can go to work but you must go to work for \$3.50 or \$4.00 a day," what provision has this Executive Council made to protect the Enterprise Association against the power of the employers of New York?

**President Gompers**—The only answer the chair can give is this: That doubtless the Enterprise Association, if it becomes chartered as a local union under the United Association, the chair doubts very much that the continuous existence of the organization would change either the relation, the contract, the wages, the hours or the conditions, providing you remain organized and get into the United Association.

Later Vice-President Alpine made the following statement: May I be permitted to make a statement, prompted by the question asked by the gentleman on the other side of the house, and to which the chair made reply? It always has been and always will be the purpose of the United Association to maintain trade agreements where they have prevailed, and in the instance of the International Association of Steam Fitters, now that definite action has been taken, where such agreements are in existence, it will be the purpose and the full intent to have them remain intact, with the additional purpose of bettering such agreements in the future where it is possible to do so, and the betterment of conditions among the men who are employed in the pipe

fitting industry. I make that statement with the desire that it might be fully understood.

Vice-President Duncan—As many delegates have asked me since morning if there is any probability of a night session being held, I move that the rules be suspended and that we hold in session until 7 o'clock this evening; that the rules for to-morrow, which provide for adjournment at 1 o'clock, be suspended and that we remain in session until 12.30, reconvene at 2 o'clock and remain in continuous session until the business of the convention is completed and that the time for the election of officers be set for 3 o'clock. (Seconded.)

President Gompers—The motion will be voted on without the special order for the election.

The motion offered by Delegate Duncan was carried, as stated by President Gompers.

Delegate Barnes (J. M.)—I move that the election of officers be made a special order for 3 o'clock to-morrow afternoon. (Seconded and carried.)

The committee continued the report, as follows:

Resolution No. 129—By Delegate Andrew J. Gallagher of the California State Federation of Labor:

Fellow Delegates: I am instructed by the California State Federation of Labor to urge the earliest possible settlement of the controversy which has existed for the past four years within the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. We wish you to know that the 65,000 affiliated members of the California State Federation are not unappreciative of the apparent efforts heretofore put forth to end this unfortunate dispute; nor are we unmindful that you are as anxious as we to secure a unified harmonious trade union organization and federation, but wish to call your attention to the necessity of action through the power vested in you that will, if possible, expedite a settlement and conclusion of this long drawn out and seemingly useless international clash. Our central councils have been thrown into vehement and acrimonious debate, have almost been disrupted, and have had their charters not only threatened, but in one case at least revoked, all because of laws which this Federation has seen fit to provide as penalties for failure of central councils to do certain things or take certain actions. It may be remembered that this Federation being a voluntary organization has not provided the same penalties to be vested upon the national or international organization in affiliation, and it may be also remembered that the unions which compose the central council, which lost its charter, are

all component parts of the national or international organizations, and we submit that when these component parts decide that they do not wish to outlaw their brothers they appreciate the fundamental principles underlying the voluntary association of unions in this Federation. We ask relief from this burden of clash in councils, of division to the detriment of the good work which these councils and state bodies can and cheerfully do perform. We know the rights of the affiliated I. B. E. W., but we also wish to call attention to the fact that those who have seceded from the I. B. E. W. are also human, and are or at least were trade unionists. And while we know that you have done all that was given you the right to do to end this destructive internal war, and yet we feel that there are measures which might be adopted, if desired, to secure effective peace. You might place both organizations without our protection, no longer to disturb our nationals, internationals, state federations, city centrals and local unions, to return only when they come in peace and exhibiting toward each and all a true spirit of brotherhood. Or you might induce them to agree on a set of officers who would be acceptable to at least two-thirds of the workers in this avocation; or you might, if you wish to use the same methods that are visited in your wisdom on state bodies and city centrals, apply these compulsory measures to your affiliated National or International organizations, and if the doctrine of compulsion is to obtain, compel all parts of this Federation, that is, national and international to in turn compel their membership to refuse to work anywhere with any seceding or expelled members of any part of this Federation. We wish it understood we are loyal to the enunciated principles of this American Federation, the highest of which is voluntary association, which might also be interpreted to mean voluntary disassociation. We are forced to expel unions, and to refuse them association, and we are anxious to be relieved of this wholly uncalled for burden, and no longer have visited on us the struggles between leaders for office or power, but we wish to go forward with the important and vital measures that are ours to further. We petition you to adopt measures as will speedily and effectively remove this dispute from the path of organized labor.

The committee reported on Resolution No. 123, that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the caption, "Authority and Self-Imposed Discipline," and the following appeal of the Central Labor Council of Alameda, which does not appear in the proceedings of the convention:

"Wherefore Central Labor Council of Alameda County joins twenty-one directly chartered delegate bodies and local unions duly affiliated with the American Federation of Labor in this prayer that the American Federation of Labor in Thirty-second Annual Convention assembled at Rochester, N. Y., order the proper execu-

tive officer of the A. F. of L. to return the charter of Alameda County Central Labor Council to the president thereof; and furthermore, Alameda County Central Labor Council joins the aforesaid labor bodies in this petition to the delegates to the A. F. of L. convention to be held at Rochester, N. Y., beginning November 11, A. D., 1912, to enact such amendments to the constitution of the A. F. of L. as will give such just and equitable relief in law to its chartered delegate bodies and as, in comport with the best interests of Alameda County Central Labor Council and its co-petitioners, will not trespass the autonomy of or be in controversy with laws of affiliated international or national unions or be contrary to the democratic institutions of the land.

"In witness whereof we hereunto attach our signatures and the seal of this Council this fourth day of November, 1912, at Oakland, Cal.

"R. E. KEYSER, President.  
"A. W. SEFTON, Secretary."

Your committee reports that the subject matter of this resolution and of this appeal, namely the controversy among the electrical workers, has been before the conventions of the American Federation of Labor for the past four years; it has been discussed at great length, the merits of the case have been fully considered, and at each convention it has been decided by an ever increasing majority of the delegates that the affiliated union—the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, duly chartered by the American Federation of Labor—is the only bona fide organization of electrical workers recognized by the American labor movement. We hold it to be the duty of all organizations and members thereof to accept in good faith the decisions of the conventions of the American Federation of Labor in all matters that have been committed to them for decision. If each organization is to reserve to itself the right to refuse acquiescence in the laws of the American Federation of Labor and to disregard its authority in matters which it has a constitutional right to decide, or which are by contending forces submitted to its arbitrament, then there can be no harmony, no concert of action, no unity of purpose, and no final determination of any question in controversy.

In order that the controversy among the electrical workers which fortunately is subsiding, owing to the acquisition of members on the part of the affiliated organization, may be speedily terminated,

your committee recommends that delegates to this convention residing in cities or districts in which there are members of the unaffiliated organization of electrical workers, appeal to all such workers to ally themselves with the bona fide organization of their trade, the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers chartered by the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee further recommends that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to communicate with all central labor bodies and state federations urging them to use every possible effort to bring all electrical workers into affiliation with the chartered International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

Your committee recommends that the appeal of the Central Labor Council of Alameda County be not sustained.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be adopted.

Delegate Gallagher requested that the proposition contained in Resolution 129 be separated from the appeal of the Central Labor Council of Alameda County.

President Gompers stated that the appeal could be voted on separately.

Delegate Gallagher discussed the question at length, speaking in favor of the appeal made by the Central body.

Delegate Scharrenberg asked for a roll question, and stated that the appeal of the Central Labor Council of Alameda County had the endorsement of the California labor movement, and urged that it be sustained by the convention.

Vice-President Mitchell, chairman of the committee, discussed the question and explained the position taken by the committee in making the report.

Delegate Scharrenberg asked for a roll call on the appeal of the central body. A sufficient number of delegates did not support the request to warrant the calling of the roll.

The report of the committee recommending that the appeal of the Central Labor Council of Alameda County be not sustained was adopted.

The motion to concur in the remaining portion of the committee's report was carried.

Chairman Mitchell—That completes the report of the Committee on Adjustment.

The final report of the committee was signed,

JOHN MITCHELL, Chairman,  
JOHN GOLDEN, Secretary,  
MATHEW WOLL,  
T. W. McCULLOUGH,  
FRANK H. McCARTHY,  
E. LEWIS EVANS,  
EDWARD FLORE,  
W. H. FITZGERALD,  
ED. ANDERSON,  
VICTOR ALTMAN,  
GEORGE LEARY,  
HUGH SHALVOY,  
HUGH ROBINSON,  
W. E. BRYAN,  
WM. TABER.

#### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON PRESIDENT'S REPORT.

Delegate Furuseth, chairman of the committee, reported as follows:

On that portion of the report of President Gompers under the caption "The Extension of the Eight-Hour Law and the New Eight-Hour Law," the committee reported as follows:

##### The Extension of the Eight-Hour Law and the New Eight-Hour Law.

We are gratified to learn that after years of agitation and political effort the eight-hour law has been extended to apply to work done for the government by contractors and sub-contractors and that as a result of the passage of this measure and the insertion of clauses in the various supply bills having the eight-hour workday in view, has resulted in a number of corporations doing work for and furnishing supplies to the government establishing an eight-hour workday in their respective plants, and we recommend that the Executive Council be directed to continue its efforts to have clauses inserted in the supply bills covering, wherever possible, those classes of supplies not specifically included in the bills already passed.

We further recommend that the various state federations of labor and city central bodies put forth efforts in this same direction.

On motion, the report of the committee was adopted.

On that portion of the President's Report under the caption "Construction by the Government," the committee reported:

##### Construction by the Government.

We endorse the efforts made to secure for the government navy yards the building of such vessels as Congress shall, from time to time, authorize to be built. We commend the publication in the American Federationist for June, 1912, of the article containing comprehensive data showing, by official statements and statistics, that the cost of manufacture and construction was less in government establishments where the work was done by day labor than where done under contract by private concerns. Publications made, on various occasions, of statistics and facts show conclusively that vessels built in government yards are superior in workmanship to those built in private yards.

We would be lacking in patriotism if, with the knowledge of these facts, we failed to use such influence as we possess toward having this work done in government yards and by day labor.

On motion, the report of the committee was adopted.

On that portion of the report of the President under the caption "Seamen's Rights," the committee reported:

##### Seamen's Rights.

We are pleased to learn of the passage through the House of Representatives of the seamen's bill, a bill that requires the employment of skilled men as seamen, that makes of the seaman a free man, that promotes safety of travel at sea, and will build up a merchant marine without resorting to subsidies.

We recommend that the Executive Council be instructed to make every effort to have this bill passed by the Senate and become a law during this Congress.

On motion, the report of the committee was adopted.

On that portion of the report of the President under the caption, "Immigration and Chinese Exclusion," the committee reported:

##### Immigration and Chinese Exclusion.

We endorse the action taken relative to preventing any modification of the Chinese Exclusion Law and recommend that every effort be put forth to secure the

extension of the Chinese Exclusion Law to apply to all other Asiatics.

On motion, the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

On that portion of the report of the President under the caption "Child Labor and Children's Bureau," the committee reported:

#### **Child Labor and Children's Bureau.**

We are glad to learn of the enactment of the Children's Bureau bill establishing a permanent bureau of the federal government, which will be enabled to maintain continuous supervision, investigation and records and thus educate and arouse public sentiment. We feel that with the information thus obtained, uniform laws embodying the best provisions of legislation regulating the employment of women and children can be enacted in all of the states, if our organizations in each state act as vigorously and faithfully in the future as they have in the past.

On motion, the report of the committee was adopted.

On that portion of the report of President Gompers under the caption "Initiative, Referendum and Recall. Limit Judges' Tenure," the committee reported as follows:

#### **Initiative, Referendum and Recall—Limit Judges' Tenure.**

We are pleased to note the progress which these fundamental principles of popular government are making and we desire to reiterate our declaration of last year on this subject.

We are in full accord with President Gompers when he says: "Men of America, we dare not halt. We must press forward or we will be driven back." With the suggestion that the tenure of the judges of federal courts created by Congress shall be limited to a specific period, not to exceed six years, we are in entire accord. It would act as a recall; a life tenure for judges and the disposition of the judiciary to place itself above the legislative branch of the government by assuming a veto power on legislation is destroying the confidence of the people in the judiciary and is responsible for the proposition to introduce into our system of government "a recall of judicial decisions."

As we read the constitution of the United States and the history of its making, the legislative branch is the superior branch

of our government; in it is lodged the power not only of correcting the evils that may arise in the two other branches, through legislation, but to impeach and to try judges and executives.

The judiciary and the legal profession ever has its face towards the past and is governed by precedent. It is, therefore, in its very nature the most conservative, and while the lessons of the past are of great importance and must not be overlooked or disregarded, it must not be permitted to act as a barrier to progress.

We warn our members and the friends of the initiative, referendum and recall against so-called "safeguards and restrictions" calculated to destroy their usefulness. We recommend that the initiative be applied to constitutional amendments as well as statute laws. That not more than 8 per cent be required on petitions to invoke the initiative or 5 per cent for the referendum, for the recall not more than 15 per cent for a state officer or 25 per cent for a city or local officer in any state; that measures be enacted by a majority of the vote cast thereon; that the Oregon pamphlet system of publicity be adopted; and that judges be forbidden to declare as "unconstitutional" measures enacted by the people.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

On that portion of the report of President Gompers under the caption, "Popular Election of United States Senators," the committee reported:

#### **Popular Election of United States Senators.**

We are pleased to learn that our insistent advocacy of this great reform has at last reached the stage in which it is to be acted upon by the states, and we urge upon the trade unionists of our country to give their best efforts in their respective states to have this amendment to the Constitution of the United States ratified.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

On that portion of the report of President Gompers under the caption, "Citizenship Rights Restored," the committee reported:

#### **Citizenship Rights Restored.**

We are pleased to learn that the last session of Congress has restored to those working for the government of the United

States their full right to petition Congress for redress of grievances, of which right they had been deprived by Executive orders.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

On that portion of the report of President Gompers under the caption, "Second-Class Postal Rates," the committee reported:

#### **Second-Class Postal Rates.**

Under this heading President Gompers recites several beneficial provisions inserted in the Postoffice Appropriation Bill, among which a right of second-class postal rates is secured for trade union publications, publications of a purely scientific nature, or publications by fraternal orders.

We are pleased to learn of this reform.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

On that portion of President Gompers' report under the caption, "Contract Convict Labor System," the committee reported:

#### **Contract Convict Labor System.**

We are pleased to learn that the Bocher Bill, H. R. 5601, has passed the House of Representatives. We hope that it will pass the Senate and become a law during this session of Congress. The many evils of this system are so well known and have been so often commented upon that we need say nothing except to urge upon the trade unionists of our country to communicate with their Senators representing their respective localities, urging the immediate passage of this act by the Senate.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

On that portion of the report of President Gompers under the caption, "Boiler Inspection," the committee reported:

#### **Boiler Inspection.**

Under this heading President Gompers urges a greater co-operation with the Chief Inspector, to the end that inspections may come early enough to prevent accidents. He further urges that any members of unions having knowledge of defects in boilers communicate with him in order that proper information may be

placed before the Chief Inspector for his official attention.

We concur in this recommendation.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

On that portion of the report of President Gompers under the caption, "Scientific Management," the committee reported:

#### **Scientific Management.**

We recommend that H. R. 22339 be indorsed and that the Executive Council endeavor to secure its enactment into law. We are opposed to any system of shop management which requires one man to stand over another timing him with a stop watch in order to speed him up beyond his normal capacity. In addition to the brutality of such a proceeding, no stop watch time study can possibly be accurate. Every physical act performed by man is preceded by a mental process. The greater the amount of skill required in the work, the greater the mental process preceding the physical expression of it, and there is no method known to efficiency engineers or others by which a time study can be made by a stop watch or any other time measuring device of the mental process which precedes the physical act. The mental process being a necessary part of the work itself, the failure to make a time study of that operation of the work makes the study inaccurate, and, secondly, worthless as a basis for computing compensation.

To establish a bonus or premium system upon such a time study is wrong, induces the workman to toll beyond his normal capacity and the whole system has a tendency to wear the worker to a nervous wreck, destroy his physical and mental health and ultimately land him as a charge upon the community in some of our eleemosynary institutions.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

On that portion of the report of President Gompers under the caption, "Employers' Liability and Workmen's Compensation," the committee reported:

#### **Employers' Liability and Workmen's Compensation.**

We indorse what President Gompers has to say upon this subject and the recommendations which he makes dealing with



the extension into all kinds of employments and to the different states.

In dealing with workmen's compensation we must not overlook that there is a question of its constitutionality in due time to be considered by the Supreme Court. In making compensation the only remedy, and thereby repealing the employer's liability, the injured workman may be placed in a position of having no remedy at all, and for this reason the employer's liability should not be repealed; the workman should have a choice, but even if this were not so the choice should still be left with the injured workman to accept compensation under a compensation law or to sue under a proper employer's liability law.

This is the law in Great Britain and we have been unable to find any injustice done either to the workman or to the employer under its operation.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be adopted.

Delegate Corcoran discussed the question briefly. He referred to the conditions existing in West Virginia where there was no workmen's compensation law, and a very large number of both organized and unorganized men were employed in hazardous occupations. He urged that the Executive Council assist the State Federation of West Virginia to secure an employees' compensation law for that state.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

On that portion of the report of President Gompers under the caption, "Old Age Pensions," the committee reported:

#### **Old Age Pensions.**

We reaffirm our former action on this question and regret that no further progress has been made than as indicated by the report.

We recommend that the efforts for the establishment of a general Old Age Pension be continued.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

On that portion of the report of President Gompers under the caption, "Occupational Diseases," the committee reported:

#### **Occupational Diseases.**

It is with pleasure that we learn of the passage of the Esch Phosphorus Bill. We are pleased to learn of bills of similar nature being advocated and adopted in sev-

eral states. We believe that with proper legislation and with proper care occupational diseases may be prevented and recommend that efforts in this direction be continued.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

On that portion of the report of President Gompers under the caption, "Anti-Watered Stock Gambling," the committee reported:

#### **Anti-Watered Stock Gambling.**

We endorse what President Gompers has to say upon this subject. It is our conviction that one of the causes of the high cost of living is to be found in our system of capitalization and the so-called watering of stocks. Bonds and stocks are mortgages upon the labor of the present and the future. This mortgage must be paid from the products of the working people, either in a reduction in wages and lengthening of the hours of labor or in the price of products, or both.

We endorse the La Follette-Lenroot Bill providing for physical valuation and urge its extension to all corporations doing interstate business. We further urge upon the states the adoption of similar legislation to cover intrastate business. We protest against the existing system of capitalization based upon income, and urge that no capitalization except upon actual investment be permitted.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the caption, "A. F. of L. Office Building," the committee reported:

#### **A. F. of L. Office Building.**

On the subject matter contained in the report of the Executive Council, which was referred to this committee relative to the erection of a labor temple and office building for the American Federation of Labor and its departments, we endorse the report and concur in the recommendations contained therein.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the caption, "Commission on Industrial Relations," the committee reported:

**Commission on Industrial Relations.**

Under this caption the Executive Council reports the adoption of a law providing for a commission to study and report upon industrial relations. The commission is to consist of nine members, three of whom are to be employers of labor and not less than three of whom shall be representatives of organized labor. The Executive Council recommends for appointment on this commission John B. Lennon and James O'Connell.

We recommend the acceptance of the report and the adoption of the recommendation.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the caption, "Contempt Case," the committee reported:

**Contempt Case.**

The Executive Council herein reviews the proceedings in the case in which Messrs. Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison were found guilty of contempt of court and resentence to twelve, nine and six months imprisonment, respectively, by Justice Wright.

We recommend the acceptance of the report, the concurrence in the course pursued, and recommend that this course be continued.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the caption, "Post vs. A. F. of L. and Buck's Stove and Range Company," the committee reported:

**Post vs. A. F. of L. and Buck's Stove and Range Company.**

In this matter we recommend that the Executive Council be authorized to continue in the defense of the A. F. of L. if further defense shall be found necessary.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the caption, "The McNamara Case," the committee reported as follows:

**The McNamara Case.**

We recommend that every member of the affiliated organizations and those in sympathy with our movement read carefully the historical review of this case presented by the Executive Council, in order that they may be familiar with such facts as have already been brought out, the sources from which the information has been derived and the powers that are interested in the prosecution of the cases now being heard in Indianapolis.

The American labor movement, as represented in the American Federation of Labor, will neither countenance nor condone anyone who, under the cloak of trade unionism, undertakes to carry on a criminal warfare on society. That some of these men are guilty of carrying on such a warfare appears from the confessions they have made relative to their own connection with these crimes. That every man must be considered innocent until he has been proven guilty has always been accepted as a fundamental principle of our jurisprudence, and in the consideration of his case before the courts he is entitled to a fair and impartial trial. In a spirit of fair play we insist that these men shall not be convicted in advance, nor the decision in their cases influenced by the fact that the United States Steel Corporation, the Erectors' Association and the Burns' Detective Agency are clamoring for a conviction; particularly in view of the fact that the Burns' Detective Agency has been thoroughly discredited by disclosures made by the United States Department of Justice in the Oregon Land Fraud cases, and the Senate Investigating Committee in the Lorimer case.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be adopted.

Delegate Gallagher—I move to amend the committee's report by inserting therein the following words: "And in pursuance of the declaration of this Federation that these men shall receive a fair and impartial trial, that all of that money which remains in the McNamara Defense Fund, so called, be donated to them to secure such a fair and impartial trial."

The motion was seconded by Delegate Scharrenberg.

Treasurer Lennon in the chair.

The question was discussed by Vice-President Duncan, Delegate Gallagher, Delegate McClorry, Vice-President Hayes,

Delegate Hayes (F. J.), Delegate Conroy, Delegate Lynch (J. M.), Delegate Scharr-enberg, Delegate Cannon, Delegate Rowe, Delegate Tobin (D. J.), Delegate Furu-  
seth, Delegate Walker (J. H.).

Delegate Woll—I rise to a point of order on the amendment and in raising this point of order I want to preface it by saying that I believe it is in the interest of the men involved in Indianapolis as well as in behalf of this Federation. My point of order is this: That the money now in the hands of the committee, contributed for the purpose of carrying on the trial in Los Angeles for the McNamaras, is not a fund of the American Federation of Labor and that therefore we, as a Federation of Labor, have not the authority to distribute or confiscate the funds of another organization.

Chairman Lennon—The chair is not exactly clear on this. The funds referred to originated in the first place with a conference of representatives of trades unions in the city of Indianapolis. It was not created by this or preceding conventions of the American Federation of Labor. The chair will hold the point of order is well taken and that the amendment is not in order. The question recurs on the report of the committee.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Delegate Conroy—I now move that it is the sense of this convention that the delegates upon their return home advise their international and national unions and local unions to provide liberally financial assistance for the trades unionists on trial in Indianapolis, in order to secure a fair trial for them. (Seconded.)

The question was discussed briefly by Delegate Glover.

The motion offered by Delegate Conroy was carried.

Delegate Lynch (J. M.) in the chair.

Delegate Furu-  
seth, Chairman of the Committee—I would like to have the attention of this convention, and I hope you will not go away until you have disposed of this particular question now coming before you. It is more important by a long way than the question you have just been discussing.

On that portion of the President's Report under the caption, "Injunction Limitation Bill, Jury Trial in Contempt Cases," and that portion of the report of the Executive Council, "New Injunc-

tion Rule," the committee reported as follows:

**Injunction Limitation Bill—Jury Trial in Contempt cases—New Injunction Rule.**

We reiterate the position heretofore taken by the American Federation of Labor relative to the abuse of the writ of injunction and the means necessary, absolutely to eliminate such abuse.

We reaffirm our position that the equity courts should have no jurisdiction over the personal relationship between man and man, nor the power to deal with the police regulations. These powers belong to the law courts acting under laws created by the legislative branch of the government.

We commend the vigorous action that has been taken toward securing the enactment of legislation along these lines. As a result of the activity of the American Federation of Labor, the Clayton Injunction Limitation Bill and the Clayton Contempt Bill providing trial by jury in cases of indirect contempt, were reported to, and passed by, the House of Representatives, and while these bills do not go as far as we had contended for, if enacted into law they will give a great measure of relief.

We, therefore, endorse the recommendation of President Gompers that the men of organized labor by conference with and communications to the Senators from their respective states, make known that they insist upon the passage by the Senate of these bills before the close of the 62nd Congress.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the caption "Sherman Anti-Trust Law—Hatters' Case," the committee reported:

We desire to call especial attention to the report of the Executive Council upon this subject. The so-called Sherman Anti-Trust Law was apparently designed, and certainly was by the people accepted, as a law to prevent monopoly. The real fact is, and it is now becoming understood, that it is a law to prevent association. In Section 1, it makes any agreement or combination in the form of a trust or otherwise, illegal, if such combination in any way interferes with the

freedom of interstate or foreign commerce. It is not a monopoly that it is prohibiting, it is a combination or an agreement by and through which those who combine or agree to endeavor to hold those things about which the agreement or combination is perfected at prices to be determined by themselves and to be disposed of in a manner and on conditions determined by themselves. Thus, if the several corporations refining and selling oil associate themselves together to determine the price of oil and the manner of its sale, it is forbidden by this law. So also the several corporations making and selling tobacco; making and selling steel, or any other product from their factories or establishments. Corporations are persons created by law, and when by an application of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law their association is dissolved, the component parts thereof, that is the corporations, the artificial persons, remain and continue in business.

Labor power—the ability to labor with hand, or brain, or both—has by the courts been decided to be property, and by the Sherman Anti-Trust Law that definition is accepted, and thus man, his labor power, and the product of man's labor power are placed upon an equality. Labor power being considered as property and so treated under the Sherman Anti-Trust Law, any number of men or women associating themselves together for the purpose of jointly determining the wage for which they will labor, and the condition under which they will labor, must, if the product of their labor goes into interstate trade or commerce, be upon the same plane and dealt with in the same way as the products of the factories belonging to the different corporations. If the combination of corporations, artificial persons, can be prevented from combining, or when they have combined can be dissolved into their original component parts, so any association of working men for the purpose of controlling and using their labor under a joint arrangement or agreement, can be dissolved into its component parts through the abolition or prohibiting of their combination. Thus, this law, under which one corporation may own and control either all the oil, or all the steel, or all the wheat, or all the cloth in the country, or all of them put together, prohibits us, as working people,

from associating ourselves together in self-defense against this very corporation. It permits the necessities of life to be within the absolute control of one artificial person and prohibits the natural, living, breathing persons from making use of the means which nature has granted to the fishes in the sea, the birds in the air, and the cattle on the plain—association for common defense and protection. In substance, it is a copy of Caesar's anti combination decree, it is used to the same end, and must, if permitted to continue, have the same result.

Two remedies are possible, one is to repeal the law entirely, and thus go back to the principles of common law. The other is to have the law make a distinct dividing line, over which no judge may pass, between the labor power of man, which is an attribute of life and life itself, and the product of labor, which is property, subject to being disposed of or treated in any manner that its owner or society may determine. There should be no difficulty in drawing up a statute or a series of statutes which will prevent monopoly in the products of labor, in mineral products, or in products of the soil, and yet leave man with his labor power free to associate himself with his fellow for any purpose, or in any action not forbidden to the individual. This last would be in entire harmony with the fundamental principles upon which the government of the United States is organized, and in perfect accord with the best principles of Saxon jurisprudence and with the ideas and ethics of Christian religion. The Bacon-Bartlett bill, "To make lawful certain agreements between employes and laborers, and persons engaged in agriculture or horticulture, and to limit the issuing of injunctions in certain cases, and for other purposes," would in the main accomplish this purpose. We recommend that the Executive Council and the Legislative Committee do everything within their power to cause the enactment of this bill into law, and that the international and National organizations and their officers and members communicate with the Senators and Congressmen to this end. We further recommend to the state organizations and the city central bodies to urge the adoption of similar statutes in the several states.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be adopted.

Delegate Barnes (J. M.)—I move the adoption of the recommendation of the committee and non-concurrence in the preamble associated with the recommendation.

Delegate Barnes spoke in opposition to the preamble and favored the recommendation of the committee.

The question was discussed by President Gompers and Delegate Ward.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

At 7:20 p. m. the convention was adjourned to reconvene at 9.30 a. m., Saturday, November 23rd.

## Tenth Day—Saturday Morning Session

The convention was called to order at 9:30 o'clock a. m., Saturday, November 23rd, President Gompers in the chair.

**Absentees**—Klapetzky, Kline, Kramer, O'Shea (D. J.), Strom, Goellnitz, Shiff, Conway (H. J.), Yount, Feeney, Dolan (T. J.), Archie, D'Andrea, Bryan (W.), Healey (D.), Coakley, Lowe, Allen (C.), Leary (Geo.), Crane, Weber (Jos.), Miller (O.), Tracey (Wm.), Leonard, Murphy (P.), Whitehead, Gallagher (T. J.), Huddleston, Sumner (C.), Welch (M. R.), Gillispie (J. N.), Morris (J. J.), Hoyt, Donnelly, McGrath, Preble, Cone, Sullivan (Jas.), McCarthy (F. H.), Sause, Landers, Privett, Kane (J. M.), Burns (E. S.), Elyea, Campbell (P.), Hunter, Bonner, Stokes, Felio, Bates, Spencer, Wildberger, Lawler, Lampa, Sinclair, Waldron, Lebowitz, Mul Kern, Johnson (J. E.)

Secretary Morrison read telegrams from Charles R. Case, President Washington State Federation of Labor, urging that the next convention be held in Seattle, Washington. Similar invitations were received from the Seattle Building Trades Council, International Shingle Weavers' Union, and from Civic Bodies of Seattle and Portland, Oregon.

Delegate Scharrenberger read a telegram from San Francisco Labor Council urging him to have convention take action to secure funds for the defense of the men on trial at Indianapolis.

Delegate White (J. P.), arose to a question of personal privilege and referred to a statement made during the discussion on the subject of the industrial form of organization that the Mine Workers' delegates were inconsistent in urging that form of organization and adopting a resolution in their own convention asking a separate charter for the stogie makers. Delegate White read the resolution adopted in the Mine Workers' convention which merely asked that the product of the organized stogie makers be given preference over that of the non-union factories in that industry.

Delegate Corcoran wished to make a statement in regard to the matter, and appealed to the convention to grant him that privilege, but objection was offered and the privilege was not granted.

### Report of Committee on President's Report.

Delegate Furusetth, Chairman of the committee, reported as follows:

#### Hatters' Case.

Dealing with the Hatters' Case, which illustrates all the evils of this law, and is therefore an extremely important incident in this struggle, we recommend that the American Federation of Labor continue in its efforts to assist the Hatters in defense of our common right of association for mutual protection.

Delegate Furusetth—Exclusive of the resolutions, here is where the report of the committee ends, but as a minority member of that committee I move to add the following:

"That we will, so far as shall be needed assist in the payment of court expenses and in furnishing counsel; but as has several times been clearly declared and expressed we are in no way responsible for any losses that may ensue as a result of this trial. We neither can nor will pay any fines imposed, nor any damages assessed through the operations of this statute so contrary to justice and natural law. We recommend that the collective property of the organization be, if possible, so placed that it will be beyond the reach of this law, that those of our members who are married place their property in their wives' names, to the end that the confiscator may find as little as possible to confiscate. We warn our membership that in this specific phase of the struggle between life and property, between man and the dollar, no mercy, no consideration will be shown to us while this law is on the statute books in its present shape."

Delegate Furusetth—I move to add what I have just read as an amendment to the report of the committee. (Seconded.)

Delegate Wilson (J.) spoke in favor of the report of the committee and opposed the amendment. He said in part: The committee felt that as far as we went we were justified by the facts in the case. We as organized wage earners and as the great movement of the common people have not yet admitted that we are a combination in restraint of trade and that the homes of our members should be taken from them under the Sherman Anti-Trust

Law. And the committee does not believe that we should say to the hatters in Connecticut or to the organized wage earners in any part of this country, "If your homes are taken from you because of your loyalty to the principles of organized labor we will stand by until the deed is to be committed and then we will desert you and let those who would strip you of your property and your life savings do so." This committee does not say that we will assume the fines or anything else; we only say that we will go as far as we have gone and we will continue all the assistance we have been giving in the past. And we have not yet contended as an organized labor movement that the court is justified in taking away property of the members of organized labor, and I think it would be a mistake for this convention to send word to the men whose homes have been attached that we will leave them without any assistance. I think the report of the committee should be adopted without the amendment.

Delegate Barnes (J. N.) offered the following as an amendment to the amendment: I move that the American Federation of Labor assume the court costs and all awards or penalties, if any, that may be imposed in connection with the Danbury Hatters' litigation, and the Executive Council is authorized to prepare and promulgate such plan as they deem wise to secure the needed finances. (Seconded by Delegate Williams.)

Treasurer Lennon discussed the question, speaking in favor of the report of the committee and opposing both amendments. He referred at length to the effect such action as contemplated in the amendments would have, not only upon the Hatters' case, but upon the efforts that were to be made by organized labor to either amend or repeal the Sherman Anti-Trust Law, and in closing offered the following motion: That the resolution of Delegate Barnes, the minority report of Delegate Furuseth and so much of the report of the committee as might be construed to guarantee the payment of an award be deferred for consideration until the third day of the next convention, when it shall be a special order at 2 o'clock in the afternoon.

President Gompers—The motion is out of order. You cannot determine what the

special order for the next convention shall be.

Delegate Woll opposed both amendments. He discussed the legal phase of the case, referred to the various trials of the case and the effect the adoption of the amendments might have on future trials.

Delegate Furuseth spoke in favor of the amendment or minority report.

Delegate Lawlor (M.) discussed the question, and in reply to a statement made by a former speaker said that \$60,000 had been paid out by the Hatters in defense of the men whose property had been attached. He reviewed briefly the trials of the case and the course it would probably take in the next year or two, and said that the questions raised by the amendments might be left for the next convention or the one following to decide. He stated that he did not oppose the amendment offered by Delegate Barnes, but did not consider this the opportune time to present it.

The amendment offered by Delegate Barnes was lost by a vote of 147 in the negative to 7 in the affirmative.

The amendment offered by Delegate Furuseth was lost by a vote of 151 in the negative to 6 in the affirmative.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Delegate Furuseth—I would like to be permitted to make two motions I think are important just now with reference to this report. I move that the report adopted by this convention dealing with the Sherman Anti-Trust Law be, at the opening of Congress, submitted to the committee having the Sherman Anti-Trust Law under consideration. (Seconded.)

President Gompers—The chair would suggest that it be submitted to the committees in both the House and the Senate.

Delegate Furuseth—That is satisfactory to me.

Delegate Barnes—Does Delegate Furuseth mean the Executive Council's report or the report that has just been submitted?

President Gompers—All reports bearing on the subject.

The motion offered by Delegate Furuseth was carried.

Delegate Furuseth—I move that the action taken by this convention upon the

Seamen's Bill be transmitted at once, so that it will be in Washington on Tuesday morning, to Senator Burton, the chairman of the committee having the Seamen's Bill in charge.

The motion was seconded by Delegate Hayes (M. S.), and carried.

Delegate Baine, Secretary of the committee, continued the report as follows:

Resolution No. 1.—By Delegate Wm. D. Huber, Frank Duffy, Fred Wheeler, A. M. Swartz, Dan Featherston, William J. Kelly, W. E. Hemsell, of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America:

At the Seventeenth Biennial Convention of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, held in Washington, D. C., from September 16th to 28th, 1912, the Special Committee on Injunctions submitted the following report, which was concurred in by the convention:

"We, your special committee appointed by this convention to consider the court injunction in labor matters, and in special regard to the resolution from the New York State Council of the United Brotherhood, report as follows:

"That the reckless and unwarranted use of court injunctions has resolved itself into mere judicial anarchy. The frightful usurpation of unwarranted power has caused hundreds of thousands of the workers and toilers of our land to be lead like sheep to the shambles. Of the hundreds of injunctions issued scarce one has been issued for the protection of the lives or fortunes of the laborer, but on the contrary, they have been issued upon the slightest pretext to harass and annoy those who are engaged in a desperate struggle for existence. We agree with Thomas Jefferson, who with prophetic vision said: 'I regard the courts as a subtle corps of sappers and miners, who if left unrestrained, taking a little here and gaining a little there, will eventually undermine the liberties of the American people.'

"We believe the time has long passed when we, as representatives of the working class of America, should arouse the people to these facts, and do here and now protest against our judiciary taking unto itself such powers as were never contemplated by the founders of this republic and which if allowed to continue will result in a judicial oligarchy that would shame a Russian czar.

"Solemnly believing this to be true, we submit to this convention this declaration; therefore, be it

"RESOLVED, that this Seventeenth General Convention of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America do declare as being in favor of the right of recall of judges and judicial decisions and that we use every lawful means at our command to secure its adoption; and, be it further

"RESOLVED, that a copy of this resolution be sent to the American Bar Association and to the Bar Association of New York State, and that our delegates to the A. F. of L. Convention at Rochester be instructed to present a copy of the same to that convention and to work for its passage."

The committee reported that the whole subject matter having been covered by their report upon the report of the President and Executive Council, they deemed no further action necessary.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 51.—By Delegate Oscar F. Nelson of the National Federation of Postoffice Clerks:

WHEREAS, The National Federation of Postoffice Clerks in convention assembled has instructed its officers to endeavor to have the law classifying their salaries amended so as to provide a wage that will permit them to maintain decent living conditions for their families and themselves; and

WHEREAS, The Postoffice Clerks are wholly without redress for themselves or families in the event they are injured or killed in the performance of duty in that they cannot sue the Government and have therefore instructed their officers to seek to have established by law a provision that will establish the Government's liability and provide compensation in cases where they are injured or killed while on duty; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, do hereby instruct our Legislative Committee to assist the officers of the National Federation of Postoffice Clerks in every way possible to have such legislation enacted into law.

The committee recommended reference to Executive Council with the request to give the postal employees such assistance as it can to obtain better wages and to be included in the compensation law passed by Congress for the benefit of some of the employees of the Federal Government.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 53.—By Delegate Fred Brockhausen, of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The Constitution of the United States guarantees trial by jury; and

WHEREAS, This guarantee has been set aside because of usurpation by our Courts; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council and the Legislative Committee shall demand of Congress to set aside the ruling of the Courts and restore to the people the Constitution as guarantee.



The committee reported that that subject matter, being fully covered by their former report they deemed no further action necessary.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 67—By Delegates T. V. O'Connor, Thos. Harrison, Geo. E. Neesham and A. J. Chlopek of the International Longshoremen's Association:

WHEREAS, The Alien Contract Labor Law has been almost entirely eliminated from the statute books of the United States by reason of the rulings and decisions rendered by United States Attorney Wickersham; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to draw up and introduce in the next session of Congress a bill that will prevent foreign seamen from performing the work of longshoremen on the wharves of the United States; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this bill be drawn in such a manner as to also protect all American workers.

The committee recommends non-concurrence.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 73—By Delegate Paul Scharrenberg of the San Francisco Labor Council:

WHEREAS, The menace of Chinese labor, now greatly allayed by the passage and enforcement of the Chinese Exclusion Act, has been succeeded by an evil similar to its general character but much more threatening in its possibilities, to wit: The immigration to the United States and its insular territory of large and increasing numbers of Japanese, Koreans, Hindus and other races native of Asia; and

WHEREAS, The American public sentiment against the immigration of Chinese labor, as expressed and crystallized in the Chinese Exclusion Act, finds still stronger justification in the demanding of prompt and adequate measures of protection against the immigration of Japanese, Koreans and Hindus and other races native of Asia, on the grounds (1) that the wage and living standard of such labor are dangerous to, and must, if granted recognition in the United States, prove destructive of the American standards in these essential respects; (2) that the racial incombatability as between the peoples of the Orient and the United States present a problem of race preservation which it is our imperative duty to solve in our own favor, and which can only be thus solved by a policy of exclusion; and

WHEREAS, The systematic colonization by the Orientals of our insular territory in the Pacific, and the threatened and partly accomplished extension of that system to the Pacific Coast and other western localities of the United States, con-

stitutes a standing danger, not only to the domestic peace, but to the continuance of friendly relations between the nations concerned; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Thirty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that the terms of the Chinese Exclusion Act should be enlarged and extended so as to permanently exclude from the United States and its insular territory all races native of Asia and other than those exempted by the present terms of that Act; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That these resolutions be submitted through the proper channels to the Congress of the United States, with a request for favorable consideration and action by that body.

The committee reported as follows:

This resolution having been adopted at several previous conventions, your committee recommended that previous action be re-affirmed.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 99—By Delegate T. J. Dolan, of the International Union Steam Engineers:

WHEREAS, A bill is now in the U. S. Senate, establishing a Department of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention go on record asking all members of the Senate to vote for the passage of this bill so it may become a law by March 4th, 1913; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this Resolution be sent to each U. S. Senator, and also a copy to Congressman Sulzer, the father of this bill.

The committee recommended concurrence.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 97—By Delegate T. J. Dolan, of the International Union Steam Engineers:

WHEREAS, The Government of the U. S. is a large employer of labor on public work; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention go on record in favor of liberal appropriations, by Congress, for all class of public works, where men can be kept steadily employed.

The committee reported as follows:

Appropriations should be made because they are needed, not because it may furnish work.

Your committee recommended non-concurrence.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 98—By Delegate T. J. Dolan, of the International Union Steam Engineers:

WHEREAS, There is now on the Senate Calendar a bill making eight hours a day's work on all Government dredge contracts; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the A. F. of L. in Convention assembled, goes on record requesting all members of the U. S. Senate to pass this bill before the 4th day of March, 1913; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be sent to every member of the U. S. Senate and the President of the U. S. by the Secretary of the A. F. of L.

The committee recommended concurrence.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

Delegate Baine—This completes the report of the Committee on President's Report.

Respectfully submitted,

ANDREW FURUSETH, Chairman,  
C. L. BAINE, Secretary.  
JAMES WILSON,  
THOS. F. TRACY,  
FRANK DUFFY,  
G. L. BERRY,  
W. D. CLARK,  
J. J. CREAMER,  
HUGH STEVENSON,  
HOMER D. CALL,  
OWEN MILLER,  
MARTIN LAWLER,  
WILLIAM GREEN,  
T. V. O'CONNOR,

Vice-President Duncan in the chair.

Delegate Conway—A matter has occurred within the last few weeks in connection with our organization that may be important later to organized labor. As the Executive Council is familiar with the controversy, I move you that the matter be referred to the Council with instructions, when needed and advisable, to give advice to the International Association in that controversy. (Seconded.)

The Executive Council endorsed the strike of the Retail Clerks in their session in Atlantic City. Sixteen weeks ago a strike was called of our membership. Every effort has been made, not only to kill the strike, but to disrupt our entire International Association. The latest move on the part of the firm that is involved in the strike has been the importing of a discredited and expelled member of our organization to come to the city where the strike is and institute legal proceedings asking for a receiver and the winding up of the affairs of the International Association. The question came up in court last Wednesday, but from telegraphic ad-

vice from our attorneys I learned the courts would not at that time set a specific date for the hearing of a demurrer or hear evidence in the case, and so we may be in a position to ask the advice of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and that the convention make it a part of the record.

Vice-President Duncan—Is there any objection to this being referred to the Executive Council? Hearing none, it is so referred.

President Gompers—Mr. Chairman, I ask to be recognized for a question of the highest personal privilege. The nature of it is an attack upon me, not only as President of the American Federation of Labor but as a union man. I have waited several days in the hope that some tangible explanation might be made or a repudiation of it, and thus far nothing has been forthcoming. I recognize the fact that at a session the day after the publication in the Rochester Herald of this attack, Delegate Tobin made some reference to it, and Delegate McDonald made use of a remark which was not quite clear to me, as not having any knowledge of what he characterized as "bunk."

However, before I proceed to say anything in regard to the subject I here and now, in the presence of this convention, ask Delegate McDonald if that which was published in the Rochester Herald on Tuesday, November 19th, 1912, whether in words or in substance, he will now say he was accurately or inaccurately quoted.

Delegate McDonald—If you will permit a very brief explanation I will say why I did not make the statement before on the floor of this convention. The day after I landed in Rochester some unauthorized person heralded it broadcast over this country that McDonald was the radical Socialist leader that was going to oppose Gompers for the presidency. They did not get that information from me; they did not come near me in regard to that matter. They published it repeatedly day after day, and then they wound up by trying to put me in the hole in this statement referred to by President Gompers. I say now I did not make that statement as it appeared in the Herald. I say further, the reason I did not make any reference to it is this: That when I saw somebody, I don't know who, was trying to hold

me up before this convention in a ridiculous light. I knew it was not done for the purpose of injuring President Gompers, it was done to injure me personally. I am not responsible for that statement because it does not quote me correctly. I did not make the statement. I did not say I was going to oppose President Gompers, nor am I responsible for this slanderous method of trying to hold me up to ridicule for the delectation of the delegates in a vaudeville show given for them where I was characterized as a Chinaman or something of that sort.

President Gompers made a brief statement, in which he said he yielded every right and consideration to every man no matter how he might differ from him. He stated he was in no way responsible for the article that appeared in the Rochester Herald nor for the theatrical performance mentioned by Delegate McDonald. Delegate McDonald stated he did not hold President Gompers responsible for that occurrence.

President Gompers—Delegate McDonald says he was misquoted. I accept that, but I would like to know in what particular he was misquoted, because there may be some statements which are misquotations and there may be others in which he is substantially accurately quoted, and taking the entire matter it would be a misquotation, and therefore I will ask the Secretary to read the article.

Secretary Morrison — The article is headed, "Gompers Not A Good Union Smoker. Accused of Having Non-Union Cigars in His Apartments. Strong Opposition to the Administration. Socialists and Others Are for Election of Officers by Initiative and Referendum." The article is as follows:

"Duncan McDonald of the United Mine Workers, speaking last night at a meeting of A. F. of L. delegates who are opposed to the administration, said that his disgust against the administration of President Gompers was so strong that if no one was nominated to run against him he would nominate a wooden Indian or a yellow dog to run against him. The meeting was the advertised caucus of the Socialists, but was attended by several who had not previously allied themselves with this group. At midnight the caucus was still debating the best method of bringing their 'punch' to bear with the greatest force on the administration, and the sentiment seemed to be that a fight ought to be made, even though defeat is staring them in the face.

"Duncan McDonald said President Gompers is not even a good trades unionist. Even at this convention he is staying at a hotel that does not recognize unionism in any form with the possible exception of the bar. You may often go into his rooms and see a box of non-union cigars stuck up on his shelf. I have made a thorough investigation of Mr. Gompers from records in Washington, and I am convinced that he is not a good unionist. If no one else will name a candidate to run against him I will nominate a wooden Indian or a yellow dog. I tell you I am utterly disgusted with the farce of the election of President Gompers.

"Mr. McDonald said that the miners are also disgusted with the administration, and like sentiments were expressed from delegates from Chicago."

President Gompers—No man should try, and I do not wish to constitute myself as a censor of any man's opinions; but when a man indulges in direct charges, then they are matters of concern to the man charged, and therefore I am going to ask Delegate McDonald specifically the question as to whether he made the statement "that President Gompers is not a good trades unionist?"

Delegate McDonald—Absolutely no. I did not make that statement. I want to go a little farther, with your permission, and will tell you exactly what I said on this matter. Replying to a statement by one of the delegates about men being trades unionists—I was referring to what he said—I made the remark, "Why, some of our trades unionists do not even have enough regard for the trade union movement to buy union-made cigars; that some trades unionists who carry union cards and are prominent in the labor movement do not have enough regard for the label to smoke union-made cigars."

President Gompers stated that it had been brought to his attention that the man who reported the proceedings for the Rochester Herald was a Socialist, and that the report which he wrote and published was seen by several delegates to the convention before it was turned in as copy for the paper, although he was told it was a slanderous statement and ought not to be published.

Delegate McDonald stated that he had learned that before it was turned in as copy somebody had gone to the publisher of the paper and said, "We will stand back of that statement." Delegate McDonald stated the man who had given him that information was in the convention and

could speak for himself if he wished, but he did not feel justified in using his name.

President Gompers—I will ask Delegate McDonald a question as to this statement, "I have made a thorough investigation of Mr. Gompers from records in Washington and I am convinced he is not a good unionist."

Delegate McDonald—I did not make that statement.

President Gompers—I haven't anything more to say.

Delegate McDonald made a brief statement in which he again denied the correctness of the newspaper article, and said, "How could I make a statement of that character; I have never been in Mr. Gompers' room and he knows it. I do not know who is responsible, and I care less, but I wish I knew who was responsible for characterizing me on the vaudeville stage as a Chinaman. If it is because of the fact that I am one of the miners' delegates and recognized as opposed to the administration, I want to know it. If we are not wanted in this convention as miners' delegates trying to carry out the honest instructions of our membership, all you need to do, gentlemen, is to say so and I will leave the convention as one delegate from the miners' organization.

Now I will tell you why I did not bring this on the floor of this convention. When I saw the first statement that I was going to oppose President Gompers, then saw this other statement, and then heard of this thing on the vaudeville stage, I wondered what would appear next morning and made up my mind to suffer in silence and see how far they would go. I do not know who saw this copy before it went to the press; but if I saw it before it went to the press, the man who was responsible for it would have answered to me personally, because I will not permit men to hold me up to ridicule and public scorn. Since I came to this convention I have tried to conduct myself as a delegate worthy of the respect and confidence of the men who sent me here. I have not made a statement on the floor of this convention I am ashamed of. I try to fight for the principles our membership stand for and for the instructions

they gave me, and I rather assume, whether I am right or wrong, that a very concerted effort was being made to put myself and a few others in as bad light as possible. If I had made those statements I would not consider myself a fit subject to be a trades unionist, let alone represent as one of the delegates, the largest organization represented on the floor of this convention.

President Gompers—I want Delegate McDonald to accept what I say in absolute good faith; that I accept without qualifications his explanation and denial. With others I have given the best that is in me to help build up the American Federation of Labor and the labor movement. I have welcomed every organization of bona fide working men to come into our Federation, and whether they agree with me or disagree with me it makes no particular difference in my personal feeling or personal relation with them. They know that. And in the convention, whenever a difference comes up, of course that difference must be made clear and clean-cut. In that I am uncompromising. But here to-day you have set a special order for the election of the officers of the American Federation of Labor. The report of the Committee on President's Report has been received by this convention. Discussion upon the year's work, in a way, has been had, and nothing of this character has developed until the discussion on the matter which I brought to the attention of the delegates. Could I, as one who may be nominated for the presidency of the American Federation of Labor, allow this entire matter to be buried in oblivion so far as the convention officially is concerned and allow the election to proceed under possible misapprehension as to me or misapprehension as to Delegate McDonald? I felt I owed it to him, I owed it to the convention, as well as to myself, to bring it before the delegate, and I am perfectly satisfied with the present status of the matter.

Delegate Walker (J. H.) arose to a question of personal privilege and asked permission to make a statement in regard to a portion of Delegate

Egan's discussion when the minority report of the Committee on Education was being discussed. Delegate Walker stated that he presented the minority report and understood Delegate Egan to say in discussing it that the man who presented the subject had been, prior to this time, preaching free love and Fletcherism and a number of other characterizations of the same kind. In commenting on the matter Delegate Walker said in part: This is, I think, the seventh convention of the American Federation of Labor I have attended as a delegate, for six years representing my own organization and one year representing the State Federation of Labor of Illinois. I don't think there is a man in Illinois, or outside of it, that is more tolerant of other men's views or attitudes, or more liberal in giving them the same right I ask for myself than I am. I think every man and woman here who knows anything about me will agree with that statement. So far as preaching free love is concerned, I want to say to you that the gentleman who made the statement and no other man here or anywhere ever heard me advocating that proposition anywhere under any circumstances. The matter that was introduced by myself as the minority report was presented to this convention by the delegates representing our union; we were instructed to bring it here by our last International Convention, in which there was something like 1,200 delegates, who adopted that motion instructing us to bring it here by unanimous vote. In the matter of the election by referendum of the officers of the American Federation of Labor we were instructed by the same convention, by the same kind of vote, to bring it here and vote for it and do everything within our power to get it adopted.

Delegate Egan arose to a question of personal privilege to reply to the statement of Delegate Walker, and said in part: I am going to read from the records the statement I made. I stated "that the organization I belong to, the International Typographical Union, had industrial unionism when the men outside our ranks, who are now trying to disrupt the American Feder-

ation of Labor, were preaching free love and Fletcherism."

Delegate Egan—That is from the stenographic report of the official proceedings.

Delegate Walker stated he would accept the record quoted by Delegate Egan.

#### Report of Committee on Resolutions.

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

Resolution No. 107—By Delegate Jacob Tazelaar of the Brotherhood of Painters:

WHEREAS, The Commissioner of Labor of the State of New York has, on many occasions, refused to aid the organized labor movement in prosecuting employers who violate the provisions of the labor laws of that state; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention petition the Governor of New York State requesting the removal of John Williams, Commissioner of Labor of New York State.

The committee recommended non-concurrence.

A motion was made and seconded that the recommendation of the committee be concurred in.

Delegate Tazelaar opposed the recommendation of the committee. He stated he had no quarrel with the gentleman referred to in the resolution, but in the interests of organized labor and of the American Federation of Labor he deemed it to be his duty to offer the resolution demanding the removal of the commissioner. Delegate Tazelaar detailed at some length conditions in Mineville, New York, where a federal labor union of the American Federation of Labor existed for years, whose members were unable to build up their organization because of the opposition of the Witherbee-Sherman Company. He stated the condition there had been brought to the attention of the Labor Commissioner; that the labor commissioner had been allowed something like two and one-half or three months to make an investigation, and acting under the laws of the state he should have presented the evidence to the district attorney of that county to begin prosecutions, but that he had failed to bring the cases to the district attorney. Delegate Tazelaar referred also to his work as organizer for the American Federation of Labor during the laundry workers' strike

in New York, and claimed that Mr. Williams had failed to present to the district attorney in that case evidence of violations of the law on the part of the employers.

Vice-President Duncan in replying to the statements of Delegate Tazelaar said in part: The committee told Delegate Tazelaar that if there was a grievance in New York state against this commissioner of such importance as to warrant a resolution of this kind to be considered by the committee it was marvelous to us that it was not reported to the convention by the State Federation of New York, which has recently been held. Nothing has come from that convention to this convention on the subject. We had no hearings upon it, because Delegate Tazelaar told the committee it made no difference what our report was on the subject he would make a statement and submit his testimony on the floor of the convention, and we therefore did not take testimony from him or send to Commissioner Williams to offer testimony in rebuttal, but referred the resolution with nonconcurrence.

Delegate Kelley (Wm. J.), discussed the question at length, and said in part: I do not rise in defense of Labor Commissioner Williams of the State of New York because he is a member of the Carpenters' Union. I do not believe the resolution was presented in good faith; and, as has been stated by the chairman of the committee, the proposition should have been taken up in the New York State Branch convention which met last September. Nothing was brought before the convention in reference to Labor Commissioner Williams except in a complimentary manner. The activity of John Williams, as Labor Commissioner of New York, can best be explained from the proceedings of the New York State Federation of Labor, which was held at Poughkeepsie, September 17-20, this year. When the New York State organizations went after the fifty-four-hour bill Mr. Williams, who was one of the most active men in its behalf, and President Harris, who is a delegate to this convention, drew the attention of the delegates of that State convention to the fact that Labor Commissioner Williams, in a memorandum to the Governor in regard to the fifty-four-hour bill, said:

"Without fear of any untoward consequences to the industrial and commercial interests of our state, I urge the approval of this bill."

President Harris said: "Taking into consideration Commissioner Williams' efforts in behalf of this bill, and in view of the fact that the law takes effect the first day of October, I have invited him to address the convention so that the delegates may know at first hand preparations made by the Labor Department for its enforcement and to gain such other information as they desire as to the laws enacted through our efforts and which are enforced by the Labor Department."

Thomas D. Fitzgerald, Chairman of the Legislative Committee of the State Federation, in his annual report, while discussing the fifty-four-hour bill for women, said: "One of the strongest documents filed with the Governor giving reasons why the bill should receive his signature was from Labor Commissioner Williams, and the convention itself, after going over the matter, received this report: 'Your committee must also acknowledge its great indebtedness for services, guidance and co-operation of Labor Commissioner Williams.'"

Now in reference to the statement that was brought out by Delegate Tazelaar in reference to the situation at Mineville, New York. The answer of that local itself is the best evidence as to how they viewed the situation there. Here is a copy of a resolution as passed by that local:

Laborers' Protective Union, No. 8079,  
Mineville, N. Y., affiliated with the A.  
F. of L.; affiliated with the N. Y. S.  
of L.

Office of Secretary,  
Mineville, N. Y.

H. B. Wykes:

At a largely attended meeting of Laborers' Protective Union, No. 8079, of Mineville, N. Y., held on the 28th day of January, 1912, the following resolution was adopted by the unanimous standing vote:

WHEREAS, During the month of August, 1911, Mr. Jacob Tazelaar, organizer for the American Federation of Labor, brought to the attention of Witherbee, Sherman & Co., a condition of affairs that required some action by the company; and,

WHEREAS, The company did not act as soon as it was thought they should Mr. Tazelaar caused to have published

statements that were so incomplete as to place the above company in a false light before the public; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, By this union that we condemn the action taken by Mr. Tazelaar; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That we send a copy of this resolution to Witherbee, Sherman & Co., showing our appreciation of the manner in which they have treated our union through this whole matter, and thanking them for the action that has already been taken.

Signed, Committee on Resolutions.  
Dated, January 31, 1912.

I do not believe it is necessary to take up any more of your time on this last day. The proceedings of the New York Federation are here and there are many other items in it that could be quoted which are commendations of Labor Commissioner Williams of New York:

Delegate Tazelaar requested permission to discuss the matter further and reply to statements made by Delegate Kelley. The question was called for, and a motion made and carried that debate close.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried by a vote of 125 in the affirmative to 5 in the negative.

**Resolution No. 123—By Delegate Joseph Smith, of the Michigan State Federation of Labor:**

WHEREAS, For years the Michigan State Federation of Labor, and many central labor unions have declared their opposition to local option and prohibition, and have pledged their different organizations against any attempt to bring about local option in Michigan; and

WHEREAS, John B. Lennon, treasurer of the American Federation of Labor is using his office in the local option fight in Michigan, and using his office on the front page of The American Issue, the official organ of the Michigan Prohibition party, and on February 12, 1912, there appeared in that paper an article by Mr. Lennon, his picture, and under his name, Treasurer—The American Federation of Labor. In view of the fact and the position taken by organized labor in Michigan against local option; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That we, the delegates to the Twenty-third Annual Convention of the Michigan State Federation of Labor, instruct our delegates to the next Convention of the American Federation of Labor, to protest against Mr. Lennon using his high office to defeat the expressed will of organized labor in Michigan.

Delegate Frey, Secretary of the Committee:

On resolution No. 123 the introducer informed your committee that if John B.

Lennon states that the title of his office in the A. F. of L. had been used with his name while lecturing, without his authority and that he discountenanced the use of his official title in the A. F. of L. in his lecturing engagements he (the introducer of the resolution) would consider that statement to be satisfactory. On the other hand John B. Lennon assured your committee that he had never so authorized the use of his title. Your committee therefore, recommends non-concurrence with the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be adopted.

Delegate Smith, in discussing the question, said in part: I introduced the resolution regarding Mr. Lennon on instructions from the Michigan State Federation of Labor. As I stated to the committee, this is no attempt to restrict the free speech of Mr. Lennon or any other man. If I had thought it was, I would never have introduced the resolution. Since I was before the committee I have received information from Michigan instructing me to bring this matter on the floor of this convention. In the Michigan State Federation of Labor there was introduced a resolution signed by forty-nine delegates, and they claimed that Mr. Lennon was using his title or associations in opposition to the saloons and in favor of local option and by that means connecting the American Federation of Labor with the local option fight in Michigan, hence the pretext.

Treasurer Lennon—I do not intend to enter into the discussion of what lies back of the resolution. I want to read exactly what I have written to the people in the respective localities where I have spoken on this question, and having read that, I am perfectly willing that this convention shall vote upon the matter: "I desire that in any advertising done where my name is used, that you state clear and plain that I speak, not officially as Treasurer of the A. F. of L. or as in any way representing the Federation, but simply as an individual union man stand-incorporated in the record?"

Delegate Sullivan (J. L.)—Will the statement just made by Delegate Lennon be incorporated in the records?

Treasurer Lennon—Yes sir. I will hand it to the Secretary.

President Gompers—It will be incorporated.

Delegate Proebstle—I have no object in disapproving the report of the committee, but will say that the declaration made by Brother Lennon, that he is acting as an individual and not as the Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor is satisfactory.

Treasurer Lennon—I only appear as an officer of the American Federation of Labor to advertise the fact just as much by denying that I am not there in the capacity of Treasurer as I do when I sign my name to it or proclaim that I am not there as Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor. If I am on the platform and I say to my audience that I do not represent the American Federation of Labor

as its Treasurer, then I make the quasi-statement that I am the Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Proebstle—I only ask Delegate Lennon one favor. In behalf of the thousands of working men who have or will lose their positions and homes in the state of West Virginia, that he may go back after 1914 and investigate the conditions which prevail on the social evil which he has eliminated, as I have investigated the conditions in the state of Alabama when that state went under prohibition. That is the only favor I ask of Delegate Lennon.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

At 12:30 the convention was adjourned to reconvene at 2 p. m.

## Tenth Day—Saturday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2 p. m., Saturday, November 23rd, President Gompers in the chair.

**Absentees** — Noschang, Klapetzky, Kline, (J. W.), Kramer, Crozier, Strom, Goelnitz, Shiff, Conway (H. J.), Yount, Feeney, Dolan, Langer, Bryan (W. E.), Healey (Dennis), Lowe, Allen, Call, Cannon, Weber (J. N.), Miller (Owen), Tracey (Wm. J.), Leonard, Murphy (P.), Whitehead, Gallagher (T. J.), Weeks, Hanson, Huddleston, Welch (M. R.), Donnelly, McGrath, Vanderveld, Preble, Sullivan (J. H.), McCarthy (F. H.), Sause, Landers, Gillispee, Privett, Kane (J. M.), Burns (E. S.), Elyea, Doherty, Hunter, Bonner, Stokes, Felto, Wood (E. V.), Bates, Spencer, Wildberger, Lawler, Sinclair, Waldron, Lebowitz, Mulkern, Johnson (J. E.), Beckman.

### Report of Committee on Resolutions.

Delegate Frey, Secretary of the Committee—Your committee had three resolutions referred to it relative to the initiative and referendum in the election of officers of the American Federation of Labor, and the committee acted on them collectively.

Resolution No. 112—By Delegate Duncan McDonald of the United Mine Workers:

The Initiative, Referendum and Recall have been adopted by a number of States, and is no doubt to be in the near future an established method of selecting and removing men to represent them and recall those unworthy of the trust reposed in them. No good reason has been advanced why this principle should not be carried

into effect in the affairs of the American Federation of Labor, therefore be it

**RESOLVED**, That we amend Section 1, Article 5, by substituting therefore the following:

Section 1. The officers of the Federation shall consist of a President, eight Vice-presidents, a Secretary and a Treasurer, to be elected as follows:

The President, Vice-presidents, Secretary and Treasurer shall be elected by a referendum of the members. Four months prior to the month in which the American Federation of Labor is held, the Secretary shall prepare nomination blanks and send them to each national, international and federal labor union in sufficient number to provide each local with three copies. The recording secretary shall fill in the names of the members nominated by the local union for the various offices and forward the same to the national or international office of his organization inside of thirty days after receiving said blanks. In case of federal labor unions the returns shall be sent direct to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor.

Section 2. The secretaries of the federal, national or international unions shall, within ten days, tabulate the nominations received and forward same to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, who shall, within ten days after receiving the total number of nominations, notify the two receiving the highest number of nominations and who shall have qualified as herein provided for each of the respective positions, whose consent must be obtained, but no person shall be eligible who is not in good standing in his respective organization, which fact must be attested by the President and Secretary of



the Local of which the nominee is a member. Said acceptance to be sent in to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor within ten days.

Section 3. No nominee filing his acceptance with the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor shall be allowed to withdraw his name. The Secretary shall prepare ballots giving the name, location and occupation of the person accepting the nomination, and shall furnish each affiliated organization with a sufficient number to provide every member in good standing a ballot not later than thirty days prior to the convening of the convention.

Section 4. Local recording secretaries must notify their members by posting notices or otherwise at least one week prior to the dates set for the nominations and election of officers.

Section 5. Each local union shall designate at a regular meeting of the local, where its election shall be held and the place so designated shall be the official voting place of such local union, and under no circumstances shall the votes of any local union be cast or tabulated in any other place than that designated, and no member shall be allowed to interfere with the official tellers during the voting or the tabulation of same.

Section 6. No member shall be allowed more than one vote for any candidate, nor shall the local tellers record the vote of any member who is not present at the time the election is held, except officers, organizers and workers for the organization away from home at the time the election is held, whose vote shall be recorded if sent to the secretaries of their respective local unions.

Section 7. Each Local shall select from among its members not less than three nor more than six, two of whom must be the president and secretary of the local to act as local tellers, whose duty shall be to supervise the election and, when requested, instruct the members how to vote and tabulate the votes cast by the members and enter on the "return sheet" furnished by the secretary for such purpose the total number of votes cast for each candidate. The correctness of the "return sheet" must be attested with the local seal and signatures of the president and the recording secretary of the local union, same to be forwarded to the secretary of their respective national or international unions.

Section 8. The secretary of the national or international unions shall have the returns totaled and forward same to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, who shall have the same counted and report same to the convention.

Section 9. The persons receiving the highest number of votes shall be declared elected to the various positions as hereinafter provided. The candidate for Vice-president receiving the highest number of votes shall be first vice-president, the one receiving the next highest second vice-president and so on until eight have been chosen, provided further that no two officers shall be from the same organization.

Resolution No. 114—By Delegate Joseph D. Cannon of the Western Federation of Miners:

On the first day of the fourth month preceding that on which the Convention of the American Federation is held, local unions shall have the right to make nominations for the executive offices of the Federation as follows:

For the offices of president, secretary and treasurer, one nomination each and for the offices of vice-presidents eight nominations. Returns of nominations by locals to be made to national and international secretaries not later than the first day of the third month preceding that in which the convention is held. Federal unions shall make returns to the secretary of the A. F. of L.

National and international secretaries shall make the necessary arrangements for the counting, tabulating and publishing of the returns of the primaries for the benefit of their members, and shall, not later than the tenth of the month, send these tabulated returns to the secretary of the A. F. of L.

The two candidates for the offices each of president, secretary and treasurer and the sixteen candidates for vice-presidents receiving the greatest number of nominations shall be declared the nominees for the offices for which they were candidates, providing they qualify. The secretary of the A. F. of L. shall, not later than the twentieth of the month notify each candidate of his nomination, and also the two candidates receiving the next and second next highest number of nominations, who shall be alternates, nominees, and alternates must before the fifteenth of the second month preceding that in which the convention is held, notify the secretary of the A. F. of L. in writing of their acceptance and eligibility.

In case of the failure of any nominee to qualify, the candidate receiving the next highest number of nominations shall be declared the nominee under the same conditions as those applied to the original candidate.

To be eligible for office, a candidate must have been a member in good standing for one year preceding his nomination.

The secretary of the A. F. of L. shall, not later than the twenty-fifth of the month, send to the secretary of federal unions, a sufficient number of ballots for the members thereof. Ballots to contain the names of the candidates properly listed for the offices for which they stand, and to the secretaries of the national and international unions he shall send forms of the ballots not later than the date specified above.

Secretaries of national and international unions shall, not later than the first day of the month preceding that in which the convention is held, have printed and sent to the locals, ballots in sufficient number for the members.

Locals shall conduct the elections and in no case vote any members not there

to vote in person, except organizers or other officers unavoidably absent in business of the Federation or some of its affiliated Unions. In that case, the absent one shall have the right to have his ballot presented, sealed and indorsed by his signature, same to be verified by secretary or other proper officer.

A local union that votes any of its members, not voting in person, or as described above, or that in any other way uses unfair methods, shall be penalized by having its entire vote thrown out.

Local unions shall make returns of the results of the elections to the national and international secretaries not later than the twentieth day of the month.

Secretaries of national, international and Federal Unions shall make tabulated returns of the result of the election in their organizations, not later than the first of the month in which the convention is to be held. The same to be published for the benefit of the members.

The convention, upon the completion of its organization, shall elect a committee of seven which shall canvass the vote and report its findings to the Conventions.

**Resolution No. 118—By Delegates John P. White, John Mitchell, Frank Hayes, Duncan McDonald, Wm. Green and J. H. Walker of the U. M. W. of A.:**

**WHEREAS,** There is a growing demand among the rank and file of the trades union movement to participate directly in the election of officers, not only of their respective unions, but of the American Federation of Labor as well; and

**WHEREAS,** Many of the affiliated national and international organizations have adopted the direct election of all their officers with satisfactory results; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** That the Committee on Law be instructed to prepare an amendment to the constitution providing for the election of officers of the American Federation of Labor by the referendum method.

On Resolutions 112, 114 and 118, and on that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the caption "Election of A. F. of L. officers by initiative and referendum. Investigation of subject," the committee reported as follows:

Your committee while in full accord with the declarations of the American Federation of Labor on the application of the initiative and referendum to the election of public officials and the enactment of general legislation, does not believe that it would be advisable to apply this method to the election of the officers of the American Federation of Labor. In the political field and on questions of legislation there is public and common information as fully available to one

citizen as to any other through the public forum and the press.

Your committee is aware that there are organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, which elect their officers by the initiative and referendum; also that some affiliated organizations which at one time applied the initiative and referendum to the election of their officers, have returned to the convention system because of their experiences under the former method, and that many affiliated organizations have not considered it advisable to adopt the initiative and referendum for that purpose. On that phase of the question members of unions electing officers through the initiative and referendum have opportunities through trade information of knowing something concerning the availability and qualifications of candidates for office. On the subject of applying the initiative and referendum to the election of the officers of the American Federation of Labor, your committee is as fully aware that neither of the preceding opportunities of essential information are apparent. The members of one union have little opportunity of receiving trade or other knowledge concerning the availability or personnel of members and nominees of other unions, for officers of the American Federation of Labor. Apart from the enormous cost of such a method of election, the possibility of irregularities in connection therewith; the evident multiplicity of nominations which would follow, and the impossibility of guaranteeing an election by a number approaching a majority vote, there is the evident fact that there are neither adequate methods of conducting such elections nor are there available opportunities for the dissemination of proper and essential information to properly conduct such an election.

Your committee has examined the report of the Executive Council upon the subject under consideration and find that in reply to the circular letter sent to all affiliated organizations on this matter as a result of the action of the Atlanta Convention on the subject, the officers of 52 affiliated organizations representing 890,249 members recorded themselves as opposed to the election of the officers of the American Federation of Labor, by the

initiative and referendum, while the officers of but 23 affiliated organizations representing 508,116 members expressed themselves in favor of this system.

For the reasons submitted and in view of the present method where in representative conventions officers are elected with due regard to their ability, fitness for the office for which they are selected, with fair and just consideration for the rights of affiliated organizations, your committee recommends non-concurrence with the resolutions, one member of the committee, Delegate Ward being recorded as not supporting the committee's report.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be concurred in.

Delegate Green (Wm.) in discussing the question, said in part: The United Mine Workers of America in their last convention instructed their delegates to introduce a resolution providing for the adoption in the constitution of the American Federation of Labor of laws providing for the election of officers by a referendum vote. One of the resolutions which the committee has referred to is a resolution introduced by the delegates of the United Mine Workers of America. I am not in accord with the committee's report, because I believe the initiative and referendum is fundamentally right. The members of the organization we have the honor to represent are wedded to this principle. I believe in the initiative and referendum, as one delegate to this convention, not because some other organization believes in it, not because any set of individuals believe in it; but I believe in it because I was taught to believe in it in the school of my local union. I remember a few years ago when our organization adopted this principle. Brother Mitchell was then president of our organization and in his report to the convention he advised that the convention adopt this method of electing officers. In accordance with his advice the delegates to that convention adopted the principle, and ever since the officers of the United Mine Workers of America have been elected by the members on a referendum vote at every election that has been held. Even the delegates who represent the United Mine Workers of America in this convention were elected by this method.

Delegate Green discussed at some length the practicability of the system and stated that the necessary machinery that would have to be provided in order to make it a success. He referred to the operation of the system in the Mine Workers' organization, and in concluding said: "This morning we adopted the recommendation of the committee on officers' reports which provided for the adoption of the initiative and referendum in governmental affairs; and if I remember correctly that report provided that we favor the voters of our country having the right to pass upon a constitutional amendment providing a petition is signed by eight per cent of the voters requiring the submission to them of such proposed amendment. And it also provided that statutory laws should be referred to them, provided a petition was signed by five per cent of the citizenship, I presume in either the state or in the nation. What does that mean? It means that we have expressed here in this resolution and in this report that the masses of the people are fully competent and capable of passing upon the fundamental law of our land. The organic law of the commonwealth or the federal constitution of the United States are far more important in character and application than whether or not the rank and file have the right and are capable and competent to elect the officers of their organizations. I want to ask you men in all fairness are we consistent when we demand for the working people the right to vote directly upon an amendment of the organic law of our nation, and then stand before the public and deny them the right to vote directly for the election of their own officers? It seems to me that position is inconsistent, it is indefensible and places the great mass of the working people of our country in an unenviable light. The objection that it is impracticable is not well founded, because if it is fundamentally right, then we ought to admit that we have the capacity within us to put into operation the proper machinery to make it practicable, and if it is right, if the rank and file, the men we have the honor to represent, are entitled to and should have the right to vote directly as to who shall be their officers,

then we should not longer withhold from them that right.

We are living in a most progressive age; we are living in the day when these reforms are slowly but surely coming. I predict that if it is not adopted at this convention it will not be many conventions hence until there will be incorporated in the constitution of the American Federation of Labor a provision for the election of officers by a referendum vote; and he who stands in the way may as well understand that he will either join the procession or be left by the wayside in this onward march of progress.

Delegate Garvey, in speaking in favor of the report of the committee and in opposition to the resolution, said in part: I am not in favor of any referendum. We suffered under that once in our Brotherhood. I see what kind of officers we have in to-day by electing them in the convention; they are officers that are a credit to any community in the world. I hope the report of the committee will be adopted and I hope I will never see this adopted in this Federation. I don't care who you put up in this convention as long as he is capable of filling the position. I am well acquainted with the men in this convention; I have been with them on the railroads and in conferences and I know they are capable of filling the offices, but if it went to that kind of vote it would be turned down. We come here and see them and know them and go among them, and we have a chance to cast our votes for the men we want. I am here as one of the tollers from the shop; I work every day and when I am sent to the convention I want to have my say about who is to be put in that chair, or that chair, or that chair, and my organization backs me up.

Delegate Tobin (J. F.), in discussing the question, spoke in favor of the report of the committee, and said in part: I want to be recorded here as one of the original referendum advocates in the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union. We had eleven years' experience under that system of electing officers. The system became so absolutely unsatisfactory and so productive of corruption that we were obliged to abandon it entirely and elect in the convention. It is a significant fact that in our union those who oppose change of

dues, from the old fashion of low dues and low benefits, were the ones who, after the high dues system had been adopted, and who had previously shown absolute indifference as to who might be the officers of the union, after we had demonstrated the success of the high dues system in our union and had reached six figures in our financial reserve, began to clamor for office. And with that clamor for office was produced the most vicious, unreasoning and untruthful attacks upon the officers of the organization they desired to replace.

Delegate Tobin spoke at some length of the experience of the Boot and Shoe Workers' organization while the referendum system was in force, and in closing said: We are told here that because the initiative and referendum applies in politics and it would make a satisfactory system of dealing with public affairs that it follows naturally that it must be good in the labor organizations, that economic organizations should be governed by the rank and file. You might as well say that because salt makes palatable some kinds of food a spoonful or two of salt in your coffee would make it palatable.

Delegate Proebstle—I arise for a correction of an editorial expression in the American Federationist for the month of March, 1912, in which the editor of the Federationist says: "At the Atlanta convention the Socialists dug a pitfall for the American Federation of Labor officials—and these officials promptly decided to tumble into it according to programme. Delegate Joseph Proebstle of the International Union of the United Brewery Workers of America introduced a resolution," etc., implying that the resolution was introduced by the Socialists. I want to tell the President and the delegates that never a Socialist faction or any Socialist has induced me to do something which I did not want to do. The resolution for the introduction of the initiative and referendum was introduced by me as far back as the Minneapolis convention. I was not a delegate and sent it to our delegates to be introduced. I personally introduced it in the Toronto and Atlanta conventions.

Delegate Proebstle spoke briefly of the matter contained in the report of the Executive Council, and in opposing the report of the committee, said in part:

Now, in connection with the report of the committee, I want to say it is absolutely illogical to say that no machinery could be found to make the introduction of the initiative and referendum practicable in the American Federation of Labor. I have a different story to tell from the President of the Shoe Workers. In my organization the referendum is practicable. Ninety per cent of the members are voting on every question put before them, and it does not cost an enormous sum of money either. The introducers of the proposition were fully willing that the burden of expense should be borne by the international organizations. It was not the intention to try to oust by referendum any of the officers; but in the march of progress it is necessary to give the rank and file of the organizations a say-so in regard to the fundamental laws. You may retard this progress for the time being; you may stem it, if you please, you'll finally conflict with the capitalistic system will eventually drive you to it. You have voted down the proposition for a partial introduction of the industrial organization system. Your rank and file is going to force you, the great capitalistic combines will also force you, and for such measures as this the initiative and referendum were intended. I have seen no logical reason advanced by the committee or the speaker who argued against the introduction of this system. The only thing possible which you are going to force is that you create discontent and dissatisfaction if you continue to rule from above and give the masses of the workers no voice at all in the administration of their labor organizations.

Delegate Scharrenberg asked Delegate Probstle how the delegates of the brewery workers to the A. F. of L. convention were elected. Delegate Probstle stated they were elected in the convention.

Delegate Tobin (D. J.), in speaking in favor of the report of the committee, said in part: There is not a delegate in this convention who does not believe the referendum is perhaps an absolute necessity in our political affairs, but it is entirely different when it comes to the election of officers of this organization. In the first place, there are a number of international organizations—I believe a majority—that have no system of referendum and do not

believe in that system of electing officers in labor unions, for the very reason that they know that in the organizations that now employ the referendum there is not a square deal in the election of officers; there is absolutely no chance for a square deal where the officers in charge are in favor of one of the individuals who is a candidate for office. We are opposed to the attempt to amend the constitution by providing for the election of officers by referendum. We do not believe it is practicable, we do not believe it is necessary. We have gone along under this system successfully for years, and I see no reason why we should change when we have had such satisfactory results from the present system.

Delegate Tobin spoke briefly of the experience of other organizations with the referendum method of electing officers, and referred particularly to the Mine Workers, stating that in one instance twenty thousand votes of the Illinois District were stolen out of the office of the mine workers and no account of them was made under the system of referendum election.

Delegate Franklin, in speaking in favor of the report of the committee, said in part: As a member of the committee and as a representative of an organization that has tried the referendum system in the election of its officers, I could not allow this opportunity to pass without raising a protest against the adoption of that system by the American Federation of Labor. We know all of the curses of the system of electing officers in an international organization by referendum, and it would be magnified if adopted by this convention. In my judgment the internationals that have the referendum system, or a great majority of them, are not satisfied with it, and as Delegate Tobin has told you, after trying it they have discarded that system. In 1906 the organization I have the honor to represent instructed the majority of the delegates at that convention, if nothing else was accomplished, to do away with the referendum system. Our organization has made more progress since that system has been discarded than it ever did in its history before.

Delegate Frey, secretary of the committee, in discussing the question and defending the report of the committee, said

In part: We have heard here about principles involved, but during my experience in the trade union movement I have found that facts and conditions were as important to consider as some principles that might be involved. And I doubt whether in this question, the principle of the application of the initiative and referendum, we can apply that to all conditions and all activities of men equally and satisfactorily. If it could be proven in this convention that the initiative and referendum for the election of officers of the affiliated unions have been eminently successful that in itself would not be an argument why this federation, which is composed of these various organizations, should adopt the same method, but the evidence is not, before this convention that this system has proven satisfactory to all of the affiliated organizations.

There are other reasons, to which I desire to direct your attention, why we should not adopt this system. We do not want to make politicians of our officers, we do not want to have them devote a large portion of their time, or a small portion of their time, in working for their re-election as the politician does in the political parties; and we are aware that under the initiative and referendum system of electing officers of trades unions we have had developed in this country during recent years state-wide campaigns on the part of candidates, with brass bands, opera houses, literature and other forms of excitement that go with political campaigns. The initiative and referendum would very likely develop some of our officers into the keenest type of politicians which is something we desire to avoid.

Delegate Frey spoke of the practice that has grown up in organizations that have the referendum vote of sending circulars in regard to candidates, and to newspapers that were the organs of certain political parties taking an active interest in the election of trades union officials. Continuing with his discussion, Delegate Frey said:

There is a little evidence I desire to lay before this convention. It is the expression of opinion from organizations that at present have adopted this system. In the February issue of the Painter and Decorator, the official organ of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paper

Hangers of America, I find this in an editorial relative to the vote that had just been canvassed:

"The reporting committee found irregularities and indications of fraud similar to those reported by the committee that canvassed the vote in the election to fill the vacancy in the Third General Vice-Presidency and makes the same recommendations—that some means be devised by which a stricter supervision of elections can be had."

"If confidence in the referendum system is to be maintained—to be restored would, perhaps be more correct—there must be positive assurance that the returns made are a true report of the votes of the members present and voting in elections. Swelling of the vote cannot be tolerated. The election officers of any union found guilty of this practice should be subject to severe penalties— forfeiture of membership would not be too drastic a punishment for violation of the sacredness of the ballot.

"Purity of elections must be had; organization politics must be kept clean. If corrupt practices go unwhipped, if the unscrupulous and unprincipled are permitted to thwart the will of the membership by the falsification of returns, respect for the Brotherhood will be weakened and confidence destroyed. Before another referendum election is held, the laws should be amended so that a repetition of these deplorable, disreputable and dangerous practices shall be impossible."

I find that in that election twenty-four local unions had their votes cast out, not for fraud, but because of error in complying with the election laws of that organization.

I would like to read you the report of the Canvassing Board of the Carpenters' Union, canvassing, I believe, the vote of 1900. The report in part is as follows:

"We further wish to state that the present method of election of General Officers seems to the undersigned, from the experience gained while acting on this committee, to be a clumsy and costly one, and if continued will ultimately wreck the organization, for which we give the following reasons:

"First—That it is a premium on illegal voting and sharp practice.

"Second—That it leaves with recording secretaries the power to disfranchise the local union by holding back returns and by not signing same, either through carelessness or intent.

"Third—that the membership at large are voting more or less blindly, not from lack of intelligence, but from lack of opportunity to be acquainted with the merits and demerits of the various candidates for office, and have to accept the opinions of the delegates or others who may be interested parties, and finally,

"That this method is enormously expensive. We give you the following bills of cost, furnished by the G. S., bearing in

mind that this does not include the cost entailed on each local union for meetings, postage, expressage, etc. (Many local unions sent their ballots in such a way that they could not be identified.)

The following is from "The Call" of New York, December 30, 1909. I will read it all, if the convention will allow, and then there will be no thought that parts are being skipped:

#### Socialist Party Questions.

"We have received several communications, intended for publication, advocating the election of this or that candidate, or this or that set of candidates, for the national executive committee. We do not intend to publish these communications and we wonder how any one, and least of all, experienced Socialist party members, could have expected us to publish them. Do you think that this paper is an organ of a faction within the party? And if they do think so, is it not very significant that people advocating different views and candidates have sent in their communications with apparently the same degree of confidence that they would be published?

"Possibly the writers of these communications think that because we have been publishing articles and letters representing opposite views on questions of party organization and policy, therefore we may also be expected to publish letters advocating the election of various men to the national executive committee. But the analogy is merely superficial. The presentation of different views on the same subject is a necessary part of the educational work of the Socialist press, while the use of the party press for championing or antagonizing candidates for party offices may lead to the grossest abuses and to endless mischief.

"But is it not in the nature of an anomaly that the Socialist press is, or should be, debarred from discussing a question submitted to the vote of the entire membership of the Socialist party? It is, indeed. But the anomaly is due not to the conduct of the press, but to the mode of election. Had our party been conducted on the same lines as other Socialist parties throughout the world, there would be no need of electing members of the national executive committee by a general vote, just as there would be no need of so many useless frequently silly, and occasionally mischievous referendums. All other Socialist parties, except our own, meet in annual conventions, which exercise sovereign power within the party and the decisions of which are accepted as final until the next convention. These annual conventions also elect the executive committees. But we seem to feel ourselves bound by the practice of the capitalist parties, and so meet only once in four years for the purpose of making nominations. And to counterbalance this evil, we create another evil—the fetich of

democracy, the referendum on party questions and the general vote for national officers.

"We are well aware that in attacking the democratic fetich we are treading on dangerous ground. Many well meaning and otherwise well informed Socialists think that the referendum and the general vote are not only the surest, but also the only way of ascertaining the true opinion of the party membership on questions of organization and policy and of securing real control over the party officials. Now, we may admit that so long as we meet only once in four years the referendum and general vote are unavoidable. But we deny that they serve the purposes which they are supposed to serve.

"In the first place, the result of a general vote does not necessarily reflect the opinion of the majority of party members. It only reflects the opinion of the majority participating in the vote. But the total number of those actually voting may be, and frequently has been, only a minority of the total party membership. So that the question is really decided by a minority of a minority. This is the democratic fetich of actual practice. It is a perversion of democracy, which no true democrat is bound to respect.

"But furthermore, it is not merely the opinion of the party membership that is needed in the decision of questions, but their best opinion, their intelligent opinion, based on a free and full discussion of the questions at issue. Now, intelligent opinion is not formed in isolation, but by the action and reaction of mind upon mind. This takes place only in deliberate assemblies. The opinion of a few party members meeting in their local organizations, or subdivisions thereof, is rarely formed after a full discussion of the question. All the materials for such a discussion are lacking. Such a discussion can only take place in a deliberate assembly composed of delegates who have come together for a special purpose, and who can obtain all the available facts upon which an intelligent judgment may be formed.

"But frequent Socialist party conventions are imperatively needed, not only for the purpose of deciding intelligently upon party questions, but also for the purpose of preventing the formation of factions and cliques. The multiplication of factions and cliques seems to us to be due to this, that new questions arise and press for solution while there is no established party organ for dealing with them and settling them. Only frequent, and if possible, annual party conventions are fitted to discuss and decide such questions as they arise, and before they have developed into serious causes of friction and division.

"It is unnecessary to add that only such conventions can exercise any real control over the national officers of the party. And the more numerous we become and the greater our organization, the more necessary does such control become."

Delegate Frey, during the discussion, read the following quotation from the Machinists Monthly Journal:

"I know the referendum has many redeeming features, but it is a menace to success unless every voter is made thoroughly familiar with the intended amendments and the qualities of the aspirants for office. This our present system fails to do in a miserable manner, and I doubt very much if it will ever be made to meet all such requirements.

"The election of officers two years ago was one of the greatest farces the I. A. of M. has ever been a party to. In fact, the full result is yet unknown, although we are upon the eve of another election now. I do not know what the last election cost the I. A. of M., but I understood it was up in the thousands of dollars. If anyone knows I would be pleased to hear what good results were accomplished thereby. It was also at a time when we needed money badly."

Delegate McCullough moved that the article from The Call be made part of the record of the convention. He withdrew the motion at that time, but stated he would renew it later.

Delegate Walker (J. H.)—I have no desire to take a part in the discussion, as I feel that Brother Green has put the case in about as strong a manner as it can be put, but Brother Tobin made some reference to the Illinois miners' recent election, and as president of that organization—we have something like 70,000 to 78,000 paid up members—I did not want to leave any room for any false impressions going out as to the elections in the recent past in that district. The referendum method of election of officers in Illinois has been established for a considerable number of years. We do not attempt to say that men who are not honest will not try to serve their own interests by unscrupulous methods in a referendum election, but in Illinois we have provided the machinery for safeguarding an election of that kind to the extent that in the last eight or nine years there has not been a single question as to the honesty of the elections raised in the Illinois convention, and I believe whatever weaknesses there may have existed in that regard in our international method of procedure has been safeguarded in such a way as to make it practically impossible for unfair elections to be held. The membership who are paying us, the men who do the voting and elect the officers and have to abide by the result of that elec-

tion in Illinois, or in my judgment, at least 99 per cent of them, after the system has been in existence for about ten years, would go to any extreme men can go honorably to prevent a renewal of the old system or prevent doing away with the referendum method of election in that district now.

Delegate Tobin (D. J.)—I wish to ask Delegate Walker, a question and to make a correction. You understand I did not insinuate there was anything wrong in the election of Illinois officers. Is it not a fact that in the election of your international officers at one time there were between 25,000 and 30,000 votes of your district that were unaccounted for after being sent to the international headquarters?

Delegate Walker—I knew what you meant and have no wish to charge you with leaving that understanding. I do not understand the exact number, but in one election there were a considerable number of votes that were unaccounted for, but since that time it has been made impossible for anything of that kind to occur.

President Gompers, in discussing the question, said in part: The proposition discussed in the editorial quoted from the New York Call was in regard to its own party organization and its own party propaganda. It wanted to remain neutral in the contest for office among its own party members, but there is no such attitude of neutrality when an election occurs in an international union. The New York Call and the New York Volkszeitung, both the English and the German Socialist daily papers have within this past few weeks been exceedingly busy in the election which is occurring in the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners.

President Gompers read the following quotation from the German paper, reading it first in German and then translating it:

"Carpenters, you are on the firing line. Every Socialist, every progressive member of the Brotherhood must do his duty this week, to go to the polls and vote for the progressive candidates on the progressive list."

I shall not undertake to analyze the entire editorial, but what I have read and translated is the last paragraph of the



editorial, and all of it leading up to the idea that the officers of the United Brotherhood who have officered that organization up to this time have been reactionary, have not had the interests of the Carpenters at heart.

There has not been an election in the International Cigar Makers' Union within the past fifteen years but that the Socialist papers have attacked the officers of the International Union and urged Socialists in the ranks to vote against them and spread broadcast slanders, vilification, attacks upon honor, character and motives of the men who had officered the International Union. When I was a candidate for Vice-President of the Cigar Makers' International Union the Hearst papers attacked me violently and bitterly, and other papers did. And I welcome their attacks and their criticism; it makes no difference to me; you may defeat me for an office, you cannot destroy my convictions.

Perhaps there are two-thirds of the international unions which have not introduced or have not now the system of electing officers by the initiative and referendum system. If you should adopt at this convention the initiative and referendum system how would you make those unions and their membership vote? Wouldn't you disfranchise them. It would lie in the power of the capitalist press, with their millions of dollars and the corporations with their billions of money to flood the country with their billingsgate and attacks upon officers they would want to defeat. How could an honest trade unionist counteract that? How would it be possible to counteract it?

President Gompers referred to the editorial in the March number of the American Federationist, part of which had been quoted by Delegate Proebstle. He stated he would be satisfied if the time could be afforded to read the entire editorial. The editorial was not read, but was made part of the record, and is as follows:

**Referendum Election of the A. F. of L. Officials.**

At the Atlanta Convention the Socialists dugged a pitfall for the American Federation of Labor officials—and these officials promptly decided to tumble into it, according to programme. Delegate Joseph Proebstle, of the International Union of United Brewery Workers of America, introduced a resolution (No. 97), declaring that "whereas the American Federation

of Labor has at all times favored the adoption of the Initiative and Referendum and Recall," etc., the convention adopt the Initiative and Referendum in the election of officers of the American Federation of Labor.

The Committee on Laws reported unfavorably on Resolution No. 97. One member of the committee, Delegate J. H. Walker, or the United Mine Workers, submitted a minority report, which we shall quote herein later. In the considerable debate which thereupon followed, the leading Socialist delegates exhibited but too plainly an exultation over having exposed what they regarded as a discrepancy between profession and practice on the part of delegates participating in the views of the majority of the committee adverse to the resolution. They hastened to work up ammunition on the point for the Socialist press and campaign orators lying in wait in the background. Delegate J. D. Cannon, of the Western Federation of Miners, indulged in sarcastic allusions to alleged inconsistencies of the President of the American Federation of Labor on the question and asserted that he (Mr. Gompers) had, during the campaign in Arizona, made an attack upon the men who were seeking the incorporation of the Initiative and Referendum in the constitution of the then prospective State. We take the opportunity here, without the slightest change, to quote our reply from the official stenographers' notes made at the Atlanta Convention:

President Gompers—It is a matter of great regret to me that the discussion on this subject has taken the turn it has. Even while presiding I did not feel particularly, under the circumstances, like sustaining a point of order on a discussion of a question entirely foreign to it. The reason I refrained from sustaining the point of order was because some people might imagine I wished to stop the delegate in saying anything he desired to say in regard to me.

When the report of the committee was read, in an undertone I expressed my opinion to the chairman of the committee and the secretary of the committee. I said I believed the majority report was indefensible and ought not to be adopted.

I believe in the initiative and referendum, and I venture to say I proposed it in the organization of which I am a member before Delegate Cannon was a member of a union. In 1877, in a convention of the Cigarmakers' International Union, with but seven delegates present, I proposed the election of officers and the adoption or ratification of laws in the International Union by the initiative and referendum. At the Indianapolis convention of the Cigarmakers' International Union, I not only advocated it, but I sat up forty-eight hours continuously and drafted the laws which are now part of the Cigarmakers' International Union, by which the officers are nominated and elected by the initiative and referendum, and made voting not only a right but a duty, and made failure in the performance of that duty punishable.

I don't think it is necessary that I should defend my attitude at this late day upon the question of initiative, the referendum, or the recall. As a matter of fact, the history of the American Federation of Labor is replete with the evidence of my constant pressing home upon our own delegates and upon our own men and women and upon the people of our country the necessity of real democracy in the government of the movement of labor, as well as of our country, by the real democracy, the rank and file; and to have simply lugged into this discussion an aspersion upon me is only worthy of an answer because some one may carry away with him the belief that I did just what Delegate Cannon said I did.

First, I want to say that I have no recollection of having received a telegram such as he said he sent. Going back to the first statement he made, I will say that I made no utterance that can bear the slightest resemblance to the statement he attributes to me, which he says he read in the Associated Press dispatches. I will venture to say that if a dispatch was read or published in the papers concerning me, in connection with that subject, it was something like this: "I am more concerned in the adoption of the initiative and referendum and recall, and other progressive, protective features in the constitution of the proposed State of Arizona, than I am in the success of the Democratic, the Republican, or the Socialist parties." I said that yesterday and I said it to-day. I will say it tomorrow and the day after. I am not concerned in the success of any political party except as it is an immediate instrument to strike at an enemy of labor.

The statement made here, is upon a par with some of the statements that are uttered, either here or elsewhere. This morning I was handed a copy of a Socialist paper containing a dispatch, purporting to have been sent from this city, in which the rankest untruth is attributed to me. A conversation between two delegates to this convention and myself, confidential in character, invited by me for the purpose of preventing an injury to a man more intimately associated with them than with me, has not only been violated, but absolutely the untruth published. When in the Boston convention, we had a meeting at the noon time with representatives of labor, at a luncheon where I did not lunch, because I had to attack charges that were made against me about the place being non-union, a statement was sent on by a report from a New York Socialist paper.

Delegate Hurley—I arise to a point of order.

Several delegates cried, "Sit down, sit down."

Delegate Hurley—I will not sit down.

Chairman Duncan—You will if you are told to. What is your point?

Delegate Hurley—Is the speaker discussing Socialism, or the initiative and recall?

Vice-President Duncan—That is not a point of order. The delegate will sit down.

President Gompers (resuming)—When I spoke to him about it, and asked why he had sent on a deliberate, lying statement, his answer was: "Well, you know I am a Socialist." And that to me was a sufficient answer.

I think the question of election, or the possibility of the election, of the officers of the American Federation of Labor by the initiative and referendum is a subject worthy of honest investigation and honest report. Delegates to this convention, and members of the American labor movement, ought to know whether we can, or whether we can not, elect officers in that way.

I am in entire sympathy with and will support, if I have an opportunity, the minority report of the committee.

The minority report of Delegate Walker read as follows:

"RESOLVED, That we favor the election of the officers of the American Federation of Labor by the referendum vote of the membership of the affiliated unions who are paid up and in good standing if, after thorough investigation, mature and deliberate consideration, it is found to be practicable and for the best interests of the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it further

"RESOLVED, That the question of the practicability and desirability of electing the officers of the American Federation of Labor by referendum vote, be referred to the Executive Council for investigation, with the understanding that they report on this subject to the next annual convention for its consideration."

It is to be observed that, according to both Resolution No. 97 (Delegate Proebstle's) and the amendment (Delegate Walker's), the steps to be taken in the proposed adoption of the initiative and referendum indicate the caution which both the proposers felt should be exercised in introducing this innovation in American Federation of Labor procedure. Delegate Walker saw the necessity for a due and guarded preliminary investigation of its "practicability and desirability" through the Executive Council, with discussion of their report at the next annual convention.

Delegate Proebstle's resolution called for ballot voting in the affiliated unions, with the count to take place at American Federation of Labor headquarters. This proposition lays down as a requisite the adoption of the vote by ballot, and a vote by ballot, if not a mere sham, must be regulated and safeguarded by business-like measures. Experience has proved that such measures are necessary. This fact is not put forth here as an objection to direct voting by the union membership on either officers or legislation. It is stated, however, as a fact bearing on the desideratum of satisfaction on the part of the membership of all the unions with the result of the voting in any and all of the affiliated bodies.

We do not deem it just or necessary at this time to go into details of the difficulties raised by the problem. We believe we but reflect the general desire in the united unions to take up with every feature of a complete democracy as soon as the conditions and established procedures in the various unions permit. In recognizing the obvious and important fact that, as Treasurer Lennon showed at Atlanta, the methods of conducting elections and legislation in some of the unions are inadequate to obtain precise and incontrovertible decisions, satisfactory to those other unions in which the results of voting are indisputably correct, we but indicate the difficulties of the task before the vast membership of our affiliated organizations in the application of a principle both sound in theory and practical in groups or communities which are conducted by laws and methods that permit every voter's judgment to be consulted and his vote on each point decided to be systematically recorded and accurately enumerated. But the subject is in itself important; it deserves and will receive, painstaking, thorough and impartial investigation and report. The results will be laid before the delegates to the next American Federation of Labor convention for consideration and decision.

In the principle of the referendum vote there is considerable agreement. At the same time, consideration must be given to the question as to the methods to be employed to elect the officers of the American Federation of Labor by the initiative and referendum, how the elections may be conducted fairly and thoroughly, and the real sentiments and votes of the rank and file absolutely secured.

President Gompers, in continuing the discussion, said: The reason for writing that editorial was that as soon as the convention in Atlanta closed a systematic attack was made upon the officers of the American Federation of Labor, and particularly upon me, because, as they said, I opposed the investigation of the subject as to whether the system should be introduced or could be, when the very reverse was the truth, and because of that systematic representation I undertook, so far as our channels were open to me, to correct the grave error, the grave wrong.

Now, I just want to close with this statement: When Mr. Carl Legien, the secretary of the International Secretariat, and the secretary of the German Federation of Trades Unions, was in this country, we discussed this thing, because of the misrepresentations that had been made of our movement in Germany. Secretary Morrison was present during one of the conversations with Carl Legien and he can bear me out or refute my statement. Mr. Legien said: "Why, the

idea of the initiative and referendum system in the American labor movement? You can do it if you want to, but in Germany we don't turn over the job to apprentices." These are his words, not mine. He said, "In Germany, where we have the most compact movement and unity of the rank and file of the officers and the great membership they have confidence in election in conventions, not only in the German Federation of Trades Unions, but in every international union." And if you look over the replies received from officers of international trade unions in response to our circular and our list of questions they answer for themselves.

On motion debate was closed.

Delegate Lewis (T. L.), arose to a question of personal privilege. President Gompers asked if there was objection to his speaking. Objection being offered. President Gompers said: "I will leave it to the convention. Shall the privilege of the floor for a privileged question be given Delegate Tom Lewis?"

Delegate Lewis was granted the privilege of the floor, and said: "I want to call the attention of this convention to the fact that from the beginning of the discussion I have arisen at this spot no less than half a dozen times to discuss the question before the house."

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried by a vote of 193 in the affirmative to 57 in the negative.

Delegate McCullough renewed his motion in regard to including the matter quoted from the New York Call in the records.

Delegate Hayes (F. J.), stated that he desired a roll call on the report of the committee.

President Gompers—The vote has been announced and another motion has been made.

Delegate Barnes—I move to amend that the editorial in the March Federationist be also included.

Delegate McCullough stated he would accept the amendment.

Delegate Proebstle—I want the correction made that I have not been used by the Socialist party to introduce that resolution. I introduced it as a trades unionist representing my organization.

The announcement was made that the hour for the special order of business, the election of officers, had arrived.

Delegate McDonald, chairman of the Committee on Credentials, stated that the committee had received a credential at noon and the delegate desired to be seated before the election.

No objection being offered Delegate McDonald reported as follows for the committee:

November 23, 1912.

To the officers and delegates of the Thirty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Your Committee on Credentials desires to report that credential has been presented by the Brotherhood of Railroad Freight Handlers for its delegate, P. J. Flannery. This organization is indebted for per capita tax, but International Secretary J. J. Flynn has wired to Secretary Morrison that he has forwarded check for the amount of the indebtedness. We therefore recommend that P. J. Flannery be seated with 25 votes.

Respectfully submitted,

E. J. MARX, Chairman,

W. A. NEER,

DUNCAN McDONALD, Secretary.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

Delegate Tobin (J. F.), in the chair.

Chairman Tobin—Nominations are now in order for President of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Tobin (D. J.), was recognized by the chair and placed in nomination for President for the ensuing year Samuel Gompers, of the Cigar Makers' International Union.

Delegate Hayes (F. J.), placed in nomination Max S. Hayes, of the International Typographical Union, for president for the ensuing year.

No further names being presented, the chairman declared nominations closed.

Secretary Morrison called the roll, which resulted as follows:

#### Roll Call on Election of President.

**For Gompers**—Mullaney, Noschang, Fischer, Klapetzky, Anderson (Ed.), Lafranco, Kline, Kramer, Glover, Franklin, McGuire, Garvey (T. J.), Pring, Strelle, Tobin (J. F.), Baine, Anderson (Mary), Howes, Harrington, Brewery Workers' delegation (150 votes), O'Shea, Thoman, McClory, Huber, Duffy (Frank), Swartz, Featherston, Kelly (W. J.), Hemsell, Gompers, Tracy (T. F.), Fitzgerald (W. H.), Mueller, Conway, McCauley, Scoby, Doyle, Meyer, McNulty, Glynn, Yount,

Ford, Feeney, Comerford, Hannahan, Moser, Dolan, Healy (T.), Brennan, Friel, Flannery, Rowe, Clarke (W. P.), Green (C. F.), Conroy, Rickert, Larger, Daley (M. C.), Altman, Schwarz, Rosenberg (A.), Dyche, Pierce, Rosenberg (Meyer), Hayes (D. A.), Heritage, Marx, Ring, Nestor, Duncan, Garvey (James), Lawlor, Shalvoy, Green (M. F.), D'Alessandro, D'Andrea, Etchison, Marshall, Kenenah, Fiore, Sullivan (J. L.), Farrell, Miller (Geo.), Pattberg, Williams (John), McSorley, Taggart, Bailey, Coakley, O'Connor, Chlopek, Neesham, Harrison, Lowe, Powers, Allen, Price, Daly (T. M.), Leary (Geo.), Rumsey, O'Sullivan, Crane, Hynes, Walsh (Thos.), Mitchell, Valentine, Frey, Curran, Lanigan, Weber (J. N.), Miller (Owen), Carey (D. A.), Winkler, Hedrick, Wright, Carey (J. T.), Wilson (James), Gernon, Sheret, Woll, McGivern, Cook, McDermott, Clark (W. D.), Alpine, Tracey (W. J.), Leonard, Murphy, Nelson, Menge, Whitehead, Berry, Halpine, Hart, Wilson (Harry), Mflin, Dacey, Perham, Brown (W. T.), Miller (J. F.), Gallagher (T. J.), Ryan (M. F.), Weeks, Adames, Paquin, Mahon, Commons, Taber, Furuseth, Hanson, Hylen, Shay, Suarez, Lemke, Freel, Sumner (C. A.), Short, Jette, McKay, Grimshaw, Heberling, Welch (M. R.), Connors, Robinson, Tobin (D. J.), Hughes, Neer, Gillespie (J. M.), Morris (J. J.), Golden, Starr, Williams (T. J.), Evans (E. L.), Shilling, Curtis, Typographical Union delegation (438 votes), Hanley, Cooke, Ali, Birnes, Gallagher (A. J.), Keane (J. A.), Holder, Corley, Sumner (Stephen), Pfeger, O'Brien, Shaughnessey, Ryan (P. J.), Walls, Donoghue, Shamp, Frinz, Egan, Young (Wm.), Hoefgen, Creamer, Corcoran, Fitzgerald (T. D.), Cone, Tharp, Lennon, McCarthy, Collins, Coughlin, Morton, Mullen, Smith (Frank), Keegan, Tracy (M. F.), Cavanagh, Sontheimer, Hays (C. A.), Smith (J. T.), Butler, Campbell, Chance, Fahey, Welch (M. R.), Holland, Evans (E. E.), Norman, Bryan, McGrath, Brower, Hirschberg, Koveleski, James, Lapham, Scharrenberg, Henley, Snellings, Voll, Duffy (Kathryn), McAndrews, Cunningham, Woodhouse, Bohm, Dunne, Gold, representing 11,974 votes.

**For Hayes**—Myrup, Koch, Goldstone, Brewery Workers' delegation (270 votes), Wheeler, Barnes, Zuckerman, Cursi, Archie, O'Neal, Johnston, Lamb, Van Lear, Wharton, Buckley, White (J. P.), Hayes (F. J.), Walker, Lewis, McDonald, Green (Wm.), Williams (J. C.), Scanlan, Young (Edwin), Cannon, Skemp, Tazelaar, Rodriguez, Arnold, Sultor, Brown (J. G.), Brais, Biggs, Typographical Union delegation (109 votes), Holt, Smith (Jos.), Behrens, Coates, Brockhausen, White (R. H.), Gillis (G. W.), Diehl, Weber (F. J.), Phillip, Miven, Morris (J. F.), Youhon, representing 5,673 votes.

**Not Voting**—Butterworth, Crozier, Gengenback, Goellnitz, Shiff, Bryan, Healey (Dennis), Call, Hannah, Huddleston, Carolan, Moyer, Donnelly, McGrath, Vanderveid, Preble, Swick, Scribner, Sullivan (J. H.), McGinley, Garman,

\*Voted for Gompers. See page 407.

Sause, Landers, Privett, Kane, Burns, Elyea, Doherty, Hunter, Draper, Bonner, Hannon, Stokes, Keane (J. J.), Felio, Wood, Simpson, Purcell, Bates, Spencer, English, Wildberger, O'Rourke, Morris (E. C.), Lawler, Lampa, Sinclair, Waldron, Lebowitz, Mulker, Johnson, Beckman, Weiss, Seddon, Smillie, Bruce, representing 296 votes.

Secretary Morrison announced the result of the roll call vote.

Chairman Tobin—In accordance with the announcement made by the Secretary, I declare Delegate Samuel Gompers duly elected President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing year.

President Gompers made a brief address to the convention, in which he expressed his appreciation of the honor of his reelection.

President Gompers in the chair.

James Duncan, of the Granite Cutters' International Association, was placed in nomination for First Vice-President by Delegate Golden.

No further names being presented, the chairman declared nominations closed. The Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for James Duncan for First Vice-President for the ensuing year.

The Secretary complied with the instructions of the convention, and James Duncan was declared duly elected First Vice-President for the ensuing year.

John Mitchell, of the United Mine Workers of America, was placed in nomination for Second Vice-President by Delegate White (J. P.), of the same organization.

No further names being presented the chairman declared nominations closed.

On motion of Delegate Brown the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for John Mitchell for Second Vice-President. The Secretary complied with the instructions of the convention, and John Mitchell was declared duly elected Second Vice-President for the ensuing year.

James O'Connell, of the International Association of Machinists, was placed in nomination for Third Vice-President by Delegate Wilson (J.).

William H. Johnston, of the International Association of Machinists, was placed in nomination by Delegate Rodriguez.

The nomination of Delegate Johnston was seconded by Delegate VanLear. The

nomination of Vice-President O'Connell was seconded by Delegate Tobin (D. J.).

Secretary Morrison called the roll, with the following result:

#### Roll Call on Election of Third Vice-President.

**For O'Connell**—Mullaney, Noschang, Fischer, Klapetzky, Anderson (Ed.), Labraico, Kline, Kramer, Glover, Franklin, McGuire, Garvey (T. J.), Pring, Strelle, Tobin (J. P.), Baine, Anderson (Mary), Hewes, Harrington, Brewery Workers delegation (180 votes), O'Shea, Thoman, McClory, Huber, Duffy (Frank), Featherston, Kelly (W. J.), Hemsell, Cigarmakers delegation (252 votes), Conway, Scoby, Doyle, McNulty, Glynn, Yount, Ford, Feeney, Comerford, Hannahan, Moser, Delan, Healy (T.), Brennan, Friel, Clarke (W. P.), Green (C. F.), Flannery, Conroy, Rickert, Larger, Daley (M. C.), Altman, Schwarz, Dyche, Pierce, Rosenberg (Meyer), Hayes (D. A.), Heritage, Marx, Ring, Nestor, Duncan, Garvey (James), Lawlor, Shalvoy, Green (M. F.), D'Alessandro, D'Andrea, Etchison, Marshall, Keneshan, Flore, Sullivan (J. L.), Farrell, Miller (Geo.), Fattberg, Williams (John), McSorley, Taggart, Bailey, Coakley, O'Connor, Chlopek, Neesham, Harrison, Lowe, Powers, Allen, Price, Daly (T. M.), Leary (Geo.), Rumsey, O'Sullivan, Crane, Hynes, Walsh (Thos.), Mitchell, Valentine, Frey, Curran, Lanigan, Musicians delegation (375 votes), Painters delegation (114 votes), Carey (J. T.), Wilson (James), Gernon, Sheret, Woll, McGivern, Cook, McDermott, Clark (W. D.), Alpine, Tracey (W. J.), Leonard, Murphy, Nelson, Menge, Whitehead, Printing Pressmen's delegation (48 votes), Malin, Dacey, Perham, Brown (W. T.), Miller (J. F.), Gallagher (T. J.), Ryan (M. F.), Weeks, Mahon, Commons, Taber, Furuseth, Hanson, Hylan, Shay, Suarez, Lemke, Freel, Sumner (C. A.), Short, Jette, McKay, Grimshaw, Switchmen's delegation (58 votes), Tobin (D. J.), Hughes, Neer, Gillespie (J. M.), Morris (J. J.), Golden, Starr, Williams (T. J.), Evans (E. L.), Shilling, Curtis, Typographical delegation (438 votes), Harley, Cooke, All, Birnes, Holt, Gallagher (A. J.), Keane (J. A.), Corley, Pilger, O'Brien, Shaughnessy, Ryan (P. J.), Walls, Shamp, Prinz, Egan, Yeung (Wm.), Swick, Hoefgen, Creamer, Coates, Scrivner, Fitzgerald (T. D.), Cone, Tharp, Lennon, Collins, Coughlin, Morton, Mullen, Smith (Frank), Keegan, Tracy (M. F.), Cavanagh, Sonthelmer, Hays (C. A.), Smith (J. T.), Campbell, Fahey, Welch (M. R.), Holland, Evans (E. E.), Norman, Bryan, McGrath, Brower, Hirschberg, Koveleski, James, Lapham, Scharrenberg, Henley, Voll, Duffy (Kathryn), McAndrews, Cunningham, Woodhouse, Bohm, Dunne, Gold, representing 10,858 votes.

**For Johnston**—Myrup, Koch, Goldstone, Brewery Workers delegation (29 votes), Wheeler, Swartz, Cigarmakers' delegation (168 votes), Zuckerman, Mc-

Cauley, Meyer, Rowe, Rosenberg (A.), Cursi, Archie, O'Neal, Johnston, Lamb, Van Lear, Wharton, Buckley, White (J. P.), Hayes (F. J.), Walker, Lewis, McDonald, Green (Wm.), Williams (John C.), Scanlan, Young (Edwin), Cannon, Musicians delegation (125 votes), Painters delegation (571 votes), Printing Pressmen's delegation (142 votes), Sultor, Adames, Faquin, Switchmen's delegation (23 votes), Brais, Biggs, Robinson, Typographical Union delegation (109 votes), Holder, Smith (J.), Ehrens, Donoghue, Corcoran, Brockhausen, White (R. H.), Gillispee (G. W.), Butler, Weber (F. J.), Hannon, Phillipi, Niven, Youhon, representing 6,171 votes.

**Not Voting**—Butterworth, Crozier, Gengenback, Goelnitz, Shiff, Bryan, Healey (Dennis), Call, Hannah, Brown (J. G.), Huddleston, Carolan, Moyer, Sumner (Stephen), Donnelly, McGrath, Vanderveld, Preble, Sullivan (J. H.), McCarthy, McGinley, Garman, Sause, Landers, Privett, Kane, Diehl, Burns, Elyea, Chance, Doherty, Hunter, Draper, Bonner, Stokes, Keane (J. J.), Fello, Morris (J. F.), Wood, Simpson, Purcell, Bates, Spencer, Snellings, English, Wildberger, O'Rourke, Morris (E. C.), Lawler, Lampa, Sinclair, Waldron, Lebowitz, Mulken, Johnson, Beckman, Weiss, Seddon, Smillie, Bruce representing 314 votes.

Delegate Conway announced that he was obliged to leave the city, and requested permission to leave his vote with the Secretary. No objection being offered, the request of Delegate Conway was complied with.

Dennis A. Hayes, of the Glass Bottle Blowers' Association, was placed in nomination for Fourth Vice-President by Delegate Duffy (F.). There being no further nominations, the chairman declared nominations closed.

On motion of Delegate Flannery the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for D. A. Hayes for Fourth Vice-President. The Secretary complied with the instructions of the convention, and the chairman declared D. A. Hayes duly elected Fourth Vice-President for the ensuing term.

William D. Huber, of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, was placed in nomination for Fifth Vice-President by Delegate Short (J. A.).

There being no further nominations, the chairman declared nominations closed. The Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for William D. Huber for Fifth Vice-President. The Secretary complied with the instructions of the convention and the

chairman declared William D. Huber duly elected to serve for the ensuing term.

Joseph F. Valentine, of the Molders' Union of North America, was placed in nomination for Sixth Vice-President by Delegate Franklin.

There being no further nominations, the chairman declared nominations closed. On motion of Delegate Freel (J. J.), the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Joseph F. Valentine. The Secretary complied with the instructions of the convention, and the chairman declared Joseph F. Valentine duly elected Sixth Vice-President for the ensuing year.

John R. Alpine, of the United Association of Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters and Steam Fitters' Helpers of North America, was placed in nomination for Seventh Vice-President by Delegate Leonard.

There being no further nominations, the chairman declared nominations closed. The Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for John R. Alpine for Seventh Vice-President. The Secretary complied with the instructions of the convention, and John R. Alpine was declared duly elected Seventh Vice-President for the ensuing year.

Henry B. Perham, of the Order of Railroad Telegraphers, was placed in nomination for Eighth Vice-President by Delegate Miller (J. F.). The nomination was seconded by Delegate Connors (J. B.).

There being no further nominations, the chairman declared nominations closed. The Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Henry B. Perham. The Secretary complied with the instructions of the convention and Henry B. Perham was declared duly elected to serve as Eighth Vice-President for the ensuing year.

John E. Lennon, of the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America, was placed in nomination by Delegate McNulty. No further names being presented, nominations were declared closed.

On motion of Delegate Leonard the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for John E. Lennon for Treasurer. The Secretary complied with the instructions and Treas-

urer Lennon was declared duly elected for the ensuing year.

Frank Morrison, of the International Typographical Union, was placed in nomination for Secretary by Delegate Frey. There being no further nominations, the chair declared nominations closed.

Delegate Sullivan (Jos. L.), moved that the fraternal delegates from the British Trades Union Congress cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Secretary Morrison. Fraternal Delegates Smilhe and Seddon complied with the instructions, and the chairman declared Frank Morrison duly elected Secretary for the ensuing year.

Each officer, upon the announcement of his election, made a brief address to the convention, thanking the delegates and pledging their best efforts to the work of the organization for the coming year.

Chairman Tobin announced that the next order would be the selection of two fraternal delegates to the British Trades Union Congress and the Trades and Labor Assembly of Canada, and announced that nominations were in order for the first delegate to the British Trades Union Congress.

Delegate Charles L. Baine, of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, was placed in nomination by Delegate Duffy (F.).

There being no further nominations, the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Delegate Baine. The Secretary complied with the instructions of the convention and Delegate Baine was declared duly elected.

Delegate Louis Kemper, of the United Brewery Workmen, was placed in nomination by Delegate Woll. There being no further nominations, the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Delegate Kemper. The Secretary complied with the instructions of the convention and Delegate Kemper was declared duly elected.

Delegate William J. McSorley, of the International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal Lathers, was placed in nomination for delegate to the Canadian Trades and Labor Assembly by Vice-President Duncan. There being no further nominations, the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Delegate McSorley. The Secretary com-

plied with the instructions of the convention, and Delegate McSorley was declared duly elected.

Each of the fraternal delegates-elect made a brief speech and thanked the convention for his unanimous election.

The chairman stated that nominations were in order for the next convention city.

Delegate Creamer placed in nomination Richmond, Virginia.

Delegate Coates placed in nomination Seattle, Washington.

Delegate Rowe stated that it had been the intention of the Toledo representatives to ask for the convention for 1912, but as they were not quite prepared for the occasion they desired to state that at the next annual convention they would ask that the 1914 convention be held in Toledo.

Delegate Hayes (F. J.), stated that he had been requested by the representative of the central body of Indianapolis, Indiana, to place that city in nomination.

#### Roll Call on Convention City.

**For Richmond**—Kline, Kramer, Glover, Franklin, McGuire, Garvey (T. J.), Fring, Hayes (D. A.), Heritage, Marx, Sheret, Clark (W. D.), Berry, Halpine, Hart, Wilson (Harry), Ryan (M. F.), Weeks, Adames, Paquin, Mahon, Commons, Taber, Corley, Slaughnessey, Creamer, Cone, Lennon, Sontheimer, Evans (E. E.), representing 1,293 votes.

**For Seattle**—Mullaney, Myrup, Koch, Goldstone, Noschang, Fischer, Klapezky, Anderson (Ed.), Labraico, Streile, Tobin (J. F.), Baine, Anderson (Mary), Howes, Harrington, Proebstle, Kemper, Ward, Kugler, Sullivan (John), Huber, Duffy (Frank), Wheeler, Swartz, Featherston, Kelly (W. J.), Hemsell, Gompers, Tracy (T. F.), Barnes, Fitzgerald, (W. H.), McElfer, Conway, Meyer, Feeney, Comerford, Hannahan, Moser, Dolan, Healy, Brennan, Friel, Rowe, Clarke (W. P.), Green (C. F.), Flannery, Conroy, Ricket, Leger, Daley (M. C.), Altman, Schwarz, Rng, Duncan, Garvey (James), Archie, Lawlor, Shalvoy, Green (M. F.), D'Alessandro, D'Andrea, Etchison, Marshall, Kerehan, Flore, Sullivan (J. L.), Farrell, Miller (Geo.), Pattberg, Williams (John), McSorley, Taggart, O'Connor, Chlopek, Neesham, Harrison, Machinists delegator, (478 votes), O'Sullivan, Crane, Hynes, Walsh, United Mine Workers delegation (2,288 votes), Williams (John C.), Scanlan, Young, Cannon, Valentine, Frey, Curran, Lanigan, Hedrick, Skemp, Tazelaar, Rodriguez, Wright, Arnold, Wilson (James), Gerron, Woll, McGivern, Cook, McDermott, Alpine, Tracey (W. J.), Leonard, Murphy, Nelson, Menge, Whitehead, Sutor, Dacey, Furuseth, Hanson, Hylen,

Shay, Suarez, Lemke, Short, Jette, McKay, Heberling, Welch (M. R.), Connors, Erals, Biggs, Robinson, Tobin (D. J.), Hughes, Neer, Gillespie (J. M.), Morris (J. J.), Golden, Starr, Williams (T. J.), Evans (E. L.), Curtis, Lynch, Morrison, Stevenson, Hayes (Max S.), McCullough, Cooke, All. Birnes, Sumner (Stephen), Walls, Smith (Joseph), Behrens, Donoghue, Shamp, Young (Wm), Hoefgen, Coates, Corcoran, Scrivner, White (R. H.), Collins, Coughlin, Cavanagh, Smith (J. T.), Butler, Campbell, Holland, Norman, Koveleski, Hannon, Phillip, James, Scharrenberg, Youhon, Woodhouse, Bohm, Gold, representing 13,935 votes.

**For Indianapolis**—O'Shea, Thoman, McClory, Zuckerman, Scoby, Doyle, McNulty, Glynn, Yount, Ford, Rosenberg (Meyer), Nestor, O'Neal, Machinists' delegation, Nestor, O'Neal, Machinists' delegation (120 votes), Lowe, Powers, Allen, Price, Daly (T. M.), Leary (Geo.), Rumsey, United Mine Workers' delegation (382 votes), Weber (G. N.), Miller (Owen), Carey (D. A.), Winkler, Carey (J. T.), Perham, Brown (W. T.), Miller (J. F.), Gallagher (T. J.), Freel (J. J.), Sumner (C. A.), Shilling, Pfleger, Egan, Tharp, Hays (C. A.), Fahey, Welch (M. R.), representing 2,543 votes.

**Not Voting**—Butterworth, Crozier, Gengenback, Goellnitz, Shiff, McCauley, Balley, Bryan, Healey (Dennis), Coakley, Call, Hannah, Malin, Brown (J. G.), Huddleston, Grimshaw, Carolan, Hanley, Hict, Gallagher (A. J.), Moyer, Keane (J. A.), Holder, O'Brien, Donnelly, Ryan (P. J.), McGrath, Vanderveld, Prinz, Preble, Swick, Brockhausen, Fitzgerald (G. D.), Sullivan (J. H.), McCarthy, Morton, Mullen, Smith (Frank), McGinley, Garman, Sause, Keegan, Tracy (M. F.), Landers, Gillispee (G. W.), Privett, Kane, Diehl, Burns, Elyea, Chance, Weber (F. J.), Doherty, Hunter, Draper, Bryan, McGrath, Brower, Bonner, Hirschberg, Stokes, Lapham, Keane (J. J.), Henley, Niven, Fello, Morris (J. F.), Wood, Simpson, Purcell, Bates, Spencer, Snellings, English, Wildberger, Voll, O'Rourke, Duffy (Kathryn), Morris (E. C.), Lawler, Lampa, McAndrews, Cunningham, Sinclair, Waldron, Lebowitz, Mulkern, Dunne, Johnson, Beckman, Weiss, Seddon, Smillie, Eruce, representing 472 votes.

President Gompers—I declare Seattle, Washington, is the city in which the 1913 convention will be held.

Delegate Etchison—The city I represent as the President of the building tradesmen of that State will ask for the 1914 convention. I want to serve notice on this convention that after going to the Coast we want you to meet in Indianapolis the next year. We do not invite you to come there as guests of the Commercial Club or any other such institution, but invite you as the guest of the building trades of Indiana.

#### Report of Committee on Resolutions.

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

The committee recommends that Resolution No. 7 be amended to read:

Resolution No. 7—By Delegate J. H. Collins, of Brocton, (Mass.) Central Labor Union:

Whereas, The President of the United States has submitted to the meeting of the Governors of the states to be held in December a proposition for the creation of additional banks for the benefit of the farmers as wealth producers; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled endorses the proposition with the following addition:

If any system for more adequate money and banking facilities is created it should include provisions whereby the wage workers of the nation also may obtain credit at cost.

The committee recommended the adoption of the resolution as amended.

A motion was made and seconded that the recommendation of the committee be adopted.

After a brief discussion by Delegate Collins the motion to adopt the recommendation of the committee was carried.

The committee recommended that Resolution No. 26 be amended to read:

Resolution No. 26—By William P. Hannon, Sacramento, Cal., Federal Trades and Labor Assembly; M. F. Ryan, Brotherhood of Railway Carmen; J. W. Kline, Brotherhood of Blacksmiths; William H. Johnston, A. V. Wharton, International Association of Machinists; J. A. Franklin, Brotherhood of Boilermakers; M. O'Sullivan, Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers:

WHEREAS, The machinists, boiler-makers, blacksmiths, sheet metal workers, railway carmen, pipe fitters, railway clerks, painters, electricians and other shop employes of the Harriman and Illinois Central Railroad lines have been on strike on the above mentioned lines for the past fourteen months; and

WHEREAS, Despite the fact that all efforts to bring about a settlement of the strike by the international officers of the various unions have been unsuccessful up to the present time, it has been demonstrated that the strike has proven to have been most effective; and

WHEREAS, Among those on strike are many unskilled men who belong to the federal labor unions and many who are not members of any organization; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this, the 32d Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor does hereby approve of the gallant struggle being waged by the mem-



ers of these organizations and extends to them our moral support in their efforts to secure the shorter work-day and other favorable working conditions; and be it

**RESOLVED**, That the convention urge the national and international organizations affiliated with the A. F. of L. to render all financial aid possible to the strikers on the Harriman and Illinois Central Railroad lines until such time as an amicable adjustment of the questions at issue have been reached.

The committee recommended concurrence with the resolution as amended.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 12—By Delegate Emmet T. Walls of the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor:**

**RESOLVED**, That we favor embodying the initiative and referendum in the Federal Constitution; we favor a small tax on land values to replace some of the more burdensome tariff taxes on the necessities of life; we urge that the government loan the deposits coming into the Postal Savings Banks to individuals in small sums, in the communities where the deposits are made, preferably to working people seeking to acquire homes; and we request our delegate to the American Federation of Labor to introduce and support resolutions on these subjects at the annual national convention.

The committee recommended concurrence.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

**Resolution No. 70—By Delegate Frank H. McCarthy of the Boston Central Labor Union:**

**RESOLVED**, That we urge that the money accumulated in the Postal Savings Banks be loaned to individuals in the community where deposited, preferably to laboring people striving to obtain a home.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 71—By Delegate Frank H. McCarthy of the Boston Central Labor Union:**

**RESOLVED**, That we favor the imposition of a small tax on land values in place of some of the more burdensome tariff taxes.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 77—By Delegate Frank H. McCarthy, Boston Central Labor Union:**

**RESOLVED**, That we favor embodying the Initiative and Referendum in the Federal Constitution, and the Executive Council is hereby directed to use every possible effort to cause the enactment of the same.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 100—By Delegate T. J. Dolan, of the International Union Steam Engineers:**

**WHEREAS**, the government of the U. S. does not pay overtime to men engaged on emergency work being carried on in the Reclamation Department of the government; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. is hereby instructed to have a bill prepared to present to Congress, and do all they can to get it passed, said bill to authorize the payment of all men working over eight hours per day on Government work at the prevailing rate of wages paid for such overtime work, in the district in which the work is being carried on.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 116—By Delegates John P. White, John Mitchell, Frank J. Hayes, Duncan McDonald, Wm. Green and J. H. Walker of the United Mine Workers of America:**

**WHEREAS**, The lines are being more closely drawn between capital and labor; and

**WHEREAS**, The capitalists of the country have organized the National Manufacturers Association and other large employers' organizations, compact cohesive bodies, having for their purpose the destruction of the trades union movement, and realizing that "In unity there is strength;" therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That in order to combat these compact and powerful organizations of employers of labor, this convention adopts and endorses the plan of organization by industries instead of by crafts which often divides the forces of labor, and that the officers of the A. F. of L. be instructed to use every effort to bring this about, and that they visit the different labor conventions and use their influence to mould sentiment along these lines.

Secretary Frey—A resolution similar to this is in the hands of the Committee on Education. That committee has acted on it and your committee simply states the

matter has already been published by the convention's proceedings.

The report of the committee was adopted.

The committee recommended that Resolution No. 117 be amended to read as follows:

**Resolution No. 117—By Delegates John P. White, John Mitchell, Frank J. Hayes, Duncan McDonald, William Green, J. H. Walker of the U. M. W. of A.:**

**WHEREAS**, By reason of the non-enforcement of existing laws, private monopolies or trusts exist, whereby the necessities of life and articles of trade, commerce and the transportation of the same are monopolized, production controlled and prices fixed, in open violation of the state and federal statutes; and with few exceptions, these private monopolies have been encouraged to ignore and violate the law and to increase their wealth, power and control, through the connivance or passivity of public officers charged with the duty of prosecuting them; and

**WHEREAS**, For many years organized labor has suffered from, and repeatedly denounced state and federal officers and courts for being guilty of vexatious, technical delays and vicious discrimination in the administration of justice as between the people and the monied interests, and as the correctness of our complaint is now recognized through declarations made by the President of the United States, by the Governors of different states, by state bar associations, by the press and by public spirited men; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That it is the sense of the delegates to this convention of the A. F. of L. that our executive officers petition Congress to ascertain:

**First:** To what extent complaints of violations of anti-monopoly laws have been ignored by state and federal officers charged with the duty of enforcing such laws;

**Second:** Whether state and federal officers have protected from prosecution and punishment violators of the law of the several states and of the United States, prohibiting private monopolies;

**Third:** Whether state and federal officers have vigorously and impartially enforced the laws providing for injunctions against violators of the statutes prohibiting private monopolies;

**Fourth:** Whether state and federal officers and courts have enforced the laws prohibiting and providing for the punishment of private monopolies with the same vigor shown by them in their prosecutions and punishment of minor offenses charged against organized labor;

**Fifth:** Whether the investigation and prosecution of anti-monopoly cases have been discouraged, hampered, delayed or prevented by courts and prosecutors;

**Sixth:** Whether public officers, having knowledge of open and notorious violation of state and federal laws, have permitted the continued violation of state

and federal laws and thus assisted in the building up of unlawful monopolies to the injury of organized labor and of the public;

**Seventh:** Whether in the performance of their duties, courts and public officers have favored wealthy offenders, and at the same time were guilty of vigorously pressing prosecutions against members of labor unions.

The committee recommended the adoption of the resolution as amended.

A motion was made and seconded that the recommendation of the committee be adopted.

Vice-President Duncan, chairman of the committee—The committee is in doubt as to whether the Miners' delegation had given it the attention it requires, because it is very innocently stated, but if the intent of the resolution were carried into effect it would take about one hundred lawyers about five years to accomplish the work. There are some excellent things required under it, and your committee, instead of fastening an investigation on the A. F. of L. recommends that it be amended to petition Congress to make the investigation desired.

The motion to adopt the recommendation of the committee was carried.

**Resolution No. 125—By Delegate J. C. Privett, of the Central Trades and Labor Council, Jacksonville, Fla.:**

**WHEREAS**, Luring the debate in the United States Senate upon the Compensation Bill, Senators from Arkansas, Missouri, North Carolina, Texas, Florida and Georgia did their utmost to prevent the passage of this necessary and just legislation; and

**WHEREAS**, No compensation laws have been enacted by the states from which the greatest opposition came; neither have these states enacted efficient employer's liability laws; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the central labor bodies and the state federations of the states herein mentioned be especially urged by the officers of the American Federation of Labor to secure the passage of good, practical compensation laws.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 128—By Delegate Sol Sortheimer of the Hartford, Conn., Central Labor Union:**

**WHEREAS**, An organizer of the American Federation of Labor, Mr. Charles A. Miles, was instructed to proceed to Thompsonville, Conn., to organize the textile workers of the Hartford Carpet Company; and

WHEREAS, Upon the arrival of the Organizer at Thompsonville it became very apparent he was an unwelcome visitor insofar as the company officials were concerned, every hall in the town was closed to him, and when an effort was made to hold an open-air meeting, this was quickly prevented by the town officials, Organizer Miles was then held up and searched for concealed weapons notwithstanding the fact of his denial of carrying such weapons, this occurred on the public highway, in full view of a gang of hired ruffians, who as soon as the police left him, began to brutally beat him, pelt him with decayed vegetables, rolled him down the embankment of the river, and as he was being ordered to leave the town was finally fired upon, the bullet peeling the skin from his temple; and

WHEREAS, From evidence now in our possession we are of the opinion that the Hartford Carpet Company is solely responsible for the brutal assault and attempt upon the life of Organizer Miles; and

WHEREAS, At the solicitation of the Hartford Central Labor Union, Governor Baldwin of Connecticut decided to hear the protest of twenty-two delegates representing the organized labor movement of the state of Connecticut, in conjunction with President John Golden of the United Textile Workers of America; and

WHEREAS, After a full hearing of the case all that could be secured from Governor Baldwin was a suggestion that the case be presented to either the County Prosecutor or the grand jurors, all of whom we are convinced are completely under the domination of the Hartford Carpet Company, which practically owns and controls the town of Thompsonville; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we the Delegates to the Thirty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled do hereby offer our emphatic protest against the brutal, inhuman and cowardly assault committed upon an American citizen in the peaceful discharge of his duties as an organizer of the American Federation of Labor; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we call upon Governor Baldwin of Connecticut to order a rigid and searching investigation of the whole affair with the avowed object of securing the arrest and conviction of all those concerned in the brutal attack on one of our organizers; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of these resolutions be immediately forwarded to Governor Baldwin of the State of Connecticut, with a request that he act at once.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 130—By Delegate W. D. Mahon, of the Amalgamated Association

Street and Electric Railway Employes of America:

WHEREAS, Many of the street and electric railway companies of America are now requiring their employes to put in from twelve to nineteen hours each day in order to get in a day's work, for which they receive actual pay of from eight to ten hours time; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention endorses the attempt of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employes of America to secure legislation providing that no street or electric railway company shall be allowed to require of their employes more than twelve consecutive hours in any one day to put in their regular day's work of from eight to ten hours; and, further be it

RESOLVED, That all state and provincial branches are hereby urged to give their aid and assistance in securing the above legislation.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 132—By Delegate Gompers of the Cigar Makers' International Union:

WHEREAS, One of the pressing problems confronting the great army of toilers of our country is the proper and efficient safe-guarding of their comfort, health and safety; and

WHEREAS, The safety devices and other methods of promoting the safety, health, and comfort of workers are ineffective and insufficient and the ready knowledge obtainable on the subject is of such meagre proportion to the importance of the problem; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor urge Congress to establish a museum of safety, wherein working devices may be on exhibition that will illustrate in a comprehensive manner the most approved methods of safeguarding machinery, eliminating dusts, noxious fumes and excessive heat, and furnish information calculated to promote the health, safety and comfort of all toilers. A museum of this character should afford a means of establishing standards and offering an opportunity for factory departments of the several states to obtain information and assistance that will tend toward the accomplishment of more uniform enactments and effective enforcement of laws for the conservation of the life and health of the working people of America.

Adopted.

The committee recommended the adoption of the resolution.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

## Resolution No. 133—

Berlin, November 4, 1912.

Mr. Samuel Gompers, c/o Seneca Hotel,  
Rochester, N. Y.

Dear Brother Gompers—Your report received and part of it translated. Mr. Legien thinks it will make a splendid showing in his report. Just the sort of material we needed, I think, for the enlightenment of our European fellow trade unionists. As far as I know, Brother Morrison usually submits a statistical table to the convention, which gives the average membership of every affiliated international. I think you ought to add that table to your excellent report. Would be all right if you were to send it immediately from Rochester.

Brother Legien wants me to convey his best wishes to you and your fellow workers for the forthcoming convention. He is convinced of the great work achieved by the American Federation of Labor, of the great difficulties you have to overcome, and also of your daily and ultimate success. All good wishes to all mutual friends and to the delegates of American labor, who are now assembling in their annual parliament.

Yours very sincerely,

A. BAUMEISTER,

Assistant Secretary.

Secretary Frey—Resolution No. 133 is a communication under date of November 4th from A. Baumeister. Your committee recommends that the fraternal greeting from Carl Legien be received as another evidence of the growth of international trades unionism, and that the President of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to forward an appropriate reply.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Secretary Frey—Your committee had referred to it the following communication:

"Chicago, Ill., Nov. 20, 1912.

"Hon. Samuel Gompers, Rochester, N. Y.:

"Dear Mr. Gompers—At its thirty-second annual session held in New Orleans the 7, 8, 9, 11 and 12th of this month, the Farmers National Congress, having in mind certain provisions in the Postoffice Appropriation Bill enacted into law August 24 last, unanimously adopted a resolution stating that it regarded with disfavor and apprehension any abridgment of the freedom of the press and demanding that the making of laws and rulings abridging the freedom of the press be discontinued.

"Of course, the Farmers National Congress is well aware that freedom is not license and it was the first national organization to adopt a resolution calling on all papers to stop the publication of fraudulent or immoral ads.

"It has reached the conclusion—such conclusion is inevitable—if events are carefully considered—that there is a movement gradually, subtly, but none the

less effectually, to abridge the freedom of the press.

"As you know, periodicals have been harried during recent years and those classes of periodicals that have been most vigilant to expose public corruption have been most subjected to harassing rules and regulations.

"A little has been done here, a little there, until the total effect has become threatening and now all classes of periodicals have been affected. It is certainly time to call a halt.

"Certainly no organization should be more alert to maintain the freedom of the press than the American Federation of Labor. Considering what it represents, it may be asked if any other organization should be as alert? A free press is the best safe-guard of our liberties and institutions. It is the greatest foe of corruption and disloyalty. The Farmers National Congress is not composed of publishers, but of practicing farmers. At its recent annual session 36 states were represented by delegates appointed by the governors of these states on the nomination of the agricultural organizations of the states.

"We respectfully suggest that the American Federation of Labor adopt a resolution along the lines of the one adopted by our organization, calling a halt on the making of laws and regulations further to abridge the freedom of the press and also asking for the repeal of laws already enacted when needlessly and unwarrantably interfering with the business of the publishers of periodicals.

"Respectfully yours,

"FARMERS NATIONAL CONGRESS.  
"JOHN M. STAHL, Legislative Agent,  
Farmers National Congress, U. S. A."

The committee reported as follows:

In accord with the communication just read from the Farmers' National Congress your committee regards with disfavor and apprehension any abridgment of the freedom of the press and views with displeasure the efforts which have been made through Federal legislation and departmental rulings to limit or in any other manner interfere with that most essential condition to the freedom of thought and public expression—the freedom of the press. Your committee recommends that the Executive Council be instructed to co-operate with the Farmers' National Congress in connection with the object and purpose referred to in the communication received from that body.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

Secretary Frey—The committee wishes to introduce the following resolution:

Resolution No. 134—By Committee on Resolutions:

WHEREAS, The trades union women have the same struggle as the men,

against cheap labor, which results not only in the displacing of men by women, but also in the displacing of trades union women by cheap female labor, and

WHEREAS, To enforce the principle that a given work demands a just compensation whether done by a man or woman, and to protect women's unions, especially in time of strike, the ballot is one of the most important factors; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the A. F. of L. reaffirms its declaration in favor of equal suffrage for men and women.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Secretary Frey—The Committee on Resolutions desires to submit one more resolution.

Resolution No. 135, by Committee on Resolutions:

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates of the Thirty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, accept this opportunity to express our deep appreciation for the cordial and kindly welcome which was extended to us by His Honor, Mayor Edgerton, and by the Commissioner of Labor of the State of New York, Hon. John Williams, on behalf of Governor Dix, in Convention Hall, and other distinguished public officials and representatives of organized labor.

That the Local Committee on Arrangements and Entertainment is fully entitled to expressions of unstinted approval on our part for the many provisions for our comfort and entertainment, which were continuously enjoyed during our sojourn, and which filled the social hours with a bounteous variety of pleasures.

That the wives and daughters of the Rochester trade unionists have earned our sincere admiration for the spirit of kindly interest which they have manifested for the comfort and social enjoyment of our lady delegates and the other ladies in attendance at this convention.

That the many social clubs and fraternal organizations of Rochester whose hospitality was so generously extended to our delegates have added to the laurels already earned as hospitable and successful entertainers.

That this convention realizes its great obligations to the city of Rochester and herewith expresses its most sincere appreciation for the privileges accorded to the American Federation of Labor in the generous use of Convention Hall for its sessions, and that we further desire to give recognition of the uniform courtesy of the city's representatives in charge of Convention Hall.

That we here record our appreciation for the evident spirit of fairness which has been indicated by the newspapers of Rochester and for their evident intention to convey an accurate account of our proceedings through their columns, and

That the delegates to this convention, in their discussion of the subjects which

came before them, have indicated the true spirit of forbearance and courtesy towards each other and have further indicated that our conventions tend to develop the minds and broaden the vision of those who attend them, fitting them to labor more effectively and successfully for the growth of our great movement in its efforts to secure equality of rights and opportunity for all, and to elevate the American workman's standard of living.

Respectfully submitted,  
 JAMES DUNCAN, Chairman,  
 JOHN P. FREY, Secretary,  
 B. A. LARGER,  
 W. D. MAHON,  
 M. F. RYAN,  
 E. F. WARD,  
 JOSEPH N. WEBER,  
 JOHN T. SMITH,  
 JOHN A. VOLL,  
 J. A. FRANKLIN,  
 E. C. STREILE,  
 C. P. FAHEY,  
 SOL SONTHEIMER,  
 MATT COMERFORD,  
 JAS. A. CROZIER.

Committee on Resolutions.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be concurred in.

Delegate Koveleski objected to all the Rochester papers being included in the resolution.

Delegate Tazelaar objected to including the name of the Commissioner of Labor of the State of New York.

Brief statements were made by President Gompers, Vice-President Duncan and Vice-President Huber.

Delegate Gallagher (A. J.) arose to a point of order and stated that the character of the State Labor Commissioner was not before the convention.

The objection offered by Delegate Koveleski was withdrawn.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Delegate Lynch (J. M.) asked unanimous consent to the introduction of a resolution. He stated the nature of the resolution. Delegate Tazelaar objected to its introduction. The chairman stated as there was objection it could not be introduced, and Delegate Tazelaar was exercising his constitutional right in objecting.

Delegate Keegan (J. J.) asked if it was not abusing his right as a delegate.

Delegate Voll moved that the rule relative to the introduction of resolutions be suspended and that Delegate Lynch be accorded the privilege of introducing his resolution.

The chairman stated that the motion was not in order and that after a certain date the constitution prohibited the introduction of any resolution except by unanimous consent.

Delegate Voll—I move that the objections be noted in the record.

#### **Report of Committee on Organization.**

Delegate White (J. P.) reported as follows for the committee:

Your committee emphasizes the fact made so plain in the reports submitted to this convention by our officers, that the international unions making up this Federation are stable and militant in their respective fields. Many of these international unions show an increased growth, but membership alone is not their only achievement; for the reports also show that they have bettered wages and improved conditions, and that they are educating their membership to a higher conception of citizenship and life, and the enjoyment thereof. That is one of the results of our movement. It inspires hope and confidence in its followers, and it unfolds to them a better life and a higher ideal. We urge upon the affiliated unions that they should continue in this most beneficent work, and that at every opportunity that presents itself they shall advance their organizations so that the entire battle line of organized labor will be a year from now nearer to the citadel of privilege and oppression. Thousands and thousands of toilers are still unorganized. They can be reached, and they will be reached, if the international unions with jurisdiction are determined that, so far as it is humanly possible, their organizations shall include all their craftsmen. Men and women who ten years ago did not know the meaning of unionism are to-day aggressive and resourceful leaders of militant unions. Men and women now unorganized will to-morrow be marching in step and unison with the unions of to-day. It is most inspiring and encouraging that the statistics contained in the annual reports submitted to this convention, when woven into story and precept, show beyond any question that our movement is justifying itself, in that it is advancing and uplifting the human race.

#### **Migratory Workers.**

Relative to that portion of the President's report covering the organization of migratory workers, your committee indorses the measures that have been made effective and those mentioned that will be put into force. Considering the subject of organizing migratory workers, your committee is of the opinion that there should be a comprehensive and searching investigation of the subject of migratory workmen, the work that they do and the seasons and localities in which their labor is in demand. At the same time this investigation is made, lists of names of the better educated and more intelligent of these migratory workers could be formulated, and from this list volunteer and, in instances where advisable, paid organizers could be selected to go among their fellows and spread the creed of unionism as exemplified and carried into effect by the American Federation of Labor. These roving workers must be proselytized by missionaries selected from their ranks, and these missionaries will have to work with the material at hand as occasion may offer. It will of course be impossible to organize permanent local unions of migratory workers, and in the investigation that we suggest shall be conducted, the best form of organization will suggest itself as the investigation proceeds. It may be that a general union, national in its character, will be the best solution of the problem, the headquarters of this union to be at the offices of the American Federation of Labor, or with quarters for the officers of the union in the same building, or in association with the A. F. of L. general offices.

The advisability of conducting an employment bureau for the benefit of migratory workers also suggests itself to your committee in considering this subject. Your committee is fully impressed with the great value to the organized labor movement of a successful organization of migratory workers, the members of which would be travelling apostles for the spread of trade union doctrine. These migratory workers reach remote and oft-times almost inaccessible portions of the continent, and it can be fairly assumed that under-

standing the principles of unionism, they would be active in propoganda for the union cause. Your committee therefore refers the entire subject to the Executive Council together with the suggestions herein contained, with the urgent recommendation that a full and complete investigation shall be made and that measures shall be inaugurated based on the results secured from this investigation.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

#### **Organizing Steel Workers.**

The efforts being put forth by the A. F. of L. to uphold the rights and promote the interests of the workers in the iron and steel industry have our hearty endorsement and commendation.

Through the operations of modern industry as exemplified by the United States Steel Corporation, the workers in this industry have felt the lash of corporate greed with great severity. The history of the antagonism of the great steel companies towards organized labor is a matter of common knowledge. The efforts of the workers to organize have been thwarted by every means at their command. Organization has been made difficult, not alone by the cosmopolitan character of the men now employed in the steel industry, but also the perfect system of espionage that has been established and is maintained. The spy system, so thorough that even minor indiscretions are reported, is one method employed, and every attempt to organize is frustrated by a chain of communication that runs through the works, and is as invisible as an electric current flashing through wire. Added to the spy system is the fear of the blacklist, another steel corporation method. That it exists is as sure as that the wheels of industry revolve to grind out dollars at the cost of the wage slaves who are the victims of the system.

A study of labor conditions will develop that during the past ten years there has been a remarkable change in the class of men employed. In nearly all the large steel plants the English speaking race has been supplanted by the Syrian, Pole, Bohemian, Croatian, Hungarian, Slav, Italian and other races. These people having been raised

in an environment that is foreign to all principles enunciated by the trade union movement can not be blamed for knowing little or nothing regarding the principles for which the American labor movement stands, and in their present condition they are a menace, not only to the iron and steel workers, but to the trade union movement in general, as they are totally ignorant of the value of the labor they perform, and accept without protest that which is paid to them by their employers, whether adequate or inadequate, for work done under conditions that inevitably shorten life.

The workers in the non-union iron and steel mills must be redeemed. The work of redemption has been, and is now being prosecuted by the American Federation of Labor through organization and education, and with a vigor that gives promise of ultimate success.

We endorse the action of the A. F. of L. in the efforts now being put forth, and request the assistance and co-operation in this work of all who believe that the workers in the employ of these great corporations shall have a part in determining the wages they will receive, and the conditions under which they shall be employed.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be concurred in.

Delegate Williams (John) made an extended statement in regard to the condition of his organization and the condition of the industry in which the members of his organization are employed. He referred at length to recent investigations made by the Department of Commerce and Labor into the conditions of the employe of the United States Steel Corporation. In closing, Delegate Williams said: "I might speak for a half hour or an hour detailing the things we have had to contend with, but I do not want to close without saying something regarding the association I represent here to-day. Much has been said regarding the decreased numerical strength of our organization, but I desire to have you understand that the members of the Amalgamated Association were as vigilant as they ever were since the inception of the organization, and they are doing as much as they ever did in the history of the organization. It is true we do not deal

with as large a number of men as we used to, but they are maintaining conditions and getting the wages in the mills we control. Last year in our conferences we succeeded in getting for the iron workers, particularly the puddling industry, the best scale ever secured for that class of workers in this country or in the history of the civilized world.

So far as the campaign of organization is concerned, I believe it is going to bear fruit. As the report indicates, the character of the men who are working in the iron and steel mills has changed. The only way these people can be reached is through the medium of education. The American Federation of Labor has undertaken this campaign of education.

The question was discussed briefly by Delegate Conroy and Delegate Rowe.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried by unanimous vote.

#### **Labor Forward Movement.**

Your committee endorses the Labor Forward Movement, and the plan under which it shall be conducted, as published in the October issue of the American Federationist.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

#### **Organizers.**

Your committee indorses that portion of the report of the president in reference to organizers and their value to the trade union movement; especially the work that they perform and the results that they achieve. Your committee is of the opinion that A. F. of L. organizers should confine themselves to the work that they are commissioned to do, so that there may be no opportunity for criticism by representatives of other unions with which, missions assigned to A. F. of L. organizers may bring them into contact. Where their work conflicts with or crosses that of other organizations, there should be a conference of the A. F. of L. representatives with those of the other organizations, and full agreement as to the manner in which work of mutual concern shall be carried forward. We also recommend that organizers assigned to particular localities where central labor unions are estab-

lished report their presence to the officers of these central labor unions and place themselves at their service in connection with any special work that it is desired shall be taken up, provided their mission and time will permit. In so reporting to the officers of the central labor unions there will also be general knowledge of the presence of these A. F. of L. organizers in various localities and the fact that the A. F. of L. is exerting itself in these places, and consequent satisfaction to the local labor movement.

In considering the work of the organizers, it is the opinion of your committee that the A. F. of L. organizers should make annual reports covering their activities while in the employment of the A. F. of L., and that these reports should be published in connection with the reports of the officers of the A. F. of L. submitted to the annual conventions, or in a separate pamphlet, for the information and use of the unions affiliated to the American Federation of Labor.

In reference to the work of the organizers, the executive council report says: "It is often the case that an organizer is required to devote days of his time to a particular locality, performing most excellent work in the interest of a special trade, as well as of the movement in general, and yet not be able to report the organization of a new union. Such work as this is not susceptible to statistical tabulation." Your committee realizes the force of this observation, but at the same time, your committee believes that work of this character can be adequately covered in the yearly reports that your committee suggests shall be submitted by the organizers, and that these reports will remove many misapprehensions and give general satisfaction to the labor movement.

In considering that portion of the report of the executive council, your committee indorses the efforts that have been made to secure the affiliation to the American Federation of Labor of the unions that are not now a part of the federation, and urges that this work shall be continued and carried forward along lines that may be approved by the executive council.

In its report the executive council says: "A number of resolutions were introduced at our last convention requesting



the appointment of special organizers for many of the different trades and callings, or requesting assistance in special organization work. Many requests of a similar character have been made during the course of the year. In all instances we authorized the president of the A. F. of L. to comply as fully as warranted by the funds of the Federation available for that work."

In the belief that the assignment of organizers is an administrative and executive function, your committee has referred all of the resolutions introduced at this convention, and requesting organizers for special work, to the executive council for the consideration of that body. We assume that the council will take the action set forth in its report, and quoted herein, and that the president of the A. F. of L. will, so far as may be possible, comply with the requests contained in the resolutions. We recommend to the introducers of these resolutions that they further explain the intent and purpose of their petitions to the president of the A. F. of L. by means of correspondence.

On motion, the report of the committee was adopted.

President Gompers stated that the fraternal delegates from the British Trades Union Congress, Messrs. Smillie and Seddon, were about to leave the convention, and wished to say a word in parting to the delegates.

Fraternal Delegate Smillie and Fraternal Delegate Seddon before leaving the convention expressed the pleasure they had experienced during their attendance on the convention, and thanked the delegates and officers for all the kindnesses and courtesies extended to them.

Delegate White continued the report of the Committee on Organization, as follows:

**Resolution No. 4—By Delegate C. F. Bailey, of the Laundry Workers' International Union:**

**WHEREAS**, The laundry workers of the country are still poorly organized notwithstanding the efforts of our organization and of many of the organizers of the American Federation of Labor; and

**WHEREAS**, the Laundry Workers International Union, is composed of only 47 locals, 15 of which are in the states of Montana and California, thus showing an extremely large field for organization; and

**WHEREAS**, On account of the small number of members our funds for organization purposes are necessarily limited; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be authorized and instructed by this convention to issue a special letter to organizers under their jurisdiction to give particular attention to the organizing of the workers of this craft.

The committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council with favorable recommendation.

On motion, the report of the committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 6—By Amalgamated Leather Workers' Union of America:**

**WHEREAS**, The labor employed in the production of leather in the United States aggregates, approximately, 80,000 persons; and

**WHEREAS**, The Amalgamated Leather Workers Union of America, under whose jurisdiction this class of labor comes, is not at present in a condition financially to prosecute a campaign of organization; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the president of the American Federation of Labor be empowered to appoint an organizer who shall specially devote at least six months to organizing that class of labor, and that the expense of said organizer be defrayed by the American Federation of Labor.

The committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

On motion, the report of the committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 8—By Delegate H. L. Vanderveld, of the New Jersey State Federation of Labor:**

**WHEREAS**, But a very small percentage of the jewelry workers of Newark, N. J., are members of the local of their craft in that city; and

**WHEREAS**, The Executive Board of the New Jersey State Federation of Labor, after a careful investigation into the conditions of the jewelry workers of Newark, N. J., from a union standpoint, have come to the conclusion that an organizer of the American Federation of Labor should be placed in that city; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That this convention authorize the placing of an organizer in Newark, N. J., to assist in unionizing the jewelry workers of that city.

The committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

On motion, the report of the committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 11—By Delegate Edw. E. Shilling of the Travelers' Goods and Leather Novelty Workers International Union:**

**WHEREAS**, Comparatively a small per cent of the workers of our craft are organized in the United States and Can-

ada, and the larger portion of them have to work long hours and under bad conditions for the lack of being organized; and

WHEREAS, This vast number of leather workers is by far the largest contingent of unorganized labor embraced in a single class now in existence; and

WHEREAS, The Travelers' Goods and Leather Novelty Workers International Union has organized a certain per cent of this class and increased their wages and shortened their hours to nine hours per day through such organization; and

WHEREAS, The Travelers' Goods and Leather Novelty Workers International Union had to withdraw their International President from the pay roll on account of no funds being in the treasury, and as the General President has been acting as the organizer for our craft, and without an organizer being in the field the Travelers' Goods and Leather Novelty Workers Union will soon be on the decline; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be authorized by this convention to give to our organization assistance in the way of appointing a special organizer for a certain period of time or by giving financial aid for that period.

The committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

On motion, the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 15—By M. M. Donoghue, President Montana State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, In the western portion of the state of Montana there are many thousands of men employed in the lumber industry; and

WHEREAS, These men were formerly organized under various heads and forms; and

WHEREAS, They now are thoroughly disorganized, there not being a local union of any kind connected with this industry in the state of Montana; and

WHEREAS, We believe that the time is now opportune for the organization of the employes engaged in this industry, under the banner of the A. F. of L.; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. fully consider and grant the request of the Montana State Federation of Labor and its affiliated locals that an organizer be specially sent into this district, said organizer to be under the direction of the president of the Montana State Federation of Labor and under salary from the A. F. of L. for a period of not less than four months in each year, not exceeding two years.

The committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

On motion, the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 18—By W. J. Kelly, U. B. of C. and J. of A.:

WHEREAS, The City Firemen's Protective Association of the City of Pittsburgh has been actively engaged in organizing the city firemen, that they may be better enabled to demand better conditions, a more humane mode of living, and that they get the proper recognition for the services they render to their fellow men; and

WHEREAS, We believe that the American Federation of Labor can, by the use of its good offices in this movement, be the means of bettering the conditions of firemen throughout the whole of the United States and thereby disenthral thousands of families from the present unnatural mode of living, and give these families an opportunity now denied, of becoming acquainted with their husbands and fathers; and

WHEREAS, The firemen of the City of Pittsburgh have been organized since 1903 and affiliated with this A. F. of L. and thereby have been enabled (in the face of strenuous opposition on the part of their superiors in the fire department) to better their conditions wonderfully in the past nine years; and

WHEREAS, The fight to organize the city firemen has been and still is an uphill fight and while we have not organized all the members of the Pittsburgh department, but are slowly and steadily winning them to seeing the value of organization because they cannot shut their eyes to the fact that we are from time to time achieving something to better their conditions; and

WHEREAS, The firemen of the City of Pittsburgh lay dormant for twenty years until the rank and file of the department awoke to the fact that there should be something more than serfdom for their lot in life, even though they were servants of the public, therefore, some of the most aggressive and progressive jumped into the fray at the time of an upheaval in this city's politics, and at a I may say, dangerous time and organized and since have attained more real, good, permanent results than were ever dreamed of by the oldest members of the department; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers and organizers of the A. F. of L. be instructed and that they are hereby instructed to take up the question of organizing the fire departments throughout the United States, and lend every assistance towards obtaining better conditions of employment than these firemen have at the present time; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers and organizers be instructed also to submit a report of their progress along these lines to the next annual convention of the A. F. of L.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

The committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

On motion, the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 19—By Delegate J. R. Crozier:

WHEREAS, The Carriage, Wagon and Automobile Workers' International Union is making a determined effort to organize this industry throughout the country;

WHEREAS, The finances of this organization will not permit it to put organizers in the field where most needed; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor appoint a special organizer to assist this craft in its struggle against great odds.

The committee reported as follows:

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council for the recommendation that if an organizer is appointed under the terms of the resolution he shall be instructed to work in accordance with agreement entered into between the Upholsterers and the Carriage, Automobile and Wagon Workers' International Union.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 21—By Delegate John Sinclair, Fish Splitters and Handlers Union No. 14,270:

WHEREAS, The spirit of unionism requires stimulation in Gloucester and vicinity; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates in convention assembled take such action as will result in sending a member of the Executive Council to the City of Gloucester, Mass., sometime during the month of March or April of 1913, to strengthen and stimulate unionism.

The committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council with favorable recommendation.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 24—By Delegate Manny Weiss of the Sugar Refinery Employees Union No. 13,053, Yonkers, N. Y.:

WHEREAS, The Sugar Refinery Employees Union No. 13,053 of Yonkers, N. Y., has and does hold a charter of the A. F. of L. for the past two years; and

WHEREAS, There are between 75,000 and 90,000 unorganized men in this industry throughout the United States, who are only too anxious to be organized; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention instructs its officers and organizers to do everything within their power to organize the men in this industry.

The committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 31—By Delegates C. L. Shamp and George E. Norman representing the Nebraska State Federation of Labor and the Omaha, Nebraska, Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, In the state of Nebraska there are thousands of unorganized wage workers of different trades and callings who, we believe, could be organized if visited by an organizer; and

WHEREAS, The Nebraska State Federation of Labor has at all times spent all the means at their command to organize the unorganized, but are not in a position to maintain organizers to cover only a portion of the territory that should be covered; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the incoming Executive Council be and is hereby instructed to at the earliest possible date place an organizer in the state of Nebraska and keep him there as long as he can organize the unorganized wage workers, and the Nebraska State Federation of Labor pledges itself to lend said organizer all the possible assistance it can to the end that all of the unorganized wage workers of the state be organized if possible in unions of their respective trades and callings.

The committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council with favorable recommendation.

After a brief statement by Delegate Norman the report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 33—By Delegate Wesley Russell of the Commercial Telegraphers' Union:

WHEREAS, Commercial telegraphers are among the pioneers in the labor movement of this country; first organized in 1864, they have struggled nearly fifty years for the right to organize and to build up a strong union of their craft, striking in defense of their rights in 1870, 1883 and 1907; and

WHEREAS, They were probably the earliest organized craftsmen to feel the effects of monopolistic power, being opposed from 1866 by a powerful corporation having an almost complete monopoly; control of which corporation has now passed to the telephone trust, making a combination of capital aggregating five hundred million dollars, second in size only to the notorious steel trust; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, that this half-century fight of the commercial telegraphers for a principle deserves our hearty commendation and support, and that the membership of the present union, organized in 1902, and the longest lived in the history of the craft, may be encouraged to persevere in their struggle to ultimate victory, the Executive Council is hereby requested to instruct its organizers, city, central and state bodies, to make especial effort during the ensuing year to bring all com-

mercial telegraphers into the Commercial Telegraphers Union of America.

The committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 34—By Delegate R. J. McGrath, Iron City Central Trades Council:

WHEREAS, Organizers are at all times needed in the different districts throughout the country for the purpose of helping to organize more thoroughly the different organizations and adjusting grievances; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the A. F. of L. instruct its organizers to have a certain headquarters in all cities where they can be reached without difficulty when wanted for assistance by any organization affiliated with the A. F. of L.; and be it further

RESOLVED, That all organizations in any city affiliated with the A. F. of L. be notified of said headquarters.

The committee reported as follows:

The intent of this resolution has been covered by your committee in its general summary acted upon by this convention. It therefore refers the resolution to the Executive Council with the recommendation that its spirit be made effective so far as may be possible.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 37—By Delegate O. L. Preble of the Rhode Island Branch of the A. F. of L.:

WHEREAS, The state of Rhode Island has within its bounds a large number of manufacturing establishments, among which are many textile and jewelry plants, the employes of which are to a great extent unorganized and working under very poor conditions; and

WHEREAS, In the state of Rhode Island is a city which in size is about the eighteenth in the United States, namely Providence, and is centrally located in a thickly populated part of the country, being within an hour's ride of nearly two million people; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in regular convention assembled, that we establish a permanent office in the city of Providence, R. I., and place one of our organizers in charge of the same, with instructions to work in that locality and use every honorable means to aid in building up the now existing organizations, to organize the unorganized and assist them in maintaining their organizations, to the end that better conditions of employment may obtain for the workers in that locality and that the influence of organized labor under the banner of the American Federation of Labor Day may be still further increased.

The committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 39—By Delegate Paul Scharrenberg of the San Francisco Labor Council:

WHEREAS, It is now generally recognized that the millions of so-called migratory, unskilled or common laborers of this country must be organized and brought within the protecting fold of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, Immeasurable assistance can be rendered in this work by the members of all organized skilled crafts if they will give every possible assistance and moral encouragement to those workers who have been falsely led to believe that the American Federation of Labor is mainly interested in the further advancement and uplifting of the crafts already organized; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Thirty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that we urge upon all affiliated unions, and particularly upon the rank and file of same, to constantly impress upon the unorganized, unskilled workers with whom they may come in contact that all workers are welcome in the organized labor movement under the banner of the American Federation of Labor; further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council is hereby directed to prepare a series of educational articles for general publicity, and particularly for publication in the labor press, setting forth the duty and obligation of the already organized workers as indicated in these resolutions and explaining the benefits to be derived by all workers through the thorough organization of the migratory, common and unskilled laborers.

The committee reported as follows:

The intent of this resolution has been covered in the report of the committee and the committee therefor recommends that it be referred to the Executive Council for consideration in connection with that portion of the report of the committee covering the same subject.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 42—By Delegate R. H. White of the Birmingham Trades Council:

WHEREAS, The field is ripe for the work of organizing several branches in the district of Greater Birmingham; and

WHEREAS, Believing that sending an organizer to the Birmingham district will accomplish much good; be it

RESOLVED, By the Thirty-second Annual Convention of the A. F. of L. that the Executive Council send an organizer

to the Birmingham district and said organizer be William E. Terry.

The committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

Delegate White (R. H.)—The request in that resolution is that William E. Terry be sent, but if the Executive Council decides to send somebody else it will be all right with us, but we would like to have someone at once.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 50—By Delegate Oscar F. Nelson of the National Federation of Postoffice Clerks:

WHEREAS, The last session of Congress enacted into law provisions that have liberated not only the postal employees but the 400,000 workers in the civil service of the Federal Government from the Executive orders commonly known as the "gag" rules, which deprived them of their rights as American citizens; and

WHEREAS, By the enactment of such provisions not only were the Executive "gag" orders nullified and our right of free speech restored but the right to organize and affiliate with such organizations as the A. F. of L. was established as a statutory provision of our Federal law; and

WHEREAS, The National Federation of Postoffice Clerks recognizes with deep gratitude the fact that the enactment of such provisions together with the notable achievement of the enactment of a law providing for an 8-hour workday for the postoffice clerks and letter carriers were the direct result of the moral support given by the American Federation of Labor and the efficient and effective work done by President Gompers, Secretary Morrison, Arthur E. Holder and John Moffitt of the Legislative Committee of the A. F. of L. in appearing before committees of Congress in behalf of such provisions; and

WHEREAS, The National Federation of Postoffice Clerks, now that the right of affiliation has been established by law, conscious of the fact that all remedial legislation that the postal employees have ever received has come either directly or indirectly by the assistance of the A. F. of L. and recognizing the common interests of all wage-earners whether in public or private employ, are conducting a vigorous organization campaign among the Postoffice Clerks; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, do hereby, through our officers, instruct all organizers of this body and advise all central bodies that they assist in bringing about a closer federation of all postal employees by inviting the rank and file of the letter carriers, railway mail clerks and rural carriers to become affiliated with their

fellow workers in the American Federation of Labor.

The committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 55—By Delegates Edw. V. Wood, Syracuse, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Assembly; Homer D. Call, Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen; E. A. Bates, Utica Trades Assembly; Henry Prinz, New York State Federation; Daniel Harris, Cigarmakers International Union; James C. Brower, Poughkeepsie Trades and Labor Council; J. P. Coughlin, Brooklyn Central Labor Union;

WHEREAS, The Executive Council of the A. F. of L. has recommended a Labor Forward Movement as outlined by Samuel Gompers in the October Federationist and submitted to this body in the report of the Executive Council; and

WHEREAS, Since the issue of the October Federationist, three cities in the state of New York have started to put the suggestion into practice; and

WHEREAS, The field for organization in this section is large and fertile; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 32nd Convention of the American Federation of Labor approve and it hereby does approve the recommendations for a revival or Labor Forward Movement as outlined and recommended by the Executive Council; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention authorize and it does hereby authorize the inauguration of the Labor Forward Movement in the state of New York as the starting point of the country-wide movement, to be started as early in January, 1913, as it is possible for arrangements to be made and be conducted under the supervision of the State Federation of Labor.

The committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 57—By the Lynn, Mass., Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, There are from eighteen to twenty thousand members of independent and dual organizations to the A. F. of L. who are continually adding to their membership in Lynn, Mass.; and

WHEREAS, There is a large plant in the western part of the city known as the General Electric Company, employing fourteen thousand of the following trades: painters, carpenters, steam fitters, electricians, machinists, pattern makers, molders, engineers, and others who are unorganized; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the A. F. of L. send an organizer to the city of Lynn, Mass., to assist in the organizing of this plant; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the convention urge upon all national and international organizations having jurisdiction over the above mentioned trades to send an organizer to take up immediately the work of organizing this plant.

The committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 61—By H. P. Corcoran**, State Federation of Labor, West Virginia;

**WHEREAS**, Thousands of men are employed on the industrial field engaged in the manufacture of stogies, one-half of whom are organized; and

**WHEREAS**, Through the effort of organization we have secured a higher standard of wages and better working conditions, which is also characteristic of the cigar making trade; and

**WHEREAS**, We believe that an amalgamation of the cigar and stogie trades would result in the elimination of much of the non-union product now being sold; and

**WHEREAS**, Conferences have been held at various times between the executive officers of the International Cigar Makers Union and the National Stogie Makers League for the purpose of amalgamating the two branches, at which conferences they were not able to arrive at a basis of amalgamation, satisfactory to both sides; and

**WHEREAS**, These conferences were held in conformity with the policy of the A. F. of L. with reference to the two organizations combining, and failure on the part of both organizations in arriving at a satisfactory solution of the problem which has been resultant in the application of the Stogie Workers being refused a charter from the A. F. of L., and being refused, we still believe that further efforts should be made to bring the two organizations together; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That this convention take some action looking towards a better and more thorough organization of both branches of this industry in the interest of those dependent upon the industry and in the interest of the general labor movement.

The committee reported as follows:

Your committee commends the action of the Cigar Makers International Union and the National Stogie Makers League in holding conferences the purpose of which has been to effect an amalgamation of the two organizations, and recommends that these conferences shall be continued until their object shall be achieved.

The question was discussed by Delegate Corcoran and Delegate Tracy.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 63—By Delegate Agnes Nestor**, International Glove Workers Union of America:

**WHEREAS**, A controversy has existed between the Saranac Glove Company of Littleton, N. H., and the Glove Workers Union of that city since October, 1910, because of the discharge of a number of men, all of whom had been employed by the company for a number of years, for refusing to give up their membership in the Glove Workers Union; and

**WHEREAS**, The Atlanta Convention of the A. F. of L. adopted a resolution instructing the Executive Council to endeavor to effect an adjustment of the question in controversy; and

**WHEREAS**, Repeated efforts have been made since that time by representatives of the A. F. of L. and the International Glove Workers Union to reach an agreement with the Saranac Glove Company, but without success; and

**WHEREAS**, The product of the company is sold largely among the working people, particularly railroad men; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That another effort be made by the Executive Council to reach an agreement and if this is not effected within sixty days, that the Executive Council be authorized to thoroughly advertise the attitude of this company, among the organized workers of the company, particularly the railroad workers and unions in the district where this product is sold.

The committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 64—By Delegates T. V. O'Connor**, Thos. Harrison, Geo. E. Neesham and A. J. Chlopek of the International Longshoremen's Association:

**WHEREAS**, The affiliation of all organizations of workers employed in the industry of transportation, such as longshoremen, seamen, teamsters, railroaders, freight handlers, street car men, boatmen, etc., will be of advantage to all concerned; and

**WHEREAS**, The developments of industry will eventually force the workers to organize and affiliate on industrial lines; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor take such steps as they may deem necessary for the formation of such a Department, and that all transportation organizations be invited to join the Transportation Department.

The committee reported as follows:

Your committee is of the opinion that the formation of a transportation department should first be considered by the

unions in interest at a meeting called for such purpose, and that the formation of such a department should be agreeable to at least a majority of the organizations interested, or by the organizations representing a majority of the workers in the transportation industry. Your committee therefore non-concurs in the resolution.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 72—By Delegate Paul Scharrenberg of the San Francisco Labor Council:

WHEREAS, Members of the National Letter Carriers' Association have for many years past expressed a desire to join ranks with their fellow workers of other occupations who are organized under the banner of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The postal appropriation bill adopted by the late session of Congress specifically legalizes affiliation of postoffice employes with the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Thirty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that we most heartily welcome the affiliation of the National Letter Carriers' Association; further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council is hereby directed to convey these sentiments to the officers of the National Letter Carriers' Association; further

RESOLVED, That a member of the Executive Council or a special representative designated by the Council be delegated to address the next annual convention of the National Letter Carriers' Association, which will meet at San Francisco, Cal., in September, 1914, with a view of bringing about the desired result.

The committee recommended the adoption of the resolution.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 75—By Delegate Alice O'Rourke, of the Badge, Banner, Regalia, Button and Novelty Workers, No. 14,065:

WHEREAS, We have exerted great efforts in an attempt to strengthen our organization, and are affiliated with the Central Federated Union of Greater New York and Vicinity, and the Central Labor Union of Brooklyn, and the Central Labor Union of Hudson County, N. J., for the purpose of creating a healthy agitation for union made badges, banners, regalia, buttons and novelties; and

WHEREAS, We find that even with the hearty assistance of these bodies we are not advancing and progressing as we desire and should; be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor directs the Executive Council to render all possible aid to the Badge, Banner, Regalia, Button and Novelty Workers No. 14,065, and request

such international and national unions as have members employed in badge, banner, regalia, button and novelty shops, to render ready moral assistance to this appellant union by urging workers in such shops engaged in this industry to join the said union of this trade.

The committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 79—By Delegate S. J. English of Central Trades and Labor Assembly of Watertown, N. Y.:

WHEREAS, For a number of years we have asked for aid from the American Federation and the duly constituted officials of the New York State Federation of Labor with a view to the reorganization of certain crafts in the City of Watertown, N. Y.; and

WHEREAS, There are a number of crafts already organized but who are weak in numerical strength, because the international officials of these crafts have not given them the attention they should have given to make of them a vital and numerical factor in their trade; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates assembled at this Thirty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, use our every endeavor to have organizers sent into this particular field to reorganize all delinquent locals and organize any new ones that may prove eligible under the laws of the American Federation of Labor as now understood.

The committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 83—By Delegate James P. Holland of the Central Federated Union of New York and Vicinity:

WHEREAS, The International Typographical Union has jurisdiction over newspaper writers and has had the same for many years; and

WHEREAS, It has made no strenuous effort during all of these years to effect an active and complete organization campaign to unite these workers so invaluable to the cause of the labor movement; and

WHEREAS, The intelligent and thorough organization of these workers, whose sympathies, regardless of the opinions of their employers, is almost unanimously in favor of the workers, would be of great help to the trade union movement; and

WHEREAS, There is now a sentiment among many newswriters favoring organization for the improvement of their condition and the betterment of their craft; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor demands that the Inter-

national Typographical Union immediately assign organizers to unionize this important craft and that, in the event of its failure to do so, that the Federation will launch an organization campaign independent of the International Typographical Union; and be it further

**RESOLVED,** That the International Typographical Union be ordered to issue charters to the independent union at Butte, Mont., and such other independent organizations of newswriters as have already been established.

The committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the International Typographical Union.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 90—By Delegates of the Boot and Shoe Workers Union:**

**WHEREAS,** The W. H. McElwain Company, a large shoe manufacturing firm doing business as manufacturers in Bridgewater, Mass., Manchester, New Hampshire and elsewhere, as well as having control of shoe jobbing houses and retail stores in several cities of the United States has taken advantage of our immigration laws by employing many foreign, unskilled workmen, thereby establishing and maintaining a low labor cost, which is a serious menace to the American standard of living; and

**WHEREAS,** Hundreds of workers of foreign birth and recent arrival in this country are taken advantage of because of their ignorance of our language, and placed to work under the most un-American conditions, thus becoming the means through which the fair manufacturers and skilled shoe workers are injured by unfair competition; and

**WHEREAS,** In March, 1912, the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, having secured membership in several of the departments of the McElwain Company's factory at Bridgewater, made an effort to improve the conditions by presenting a request for an advance in wages, and upon the refusal of the McElwain Company to consider the list submitted, the union offered to leave the questions in dispute to the Massachusetts State Board of Conciliation and Arbitration for decision; the McElwain Company refused this offer, declaring that they would only consider matters of wages and conditions with their employes as individuals, whereupon a strike was declared by the local union having jurisdiction over the Bridgewater factory, which contest has been since continued under the financial support of the general organization; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be directed to appoint a committee to confer with the W. H. McElwain Company with a view to bringing about an adjustment, and failing to settle the controversy upon any fair basis, the Council be directed to convey by circular letter to all affiliated unions the result of their negotiations to the end that the labor movement may be

officially informed as to whether this company denies it employs the right to organize and collectively negotiate for their wages and conditions of labor.

The committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council for favorable action.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 94—By Delegate Charles V. Lawler of the Commercial Portrait Artists Union:**

**WHEREAS,** The following portrait companies located in the City of Chicago, Consolidated Portrait Co., Chicago Copy Co., Fidelity Portrait Co., Central Portrait Co., Chicago Portrait Co. and George Smith Co. After repeated solicitation on the part of the Commercial Portrait Artists' Union, they have absolutely refused to comply with union conditions, nor will they consider any overtime of the union; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** That in accordance with the usual practices, this subject be referred to the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. with a view to adjudication of the existing trouble.

The committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 95—By Delegates Frank A. Scoby, James J. Doyle of the Coopers International Union:**

**WHEREAS,** The Standard Oil Co. has for years operated and controlled throughout the United States its cooper shops and preferring always workmen in its employ who were ignorant of our language, customs, laws and decent American conditions; and

**WHEREAS,** The wages paid to coopers in its employ have been and are far below the standard being paid to coopers similarly employed in the refineries that are owned and controlled by the Independent Oil Refiners Company of America; and

**WHEREAS,** Efforts have been made from time to time on the part of the Coopers International Union of America to organize the men who are employed by the most gigantic trust of the world to join the ranks of organized labor and such efforts have always been thwarted by superintendents, bosses and foremen employed presumably to retard the progress and enlightenment of their poorly paid servants by holding up to them the uselessness of being union men; and

**WHEREAS,** A great injustice will be perpetrated if allowed to continue, wherein independent oil refiners and union cooperation manufacturers are compelled to struggle on in a competitive market and be obliged to pay a higher scale of wages



than the Standard Oil Co. is obliged to conform to; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, do, and hereby assure the Coopers International Union that its struggle is their struggle, and at all times in the future patronage will be given to such oil refineries as conform to conditions that conform to an American standard of living; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to take up this condition with the officials of the Standard Oil Co., whose offices are located at 28 Broadway, New York City.

The committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 103—By Delegates Rowe, Clarke and Green of the American Flint Glass Workers Union:

**WHEREAS**, The Macbeth-Evans Glass Company, having headquarters in Pittsburg, Pa., and factories in Charleroi, Pa., Elwood and Marion, Indiana, and Toledo, Ohio, declared for an open shop and locked-out eleven hundred members of the American Flint Glass Workers Union and are avowed enemies of the trade union movement; and

**WHEREAS**, Said concern is the sole manufacturer of the "Alma" glass articles used extensively for illuminating purposes, also the grade of lamp chimneys known as "Pearl Glass," "Pearl Top," "Zenith," etc., therefore; be it

**RESOLVED**, That delegates to this convention, particularly those connected with the Building Trades Department shall exercise their very best efforts towards having the product of union labor substituted for the glass-ware made, advertised and sold by the Macbeth-Evans Glass Company.

The committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 113—By Mining Department, American Federation of Labor:

**WHEREAS**, There are in existence two organizations of steam shovel men, one known as the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen, not in itself an international organization, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, but a subsidiary organization to the International Union of Steam Engineers, and one organization known as the Associated Union of Steam Shovelmen; and

**WHEREAS**, A resolution was adopted by the Atlanta convention directing the Executive Council to call conferences of representatives of the different organizations in-

terested for the purpose of uniting in one organization all the men in these crafts in accordance with the laws of the American Federation of Labor; and

**WHEREAS**, The Associated Union of Steam Shovel Men has co-operated with the Executive Council in its efforts to amalgamate the two organizations to its fullest extent; and

**WHEREAS**, The International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen does not seem desirous of amalgamation on terms fair to all, as is evidenced by the report of the Executive Council; and

**WHEREAS**, The said Associated Union has repeatedly made efforts to become affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; and

**WHEREAS**, It is imperative to this department that a bona fide international organization of steam shovel men affiliated with the American Federation of Labor be chartered immediately; therefore be it

**RESOLVED**, That the Mining Department of the American Federation of Labor, recognizing the necessity of and the right to affiliation with the American Federation of Labor of an international union of steam shovel men does hereby insist that the Thirty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor direct the immediate issuance of a charter to an international union of steam shovel men.

The committee reported as follows:

The intent of this resolution is the same as that embraced in No. 115 and your committee recommends that the action taken on No. 115 shall be considered as disposing of this resolution.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 124—By Delegates Henry Prinz, Daniel Harris and E. A. Bates, of the New York State Federation of Labor:

**WHEREAS**, In the Mohawk Valley, New York State, there are over seventy-five thousand wage workers employed in the textile industry; and

**WHEREAS**, The large majority of these workers are at the present time unorganized, although we are of the opinion the time is now ripe for organizing this large body of unorganized workers, to the end that a higher standard of wages and working conditions may be secured; be it therefore

**RESOLVED**, That the delegates to the Thirty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as strongly urging the Executive Council of the American Federation to place some of their organizers in the Mohawk Valley, New York State, at their earliest convenience; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That we, the officers and delegates from the State Branch American Federation of Labor, New York State, pledge our hearty co-operation immediately this work is started:

The committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Delegate White (J. P.)—The committee wishes to offer the following resolution:

Resolution No. 136, by the Committee on Organization:

**RESOLVED**, That it is against public policy for ex-Presidents of the United States, ex-presidents of state colleges and universities, ex-professors of political economy in public institutions, and other public servants to receive pensions from private persons and privately endowed non-public foundations.

On motion the resolution was adopted.

Delegate White—That completes the report of the committee, which is respectfully submitted.

JAMES M. LYNCH,  
ANDREW J. GALLAGHER,  
THOMAS D. FITZGERALD,  
T. M. DALY,  
JOHN HANLEY,  
JOSEPH PROEBSTLE,  
JOHN P. WHITE,  
F. A. SCOPY,  
JOHN T. TAGGART,  
A. A. MYRUP,  
FRED C. WHEELER,  
JOHN WILLIAMS,

Committee on Organization.

Vice-President Alpine in the chair.

**Report of Committee on Labels.**

Delegate Sullivan, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Resolution No. 10—By Delegate Edw. E. Shilling of the Travelers' Goods and Leather Novelty Workers International Union:

WHEREAS, A large number of trades and crafts affiliated with the American Federation of Labor have a union label of their own, its use being that of affording a mark of distinction to the purchaser to be used as a guide to the purchasing of union made products; and

WHEREAS, It becomes the duty of each and every union man to use his purchasing power to advance the interests of fair products by purchasing only such products as bear the union label; and

WHEREAS, The Travelers' Goods and Leather Novelty Workers International Union has a paper label for trunks and a stamp label for leather goods, which it advertises as a mark of distinction between the union and non-union trunks, bags, suit-cases and leather novelties; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That we, the delegates representing the international, state, central and federated unions, in convention

of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Rochester, November, 1912, will use our utmost endeavor in creating a greater demand for the goods, bearing the label of the Travelers' Goods and Leather Novelty Workers International Union; be it further

**RESOLVED**, That we earnestly request the members of our respective local unions to observe carefully when making purchases of trunks, bags, suit-cases, pocketbooks, belts or other leather novelties, that the purchases made have the union label of the Travelers' Goods and Leather Novelty Workers International Union, as none are genuine union made unless the label is there to be seen.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

The chairman of the committee stated that Resolutions 23 and 92 had been withdrawn, and the recommendations of the committee had been recommitted. He reported that the committee desired to withdraw its recommendations.

The report of the committee was adopted.

The committee reported as follows:

That subject concerning Whitehead-Hoag Company, your committee recommends that it be referred to the Executive Council for such action as in their judgment is best calculated to preserve the interests of the employes of the company.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

**Union Label Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor.**

On the matter reported from the convention of the Union Label Trades Department, printed in the proceedings of a former session and referred to the Committee on Organization, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee commends to this convention favorable action upon that portion of the communication from the Union Label Trades Department not otherwise provided for, to the end that the most complete publicity be given to the labels of affiliated unions.

We further urge that affiliated unions supply to the Label Trades Department the fullest information covering the question of the theory of a universal label or design.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

Chairman Tobin—This completes the report of your committee, and it is moved that the report as a whole be adopted.

JOHN F. TOBIN,  
J. BRAIS,  
JOE BIRNES,  
MAX S. HAYES,  
MAIER SCHWARZ,  
MAX ZUCKERMAN,  
F. C. BROCKHAUSEN,  
J. J. MORRIS,  
H. J. CONWAY,  
J. L. SULLIVAN,  
LOUIS KEMPER,  
HENRY KOCH,  
WILLIAM L. HOEFGEN,  
F. X. NOSCHANG,  
J. M. BARNES,

The motion to adopt the report of the committee as a whole was carried.

#### Report of Committee on Law.

Delegate Egan, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Resolution No. 3—By Central Labor Union of Elkhart, Ind.:

WHEREAS, There are a number of locals not affiliated with central bodies but affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, We believe that all locals affiliated with the American Federation of Labor should be affiliated with central bodies; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in session at Rochester, N. Y., change Article XI, Sec. 2, by striking out the word "shall" and inserting the word "must."

The proposed change contemplates substituting the word "must" for "shall" in the first line of Sec. 2, Art. XI, which, if amended, would read: "It 'must' be the duty of all National and International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to instruct their Local Unions to join chartered Central Labor bodies," etc., etc.

Resolution No. 122—By Delegate James P. Holland of the Central Federated Union of Greater New York and Vicinity:

RESOLVED, By this Thirty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that Article XI, Section 2 of the Constitution be amended by erasing the word "to" on the fourth line after unions, and add "that they must," etc.

The proposed change contemplates changing Sec. 2, Art. XI, to read: "It shall be the duty of all National and International unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to instruct their local unions 'that they must' join chartered Central Labor bodies," etc., etc.

On the above proposed amendments, contained in resolution No. 3, and resolution No. 122, your committee is in entire accord with the end that these amendments seek to attain, but are assured, by the recent accomplishments in the direction of securing the affiliation of every local union with central labor bodies and state federations, warrants us in recommending the continuance of the policy of urging national and international officers to continue and accentuate their efforts to influence their respective local unions to so affiliate, rather than attempt by law to force the matter. Much has been accomplished by these persuasive methods, and your committee urge the officers of the American Federation of Labor and of all affiliated unions, to be, if possible, still more diligent in their efforts to bring about proper affiliation of every local union in the United States and Canada. Your committee, therefore, non-concurs in proposed amendments as found in resolutions Nos. 3 and 122.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be adopted.

Delegate Norman moved that the word "shall" be stricken out and the word "must" inserted.

The question was discussed by Delegate Holland, who spoke in favor of the resolution he had introduced.

Delegate Morton spoke in favor of the report of the committee.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Delegate Keegan (N. J.)—I desire to amend Article 11, Section 1. Under the present law there is no provision for the election of officers in the central labor unions. My amendment reads: "The election of officers in central bodies and state bodies shall be conducted by roll call, an open vote the same as elections are conducted by the American Federation of Labor."

President Gompers—The chair asks Delegate Keegan whether in offering an amendment to the constitution of the American Federation of Labor, affecting all the central bodies in America, or so radically changing a procedure, it would not be better that the amendment be made part of the record and during the year give the officers and delegates of the rank and file an opportunity to see what is con-

tained in the amendment so that it may have the consideration of the convention in 1913?

After a brief discussion Delegate Keegan agreed to accept the suggestion of President Gompers.

Resolution No. 9—By Hair Spinners Union, No. 12353:

WHEREAS, We, Hair Spinners Protective Union 12353, A. F. of L., do consider the strike benefits paid by the American Federation of Labor too small compared with the high cost of living, high prices for wearing apparel and so on, and we think we can get better results in case of trouble if a higher benefit is paid, for we find when the money runs down some of the persons on strike or lockout become indifferent to their obligations and duty; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That Section 5 of Article XIII of the constitution of the American Federation of Labor be amended by striking out four (\$4.00) dollars per week for each member and inserting six (\$6.00) dollars per week for each member.

A majority of the committee recommends concurrence, after which Sec. 5 Article III. will read as follows:

Sec. 5. When a strike has been inaugurated under the provisions of Sections 2 and 3, the American Federation of Labor shall pay to the bonded officer of the Union involved, or his order, for a period of six weeks, an amount equal to six (\$6) dollars per week for each member. Each Local Union shall require its treasurer to give proper bond for the safe-keeping and disbursement of all funds of the Local. No benefit shall be paid for the first two weeks of the strike. The Executive Council shall have the power to authorize the payment of strike benefits for an additional period.

Minority Report of Committee on Laws on Resolution No. 9:

That the entire subject matter of resolution No. 9 be referred to the executive council for investigation, and if the executive council after the proper investigation has been made believe that the strike benefit paid to federal unions ought to be increased, that the council recommend same to the next convention.

DANIEL J. TOBIN,  
JAMES P. EGAN,  
J. C. SKEMP,  
T. A. HANSON,  
CHARLES A. SUMNER,  
S. E. HEBERLING.

Delegate Tobin—I move that the minority report be adopted by the convention. (Seconded.)

Delegate Barnes—I move that the majority report be adopted, with this amendment, that in place of six dollars it be made five dollars.

Delegate Gallagher (A. J.)—I arise to a point of order. The question is to refer the minority report, and the majority report is not before the house.

The point was declared well taken.

The question was discussed by Delegate Barnes, Delegate Tobin (D. J.) and Secretary Morrison.

The motion to adopt the minority report was carried.

Delegate Egan continued the report as follows:

The following portion of the Executive Council's report to this convention was referred to this committee:

#### ORGANIZERS' SALARIES.

The Atlanta Convention considered a resolution for the amendment of section 7, article IX of the constitution, relating to the salaries of organizers, the proposed amendment being to:

"Strike out the figures \$5.00 per day and insert the figures \$6.00 per day on line 4."

The matter was referred to the Executive Council with power to act. Owing to the fact that the funds were not then available to meet the proposed added expenditure which would thereby be entailed, we finally decided in favor of the proposition, the amendment to go into effect January 1, 1913. When considering this amendment, it was also decided that where organizers for any specific trade are employed by the A. F. of L. to perform special trade organizing work, that such organizers shall receive the stipulated salary as provided by the national or international union in whose interest the work is being performed, provided, however, that such salary does not exceed \$6.00 per day.

The committee recommends concurrence, after which Sec. 7, Art. IX, would read as follows:

The remuneration for loss of time by members of the Executive Council, organizers, or speakers engaged by them, shall be \$5.00 per day, hotel expense and actual railroad fare.

A motion was made and seconded that the recommendation of the committee be adopted.

Delegate Egan—The matter was referred to the Atlanta convention, with instructions to the Executive Council to take such action as they deemed best.

Treasurer Lennon—This matter was acted upon definitely at Atlanta and was referred to the Executive Council with power to make the raise. At the last meeting of the Executive Council, under that power, the raise was made to go into effect the first day of January. It is simply changing the law to conform to

what has already been done by the Executive Council under the authorization of the Atlanta convention.

Delegate Norman asked if it meant six dollars a day and expenses? Upon being answered in the affirmative he spoke briefly in opposition to the change.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

**Resolution No. 98—By Delegate Steve C. Summer of the Illinois State Federation of Labor:**

Amend Article VII. by inserting a new section, to be known as Section 5, as follows:

"The Secretary shall, on the first day of each quarter of the fiscal year of the Federation, forward to the Secretary of each State Federation recognized as such by the A. F. of L., a sum equal to one-half cent per member per month for every union man connected with the A. F. of L., either direct or through affiliation, in such state jurisdiction."

Remember Section 5, Article VII, by making same new Section 6.

Remember Section 6, Article VII, by making same new Section 7.

(Section 6, as now in effect, (new section 7), gives the Secretary full power to secure the data necessary to put the proposed change in full operation.)

Amend Article X, Section 1, by striking out the words "one-half of one cent," in line five, and inserting the words "one and one-sixth" (thus collecting one-half cent per member per month for State Federations.)

The committee recommended nonconcurrency. On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 105—By Delegate Jacob Tazelaar of the Brotherhood of Painters:**

WHEREAS, It is generally believed that the work of this Federation is carried on in the "open" and that there are no secrets in the management of its affairs, because such statements are made by officials representing this Federation, and

WHEREAS, Some people may be in doubt as to the truth of these statements and assurances; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor be amended to read as follows:

Adding new section to Article IX. All matter coming before the Executive Council shall be reported by said Executive Council in the American Federationist in issue following the Executive Council session, or such matter as from time to time shall be submitted to the members thereof for a vote, the report so appearing shall record the name of each member voting in the affirmative, negative or those not voting. National, state, central and federal unions in affiliation to receive a transcript of the

minutes of the meeting over the signature of the President and Secretary.

The committee recommended nonconcurrency.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 106—By Delegate Jacob Tazelaar of the Brotherhood of Painters:**

RESOLVED, That permanent organizers known as general organizers or salaried general organizers of the American Federation of Labor shall at future conventions be elected instead of appointed by the members of the Executive Council or upon their request.

Your committee non-concurs, as we believe a convention is less qualified to pass on the abilities of organizers, and their especial fitness for certain work, than is the executive council.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 111—By Delegate Duncan McDonald of the United Mine Workers:**

In the recent past a general complaint has been made against the autocratic powers exercised by presiding officers in many Legislatures and in the United States Congress.

This complaint has been so general that the American people have been aroused to action and are now demanding a more democratic form of government as evidenced in the recent general election, and the slogan, "Let the People Rule," demonstrates that the people are insistent in these demands.

WHEREAS, the American Federation of Labor, representing some 1,000,000 members, are expected to play its part in this matter; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention set an example by amending Section 3, Article 3, by substituting therefore the following:

Section 3. The following committees, consisting of fifteen members each, shall be elected by the delegates to the convention in the following manner: On the first day of the convention, each delegate to the Convention shall be provided with blanks on which to record their choice for members of the various committees by inserting on a blank line opposite the name of the respective committees the number of their choice, the fifteen delegates receiving the highest number of votes shall be declared elected to the respective committees, providing that no two members of said committee shall represent the same organization, and no delegate shall serve more than one committee. In the event anyone so elected shall be unable to serve, the one receiving the next highest number of votes shall be declared elected in his stead.

The names of the committees and the balance of this section to remain as at present.

The committee recommended nonconcurrency. On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

The following portion of the Executive Council's report to this convention was referred to this committee:

The Executive Council has had under consideration a suggestion of our President and in which we not only concur, but recommend for adoption. Under the system which has prevailed in our Federation since its inception, the laws have required that the President, Secretary, Treasurer and the Executive Council shall each submit a report to our annual conventions. By reason of this custom it has frequently occurred that many of the subjects with which these officers have dealt in their reports have been duplicated and, in some instances, triplicated. This feature is not necessarily an evil, though it may be a lack of conserving the time of the conventions. But quite apart from this feature, though it has not arisen in the past, there is a likelihood of its occurring in the future, of individual conflicting expression of judgment and recommendation. It is the opinion of the Executive Council, in which all its members concur, that the report submitted to the conventions of the American Federation of Labor should be the expression of the judgment of the collective opinion of the men entrusted with the affairs of labor rather than any individual judgment of any individual officer thereof. We hold that the organized labor movement, as represented in the American Federation of Labor, is an entity and after a thorough discussion of all the subjects which come under the consideration of our conventions, there should be reported to the following conventions of the American Federation of Labor not only the activities of its executive and fiduciary officers, but the combined report of the activities of the expression of judgment and of the recommendations to the convention.

It is therefore the unanimous recommendation of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. that our laws be so changed as to eliminate from the Constitution and the custom, the requirement that either the President, the Secretary, or the Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor shall report individually to the future conventions, and that the reports or recommendations of the President, Secretary and Treasurer shall, after scrutiny and determination, be incorporated in or become a part of the report of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. We recommend that this subject matter be referred to the Committee on Laws of this Convention for its consideration and report to this Convention.

Your committee concurs in the above recommendation, and recommends the following changes in the constitution to make said concurrence effective:

Amend Sec. 3, Art. III, by striking out all reference to the president's, secretary's and treasurer's reports, after which said section would read as follows:

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

Amend Sec. 2, Art. VI, by striking out that part which provides the President shall "report his acts and doing to the annual convention of the Federation." If amended, the section will read.

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

Amend Sec. 4, Art. VII, by providing that the Secretary shall report to annual conventions through the Executive Council. If amended, the section will read:

Sec. 4, Art. VII—The Secretary shall give a bond of \$2,000 for the faithful performance of his duties, and shall report to the annual convention of the Federation through the report of the Executive Council, and for his services he shall receive such sum as the annual convention may determine, payable weekly.

Amend Sec. 3, Art. VIII, by providing that the Treasurer shall report to annual conventions through the Executive Council. If amended, the section will read:

Sec. 3, Art. VIII—The Treasurer shall submit to the annual convention, through the report of the Executive Council, a complete statement of all receipts and disbursements during his term of office, and at the expiration of his term of office he shall deliver up to his successor all moneys, securities, books, and papers of the Federation under his control; and for the faithful performance of his duties he shall give a bond in such sum as the Executive Council may determine. The annual salary of the Treasurer shall be \$500.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 41—**By Delegate Harvey Garman of the Denver Trades and Labor Assembly:

Amend Article XI of the Constitution, by adding thereto a new section, to be known as Section 11, to read as follows:

Section 11. Local central labor unions, state federations, or other central body of delegates, shall incorporate into their constitutions the following provisions: Questions may be decided by division or a show of hands, but if a call of the yeas and nays is demanded by one-tenth of the delegates present, each delegate shall cast one vote for every one hundred members or major fraction thereof he represents. The secretary of each local central body, state federation or other central body of delegates shall prepare for use of each such organization, printed roll call lists, containing the number of votes the delegates are each entitled to, based upon the membership upon which per capita tax has been paid during the year by their respective unions.

The committee recommended non-concurrence. On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 43—**By Delegate Paul Scharrenberg of the San Francisco Labor Council:

Amend Section 12 of Article IX to read as follows:

Section 12. The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall only have power to revoke the charter of an affiliated national or international union, a central labor body or a state federation when the revocation has been ordered by a two-thirds majority of a regular convention of the American Federation of Labor, by a roll-call vote.

Amend Section 1 of Article XI to read as follows:

Section 1. No central labor union, or any other central body of delegates shall admit to or retain in their councils delegates from any local organization that owes its allegiance to any other body, national or international, hostile to any affiliated organization, or that has been suspended or expelled by, or not connected with a national or international organization of their trade herein affiliated, under penalty of having their charter revoked by the next convention, as provided in Section 12 of Article IX.

The committee reported as follows:

The logical application of these amendments, if adopted, would be that between conventions any central body or state federation would be unhampered in its admission of all sorts of rival, dual, secession or antagonistic organizations. While your committee is in accord with the efforts of the movers of the resolution to minimize friction incidental to unfortunate jurisdiction disputes, we be-

lieve the remedy proposed would have an opposite effect from that intended, and would cover a wider field than the authors of Resolution No. 43 contemplated. Your committee non-concurs in the resolution.

Delegate Scharrenberg and Delegate Gallagher (A. J.) opposed the report of the committee.

The question was discussed by Treasurer Lennon, Vice-President Duncan and Delegate Comerford.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried by a vote of 92 in the affirmative to 22 in the negative.

**Resolution No. 48—**By Delegate James P. Holland, Central Federated Union of Greater New York and vicinity.

WHEREAS, The ultimate aim of the labor movement is industrial emancipation, which means the abolition of wage-slavery and voluntary servitude;

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor and its affiliated state federations have devoted their energies to the enactment of national, state and territorial labor laws as well as to the embodying of provisions for the protection of labor in several state constitutions;

WHEREAS, The decisions of the United States Supreme Court in Injunction and labor cases have conclusively shown that there are provisions in the Federal constitution which have created a wall for the protection of capitalist interests as against the interest of the toiling millions, and that no thoroughly effective and beneficial labor legislation can be secured unless the United States constitution be so amended as to wipe out the two classes of master and servant, as provided thereunder at present;

WHEREAS, Logically and inevitably the next great step in the struggle of the oppressed to secure the recognition of rights to which the toiling millions of our country are justly entitled, is the demand and propagandism for a labor amendment to the United States constitution, ordaining that neither wage-slavery nor voluntary servitude shall exist within the United States or any place subject to their jurisdiction, and embodying the legislative demands of the American Federation of Labor, which shall bring about the industrial emancipation of all toilers; and

WHEREAS, A petition to Congress, being primarily a petition to the American people, is circulated and has been endorsed by the representative bodies of organized labor in New York City and New York State, which petition reads as follows:

The Honorable, the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress Assembled.

The undersigned constituents petition your honorable bodies to propose to the

legislatures of the several states the following article as an amendment to the constitution of the United States.

And your petitioners will ever pray, etc.

#### ARTICLE XVII.

Section I. Neither wage-slavery nor voluntary servitude shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

Sec. II. The Congress shall have power:

1. To acquire all lands, forests, watersheds, lakes, rivers, mines, oil wells, quarries, railroads, ferries, bridges, marines, telegraphs, telephones, express services, and all movable, and immovable, means of production, transport, exchange, distribution and communication.

2. To regulate private services, agriculture, intrastate commerce, imports and exports; and to provide for the occupation of all persons who are able to work in such work as they are qualified to perform, and for the care of all persons who are unable to work.

3. To establish the prices of all commodities, a uniform work day, a uniform scale of compensation for work and services, a uniform educational, and sanitary, system, so as to prevent the jeopardy of life and limb, and to protect the health, of all persons engaged in agricultural, industrial, commercial, and vocational pursuits; but sumptuary legislation shall be prohibited within the jurisdiction of the United States.

4. To regulate all money, banking, savings, and insurance institutions; but the delegation of power to issue currency shall be prohibited, and all treasury notes of the United States shall be legal tender.

5. To establish a uniform rate of interest, not exceeding two per centum per annum, and to regulate the payment of all interest-bearing public and private debts, loans, liens, and mortgages; and thereafter all interest-bearing debts, loans, liens, and mortgages shall be prohibited.

6. To restore to the people all lands and franchises alienated from the people; and thereafter the alienation of lands and franchises from the people shall be prohibited.

7. To establish uniform rules for all National, State, County, Communal, and Industrial, elections; but the right of the citizens of the United States, being twenty-one years of age, to vote shall not be denied or abridged on account of race, color, creed, or sex.

8. To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and for enforcing the provisions of this article.

Resolved, By the American Federation of Labor in the thirty-second annual convention assembled, that the representatives in Congress be and hereby are authorized to introduce in Congress said petition for a labor amendment to the United States constitution, when offered them by their signers.

The committee reported as follows:

While there are some declarations in the above that are favored by the American Federation of Labor, and which have long been urged by this body, they are only incidental to other declarations heretofore unheard of, and which ask us to favor the regulation of private services, to establish the prices of all commodities, a uniform scale of compensation for work and services, etc., etc. The adoption of these sentiments would mean the abandonment of our fundamental principle that workers own their own labor power, and that they alone, acting as individuals or in voluntary associations, have the sole right to set the price and bargain for same. Your committee non-concurs with the resolution.

On motion, the report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 66—By Delegate Fred W. Holt of Arkansas Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, It has been demonstrated time and time again that it is absolutely necessary for the workers to be more closely united in order to more successfully combat the combination of the employing class; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we declare for an amendment to the Constitution of the A. F. of L. that Article 2, Section 2, be amended by adding the following: "National and International Trades Unions shall have the right to amalgamate; such amalgamation must be endorsed by a referendum vote of the organizations affected. A two-thirds affirmative vote of the members voting on such amalgamation in each organization shall be necessary to make the amalgamation legal and binding."

The committee reported as follows:

The above resolution indirectly charges the American Federation of Labor with denying the right of national and international unions to amalgamate, unite or associate in any manner they elect. Against this charge we enter a most emphatic protest, and express surprise that any trade unionist is unconscious of the continued efforts of the American Federation of Labor toward the complete federation of workers. The resolution further intends to destroy a majority rule in these matters, and substitute a two-thirds decision. Your committee non-concurs.

On motion, the report of the committee was adopted.

Treasurer Lennon—That completes the report of the committee, and I move that



the constitution be adopted as a whole as amended.

The motion was seconded and carried by more than a two-thirds vote of the delegates.

The report was signed by the committee in full:

JOHN B. LENNON, Chairman,  
JAMES P. EGAN, Secretary,  
J. C. SKEMP,  
DANIEL J. TOBIN,  
ROADY KENEHAN,  
T. A. HANSON,  
S. E. HEBERLING,  
JAS. H. SULLIVAN,  
JOSEPH MORTON,  
HARVEY GATMAN,  
THOS. RUMSEY,  
STEPHEN SUMNER,  
CHAS. A. SUMNER,  
DENNIS HEALEY,  
JAMES STARR,

Committee on Laws.

#### Report of Committee on Building Trades.

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

Resolution No. 126—By Frank H. McCarthy of the Boston Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, The Boston Building Trades Section, a once powerful organization has been literally torn to pieces, and rendered almost useless as a labor organization by various of the building trades locals having withdrawn therefrom, and

WHEREAS, Some of the building trades locals that have withdrawn, have formed a dual building trades organization and has ordered and engaged in strikes against attempts of the regular Building Trades Section to enforce American Federation of Labor laws and decisions; and

WHEREAS, The Boston Central Labor Union has been compelled to suspend from membership some sixteen local unions in an effort to protect the Building Trades Section of Boston, and enforce A. F. of L. laws; and

WHEREAS, All these local unions refuse to affiliate with the Boston Building Trades Section, and the dual building trades organization is still in active existence, thereby demoralizing not only the regular Building Trades Section of Boston, but all organized labor of Boston and Vicinity, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be directed to immediately take such action as will cause a conference of representatives of all international unions concerned to be held in Boston at which conference a representative of the American Federation shall be present, the purpose of the conference being to end the present de-

plorable condition of affairs in the Boston Central Labor Union and the Boston Building Trades Section. The unions withdrawn from the Building Trades Section and unseated in the Boston Central Labor Union are, eleven unions of Brotherhood of Carpenters, three Unions of Brotherhood of Painters, Iron Workers Union, Iron Building Laborers Union.

The committee recommended the adoption of the resolution.

On motion, the report of the committee was adopted:

Secretary McNulty—Resolutions No. 56 and No. 30, which deal with the same question, were acted upon by your committee together.

Resolution No. 30—By Delegate Sol Sontheimer, Hartford, Conn., C. L. U.:

WHEREAS, There exists in the city of Hartford a condition in the labor movement wholly at variance with the best interests of the movement, to wit: In this city there is a Central Labor Union, working under a charter of the American Federation of Labor, living up to and abiding by the rules, laws and regulations of the American Federation of Labor; there also exists an independent organization known as the Building Structural Alliance, composed of the Brotherhood of Joiners and Carpenters, United Association of Journeymen Plumbers, an independent union of Mason Tenders and the Bricklayers Union, all the other building trades crafts being affiliated with the Hartford Central Labor Union, which has perfected a Building Trades Council, but for unknown reasons the aforesaid unions refuse to affiliate with the council recognized by the American Federation of Labor; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That, we the delegates in convention assembled, request the Executive Council to use their best endeavors, with the national and international unions, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, to request their local unions to affiliate themselves with central labor unions, which are chartered under the American Federation of Labor to the end, that the deplorable situation existing in Hartford, Conn., may be brought to a speedy end.

Resolution No. 56 — By Delegate Sol Sontheimer, Hartford, Conn., Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, There are several local unions in the city of Hartford, Conn., to wit: the painters, decorators and paperhangers, the sheet metal workers, the slate and tile roofers, the bridge and structural iron workers, the tile layers and helpers, the wood, wire and metal lathers affiliated with their internationals, which are in turn affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and with the Building Trades Department of the A. F. of L. and with the Building Trades Council of this city, and there are other local unions that are eligible, namely, those of the United Association of Plumbers, Gas

Fitters, Steam Fitters and Steam Fitters' Helpers and of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, but which persistently refuse to affiliate with the local Building Trades Council; and

WHEREAS, The local Council has, for more than two years, used every endeavor to get these locals to affiliate, having had the co-operation of the Building Trades Department of the A. F. of L. and of the American Federation of Labor itself, which delegated Special Organizer Henry Streifer to assist in persuading these delinquent locals to affiliate and yet they persistently refuse to do so, meeting every friendly advance with contempt; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we report said action on their part to the convention of the American Federation of Labor and request that a strong protest be sent directly from the convention of the A. F. of L. in session at Rochester, N. Y., to the delinquent locals, condemning them for their reactionary attitude towards the local Building Trades Council of the Building Trades Department of the A. F. of L.; and be it

RESOLVED, That we request the said convention to urge the forthcoming convention of the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor to take drastic measures with said delinquent locals, to the end that they may be shown that in the event of their more persistent non-affiliation with the local Council, their charters shall become endangered.

The committee offers the following as a substitute for the two resolutions:

RESOLVED, That this convention recommend to and urge the Building Trades Department, the United Association of Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters and Steam Fitters Helpers, the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners to each send a representative to Hartford, Conn., not later than Feb. 1st, 1913, to take up jointly with the unions involved the grievances that are responsible for the existing situation in Hartford with the end in view that there will be but one central labor union and one building Trades Council in the city of Hartford, Conn., and each to be affiliated with the A. F. of L. and B. T. D.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 32—By Delegate George E. Norman, Omaha, Neb., C. L. U.:

WHEREAS, The Building Trades Council of Omaha, Neb., is not chartered by the Building Trades Department of the A. F. of L.; and

WHEREAS, The conditions in the building trades of that city are very unsatisfactory to the C. L. U. and hindering it in improving the conditions of the workmen of Omaha; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention request the Building Trades Department of the A. F. of L. to send a representative to Omaha, Neb., at an early date to organize a local Building Trades Council

under the Building Trades Department of the A. F. of L., and in conformity with the laws of the A. F. of L.

The committee recommended concurrence, and that the Building Trades Department be requested to send an organizer to Omaha as soon as possible.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Secretary McNulty—This concludes the report of your Building Trades Committee.

Respectfully submitted,  
 WM. D. HUBER, Chairman,  
 F. J. McNULTY, Secretary,  
 EDW. J. MCGIVERN,  
 WM. H. JOHNSTON,  
 FRANK FEENEY,  
 D. D'ALESSANDRO,  
 GEO. F. HEDRICK,  
 WM. J. TRACEY,  
 W. J. MCSORLEY,  
 F. C. GENGENBACK,  
 THOS. J. WILLIAMS,  
 JAMES GARVEY,  
 JAMES H. SHORT,  
 M. O'SULLIVAN,  
 FRANK E. THOMAN.

#### Report of Committee on Boycotts.

Delegate Margaret Daily, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Resolution No. 60—By A. A. Myrup, Henry Koch and J. Goldstone of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America:

WHEREAS, The Bakery and Confectionery Workers International Union of America for the past nineteen months has been engaged in a life and death struggle against the non-union monopolization of the bread industry by what is known as the bread trust, which is composed of the various gigantic baking concerns, such as the Ward Baking Company, operating in localities of such cities as New York, Pittsburg, Cleveland, Boston and Providence, and are the non-union manufacturers of what is known as the "Tip-Top" bread, and another component part of the bread trust known as the General Baking Company, operating at present in the localities of over thirty of the larger cities and are the non-union manufacturers of various brands of bread, such as "Pan Dandy," "Butter Crust," "Mighty Nice"; and

WHEREAS, Persons financially backing this bread trust and the methods used by this combination are identical with persons financially interested in the steel trust, and the methods used (such as the welfare plan) are a duplicate of those used in the steel industry to successfully exterminate organized labor; and

WHEREAS, The intended non-union monopolization of the bread industry, if successfully accomplished, will not alone mean the exclusion of all organized labor

from the bread industry, but will also thereby place at the mercy of the magnates of the bread trust the bread-consuming public and dictate to them under which terms and at what prices they shall eat bread, the main staff of life; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor, in Convention assembled, denounce this intended monopolization of the bread industry, and that it endorses the anti-bread trust fight now being waged against the bread trust by the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor pledges itself to do all it consistently can to assist the Bakery Workers to create a healthy public sentiment in opposition to this non-union bread trust monopoly, to which end the President of the American Federation of Labor be directed to issue a letter containing this resolution to all international and national unions, state and city central bodies, and affiliated unions, the labor press, and to the organizers of the American Federation of Labor, requesting that they give their assistance and support to the Bakery and Confectionery Workers International Union of America in the anti-bread trust fight conducted by this organization.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council for the purpose of directing such action as it believes will be most helpful to the Bakery and Confectionery Workers in this struggle.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be concurred in.

Delegate Goldstone discussed the question briefly, referring to the conditions in the bakery industry and the struggle of the workers against the bread trust.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 76**—By Delegate H. J. Pfeiffer, of the Indiana State Federation of Labor:

**WHEREAS**, Members of Machinists Local 161, International Association of Machinists have been and are now on strike at the plant of the E. C. Atkins Saw Manufacturing Company of Indianapolis, Indiana, since August, 1911, for the right to organize and recognition of their organizations; and

**WHEREAS**, Every honorable effort has been made by the Indianapolis Central Labor Union, the Indianapolis Building Trades and Metal Trades Councils, the Indiana State Federation of Labor, as well as the American Federation of Labor through organizer John Lewis, to reach an amicable adjustment of this trouble, but without success, this being due to the fact that the said firm of E. C.

Atkins Saw Mfg. Company through its president, Mr. H. C. Atkins has positively refused on all occasions to enter into any kind of an agreement that carries with it the recognition of the unions, but he (Mr. Atkins) has on a number of occasions made the open declaration that he was running his shop on the so-called "Open Shop" basis, and that he intended to continue to do so in the future; be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled pledges itself to do all in its power to continue to assist in this struggle for the right of the employees of the E. C. Atkins Saw Mfg. Company to organize and the recognition of their organization and that the Executive Council stand instructed to do whatever lies within their power to bring about the desired results and to carry this resolve into effect.

The committee reported as follows: Your committee concurs in the resolution and recommends that the Executive Council do all in its power to assist in organizing the E. C. Atkins plant at Indianapolis, Indiana.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

Secretary Daily—This concludes the report of the committee, which is respectfully submitted and signed:

D. A. HAYES, Chairman,  
 JAMES B. CONNORS,  
 TIMOTHY HEALY,  
 THOS. S. PARELL,  
 FRANK J. HAYES,  
 A. J. KUGLER,  
 J. F. WINCKLER,  
 ALEX. ARCHIE,  
 A. M. SCHWARTZ,  
 FRANK O'BRIEN,  
 JOS. SMITH,  
 TOM CAVANAUGH,  
 WM. J. COOK,  
 B. F. LAMB,  
 MARGARET C. DAILY,

Secretary,  
 Committee on Boycotts.

#### **Report of Committee on State Organizations.**

Vice President Alpine, chairman of the committee, reported as follows:

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the caption "The Arizona and New Mexico State Constitutions," the committee reports as follows:

Your committee commends the action of President Gompers and the Executive Council in sending organizers to New Mexico for the purpose of aiding in securing the amendment to the constitution for the state, which would permit the legislature to submit proposed amendments to the constitution

to a referendum vote of the citizens of New Mexico.

We trust and recommend that efforts in this direction will continue to the end that the results gained may be extended through the statutory and organic laws in all of the states.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 115— By Delegates John P. White, John Mitchell, Frank J. Hayes, Duncan McDonald, Wm. Green and J. H. Walker of the United Mine Workers of America:

WHEREAS, There exists among the workers employed in the mining and iron industries of West Virginia, Virginia, Tennessee, Alabama, Colorado, certain sections of Pennsylvania and other states, unusually bad conditions and in all of these industries very low wages are paid; and

WHEREAS, Particularly in the coal mining sections of West Virginia, inhuman and barbarous methods are resorted to by certain coal operators to keep their employes from becoming organized and thus hold them, if not in actual servitude and slavery, at least in a condition approaching thereto; and

WHEREAS, One of the methods used is to maintain in the mining villages a large force of hired guards, commonly called "Baldwin Detectives," who brutalize and terrorize the miners and their families most shamefully, and whose viciousness and disregard for law and human life have been so flagrant as to attract the attention of both press and public, and against which labor generally has most emphatically protested; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, First, That it is the sense of this convention that the organization of the workers in the states and industries herein named be pushed with unrelenting vigor until these intolerable conditions are completely changed;

Second, That we demand that the proper civil authorities having jurisdiction extend the protection of the law to the men, women and children living in the territory above named; disarm and drive out these private guards and prosecute wherever possible the men "higher up" who employ and import in to peaceable communities these squads of ruffians, criminals and thugs;

Third, We demand wherever necessary the enactment of laws to effectually prohibit the employment of guards or detectives by employers of labor during strikes or labor disputes.

Fourth, That the Executive Council make an investigation in the industries

within the several states herein named for the purpose of ascertaining to what extent peonage is practiced, and to what extent the state and federal laws are violated in the importation and employment of bodies of armed men under the guise of guards or detectives.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution. On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

Chairman Alpine—That completes the report of the committee, which is respectfully submitted, and signed.

JOHN R. ALPINE,  
G. W. PRING,  
C. N. GLOVER,  
THOMAS VAN LEAR,  
ABRAHAM ROSENBERG,  
J. L. LANGAN,  
FRANK BUTTERWORTH,  
H. S. MARSHALL,  
WILLIAM KELLY.

President Gompers—You will observe that there has not been any proposition or resolution of any character brought to this convention but has had the consideration of a committee of the convention and the consideration of this convention.

Vice-President Duncan—I move that the president of the American Federation of Labor in person carry the fraternal greetings of this convention to the convention of the Building Trades Department, which is to begin its sessions next Monday here in Rochester. (Seconded and carried.)

Before leaving the convention, Fraternal Delegate Bruce of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress thanked the delegates and officers for the kindness and courtesies extended him, and spoke of the valuable information he had received during the sessions of the convention.

Mr. Joseph Buchanan of New York was given the privilege of the floor, and in behalf of the newspaper correspondents thanked the delegates and officers for the uniform courtesy that had been extended to them during the sessions of the Federation.

President Gompers made a brief address before closing the convention.

At 9:30 p. m., Saturday, November 23, the Thirty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor was adjourned sine die.

*Peter Bohrer, Jr.*

Assistant Secretary of Convention.

*Frank Morrison*  
Secretary American Federation of Labor.

52M-411



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LaFayette, Ind. November-30-1912.

Mr. Frank Morrison, Secretary,  
 American Federation of Labor,  
 Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir and Brother:-

President Hedrick informs me that the report of the proceedings of the last day of the Rochester Convention, of which I have not yet received a copy, show me as voting for Delegate Hayes for president of the Federation. This is an error as my vote was cast for President Gompers. Some of the delegates of the Brotherhood voted for Delegate Hayes and presumably this is the way in which the error occurred.

Fraternally yours,

Sk.-W

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 J. C. Skemp, G. S.-T.

ANSWERED  
 DEC 4 1912



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