The possibilities of local history in America are increasingly realized. Not the least of these possibilities is training in historical method. In larger places the files of several newspapers are usually accessible to the historical student. In spite of the toil and fatigue connected with research in newspaper files, there is something peculiarly attractive about such work. When, as is sometimes the case, the information sought has peculiar, great or permanent value, the incitement so necessary to satisfactory research is raised to a high pitch. If, in addition, some outside source exists by which to test the accuracy of the parallel newspaper material the demands of research as regard material are almost completely met. The combination of all these elements is responsible for this paper. (a)

The National Labor Congress which proved in its outcome to be the first convention of the American Federation of Labor met in Pittsburgh in November, 1881. Of the fifty-three or more journals (1) published in Pittsburgh at that date, eleven or more were daily newspapers of the ordinary type. (2) Of these dailies of the ordinary type,

(a) I am indebted to Mr. Donald Couch, one of my pupils, for an important preliminary investigation of this subject as a term paper theme.

(1) *Diffenbacher's Directory of Pittsburgh*, 1881-1882 (Diffenbacher & Thurston, Pittsburgh, Pa., 1881), page 880.

(2) *Ibid.* Of the remainder, seventeen were definitely trades journals, industrial, commercial or professional. Five were definitely labor papers. Seven were definitely religious papers. Three were local community or ward papers. Two were social and cultural in a special sense. Four were weeklies but whether of the political, religious or labor type it is difficult to determine exactly. Of the other three it is impossible to say anything. It might be mentioned here that city directories can be used as a source of considerable value in a study of the rise and decay of journals and types of journalism. The directories of Pittsburgh, for instance, are complete since 1852 and the Carnegie Library contains scattered volumes for the period since 1815.
the files of five of the seven (3) or more in the English language and one of the four (4) in the German language are accessible in the Carnegie Library. (5)

Of the five English newspapers whose files are accessible, three (6) received on the last day of the convention a note of thanks, “for their very faithful reports of the proceedings of this Congress” (7) and would seem to possess particularly high value as a record. The other two (8) were not in good favor by reason of difficulties with the local printers union and their reporters were excluded from the hall of the convention. (9) Just why the German newspaper, *Der Freiheits Freund*, whose files are accessible and which apparently was not involved in union difficulties, was omitted from the note of thanks is uncertain, beyond the fact that only English papers were included.

The minutes of the meetings of the convention, (10) presumably an accurate if not altogether complete record, (11) though out of print, are available in some of the larger libraries and serve as a standard to test the accuracy of the accounts found in the six newspapers, the files of which are accessible in the Central Library.

(3) *Commercial Gazette, Evening Chronicle, Evening Telegraph, Daily Post, Times, Dispatch and Leader.*

(4) *Der Freiheits Freund, Beobachter, Volksblatt and Republi- caner.*

(5) The first five above named in English and *Der Freiheits Freund.*

(6) *Commercial Gazette, Evening Chronicle and Evening Tele- graph.*

(7) *Proceedings of the American Federation of Labor, 1881-1888.* (Pantagraph Printing and Stationery Company, Bloomington, Illinois, 1906), page 24. The *Dispatch, Labor Tribune, Sunday Critic* and *Globe* were included in the note of thanks.

(8) *Daily Post, Times.*

(9) The *Times*, November 16, mentions the case of its reporter. *Der Freiheits Freund*, November 16, mentions the case of the reporter of the *Daily Post.* These two papers are therefore of weakened historical value on this topic.

(10) *Proceedings, loc cit.*

(11) The complete accuracy of these cannot be guaranteed in theory or in fact. Note that the Pantagraph edition used, says, “Report of the First Annual Session of the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada, held in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, December 15, 16, 17 and 18, 1881. Published by the authority of the Fede- ration.” This is a good example of the lack at times of historicity in official documents.
Careful comparison of the seven accounts and satisfactory organization of the results seen should make an interesting study in local history.

The call for this Congress was a result of a meeting held in Terre Haute, Indiana, in August 1881. (12) This Terre Haute convention resolved to hold a Congress of Labor Unions of the United States in Pittsburgh on November 15th. The object of the Congress was officially stated in a formal call, (13) addressed and sent to all the Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada. This call, in view of the fact that the objects outlined were later adopted by the Labor Congress and have consistently formed the policy of the organization for forty years, deserves quotation in full. It was in the following language:

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

"We have numberless trades unions, etc., all engaged in a noble task of elevating and improving the conditions of the working class. But, great as has been the work done by these bodies, there is vastly more that can be done by a combination of all these organizations in a federation of trades.

"In Great Britain and Ireland annual trades unions congresses are held. The work done by these assemblies of workmen speaks more in their favor than a volume of arguments.

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

(12) Proceedings, page 6; Evening Chronicle, November 14; Telegraph, November 14.

"A National Trades Union Congress can prepare labor measures and agree upon laws they desire to be passed by the United States Congress and form a Congressional Labor Committee to urge and advance legislation upon measures wanted at Washington and report to the various trades.

"In addition to this, an annual Congress of Trades Unions could organize a systematic agitation to propagate trades union principles and to impress the necessity of protective trade and labor organizations and to encourage the formation of such unions and thus amalgamation in trade assemblies. Thus we could elevate trade unionism and obtain for the working classes that respect for their rights to which they are justly entitled.

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

"Impressed with the necessity of such a federation and the importance of a National Trades Union Congress to perfect the organization, we, the undersigned delegates in a preliminary convention assembled at Terre Haute, Indiana, do hereby resolve to issue the following call:

"That all international and national unions, trades assemblies or councils and local trades or labor unions are cordially invited to send delegates to a National Trades Union Convention to be held at Pittsburgh on the third Tuesday of November, 1881. Each local union will be entitled to one delegate, for one hundred members or the major part thereof, also one delegate for each international or national union, and one delegate for each trade assembly or council."

The corresponding secretary, M. W. Moore, was able to report on November 6, that 55 organizations had responded. (14) These embraced printers, painters, cigar makers, moulders, carpenters, shoe makers, plasterers, seamen, iron and steel workers, marine and pastry cooks, window-glass workers, spinners, cigar-packers, bookbinders, cap-finishers, boot-makers, furniture workers, cap-coverers, horsesmiths, and granite cutters. (15) Notice of intention
to participate had been given in advance by a long list of
delegates. (16) According to a conservative estimate (17)
at least 120 were expected to be present when the roll was
called, while a less cautious statement (18) was made that
400 to 500 delegates were expected to be present.

Delegates of the convention began to arrive in Pitts-
burgh on Saturday, November 12. (19) Between fifty
and sixty delegates had arrived by Monday night, November
16. (20) Others came in on Tuesday and later.

The newspapers contain references to unofficial prelimi-
ary conferences not mentioned in the minutes. One was
"a conference" Monday afternoon "of foreign delegates"
to be "held at the St. Clair Hotel for the purpose of blocking
out a plan of operations for the meeting" on Tuesday. (21)
Another was a caucus of the Allegheny County delegates
on Monday night and Tuesday morning (22) with the ob-
ject of consulting "as to the rules of the Congress and also
to select subjects which the delegation consider(ed) as
most desirable for the Congress to take action upon." (23)

Advance notice and comment on the convention appeared
in all six newspapers. (24) While sometimes mainly news
items of a common type, some of the newspaper material is
interpretive of local sentiment in regard to the convention.
The Evening Chronicle, November 15, says, "There are a
number of radical Socialists from abroad who will attend

Identical Times, November 15.
(17) Commercial Gazette, November 14.
(20) Commercial Gazette, November 15. Cf. Evening Chronicle,
November 14, "and a large number on the morning trains
to-day"; Daily Post, November 15.
(21) Evening Chronicle, November 14.
(22) Evening Chronicle, November 15.
(23) Ibid, November 15. In view of later developments I sus-
pect another object of these caucuses was organization
for capture of the federation. This was the impression given
some of the foreign delegates according to the Evening
Chronicle, November 15, which, however, asserted, "Nothing
was further from their thoughts."
(24) Commercial Gazette, November 15. Other papers, November
14, and, in the case of morning papers, November 15, also.
the Congress" and voiced the rumor of the probable development of "an inharmonious spirit," while foreseeing better results in "eminently practical" Pittsburgh.

The Telegraph, November 14, remarked, "The work of the convention will be important." On November 15, it added, "The Labor Congress — seems to be capable of the greatest amount of good that can be accomplished by labor organizations." The Telegraph spoke favorably, on the same day, of the idea of federation, but added, "Like all other self-constituted organizations, it must depend upon public sympathy for its real force, and this can only be obtained when its acts are just and based on the broadest principle of right." Its final statement was, "The best interests of both capital and labor may be consulted in the most complete and extensive organization of each, when based upon the broad intelligence and love of justice that are characteristic of the American people."

The Commercial Gazette, November 15, remarked, "The delegates have been selected with especial reference to their fitness for the duties they are expected to perform."

The Daily Post, November 15, states, "The work of the Congress will be highly interesting."

Newspaper reporters evidently got busy early. The objects and expectations of the delegates are stated in advance with satisfactory accuracy, (25) with the exception of too sanguine statements in regard to a tariff "protective in the highest degree." (26) The best statement of the objects of the Congress was given to a reporter of the Commercial Gazette by one of the delegates, probably Samuel Gompers (27) of the International Cigar-Makers Union.

(25) Evening Chronicle, November 14 and 15; Telegraph, November 14; Commercial Gazette, November 15; Freiheits Freund, November 14; Daily Post, November 14; Times, November 14.
(26) Evening Chronicle, November 15; Commercial Gazette, November 15.
(27) With this impression I wrote Mr. Gompers, who replied, October 19, 1922, "So far as my memory serves me, I think you are safe in attributing to me the interview given in the Pittsburgh Commercial Gazette of November 15, 1881. As you can appreciate, forty years is a long period of time, in a life that has been as crowded as mine, to state definitely whether I did or did not give a certain interview on a certain day for a certain paper."
of New York. In the opinion of this delegate, "the object of the gathering is to concentrate the forces of labor, in order that needed reforms may be the more easily obtained. In the federation it is proposed to form, all questions affecting the national interests of the various trades will be discussed, a Congressional Labor Committee to secure the passage of such laws as are needed by the various trades to better their condition. In addition, the yearly meetings of the association will bring the principles of trade unionism before the public in their proper light and new organizations will be formed in localities which are now hostile to organized labor. In Great Britain an organization similar to the one proposed has long existed; yearly meetings are held, and the result has been to greatly ameliorate the condition of the working people. Committees are appointed each year which exercise a general supervision over the affairs of all trades; direct agitation when it is needed, and pay particular attention to securing the passage of beneficial and the repeal of obnoxious laws. The result has been satisfactory in the highest degree, and promises to continue so, as the Secretary of the Parliamentary Committee, Mr. Henry Broadhurst, has recently been elected to Parliament, and within the House of Commons can accomplish much more than he could outside.

"The advisability of organizing a federation of all the trades in this country has been under discussion for a long time, but it was not until last August, when a national convention of trade unionists was held in Terra Haute, Indiana, that any decisive steps were taken. The subject was fully discussed at that convention, and as a result the Congress which meets today was called. The federation will be organized with a few simple rules and no salaried officers. The expenses of its management will be trivial, and can easily be provided for." (28)

With such objects and motives the first session of the convention was called to order at 2:00 P. M. on November 15, by L. A. Brant of Detroit, president of the Standing

(28) Commercial Gazette, November 15.
Committee. (29) A prayer for guidance was offered by K. McKenzie, a delegate from New York. (30) President John Jarrett, of the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers, an organization which stood well in the community for its prudence and wisdom, (31) was chosen Temporary Chairman with M. L. Crawford of Chicago, and H. H. Bengough of Pittsburgh as Temporary Secretaries. (32)

The first action of the meeting, after temporary organization, was the appointment of a Committee on Credentials, consisting of one delegate from each of the twelve states represented. (33)

While this committee spent about two hours (34) upon its work, the Chairman gave the delegates an opportunity "to express their views." (35)

These speeches, five in number, (36) all "displayed

(29) Proceedings, page 6; Evening Chronicle, November 16; Telegraph, November 16; Commercial Gazette, November 16; Freiheits Freund, November 16. The Times, November 16, says, "L. A. Brant of Chicago."


(32) Proceedings, page 7, mention W. C. Pollner as one of the temporary secretaries. This fact is not mentioned in any one of the six papers at this point all of whom, on November 16, mention Jarrett, Crawford and Bengough, though the Commercial Gazette notices the fact on November 17 in connection with the election of permanent officers.

(33) Proceedings, page 7. All the papers of November 16 mention this, the Daily Post, however, omitting the number of states represented.

(34) Telegraph, November 16. The Commercial Gazette, November 16, says, "The Committee on Credentials returned about half past four o'clock." The Freiheits Freund, November 16, says, "It was about four o'clock." The Times, November 16, says, "After two hours had passed." The matter is omitted by Proceedings, Evening Chronicle and Daily Post.

(35) Daily Post, November 16; Freiheits Freund, November 16. Cf. Proceedings, page 7, Evening Chronicle, Commercial Gazette, Times, all of November 16 and all of which merely say speeches were made. The matter is omitted entirely in the Telegraph.

(36) Proceedings, page 7; Evening Chronicle, November 16. The Daily Post, November 16, mentions only four speeches. The number of speeches made is not given in the remaining four papers.
moderation and intelligent understanding of the relative positions of capital and labor."  (37) "All were conservative in tone, and, while the difference between labor and capital was referred to as a conflict that was irrepressible, none of the speeches were in the slightest degree communistic. On the contrary, the intelligence and moderation displayed was remarkable. All the speakers expressed themselves as being in favor of the greatest moderation."  (38) In the language of the Times, "There was no tinge of the socialistic about these speeches, and if the communistic element is represented in the Congress, the representatives had the good sense to sit still and listen to cooler counsel from more conservative men."  (39) Mr. A. C. Rankin, of the Iron Moulders of Pittsburgh, "made an interesting and vigorous speech."  (40) "Mr. M. Gompers, of the International Cigar-Makers Union, gave a very interesting narrative of the struggles of his union. When first organized different branches charged different dues and different initiation fees, but this plan didn't work well. Then a uniform rate of dues and a uniform rate of initiation fees was made for all lodges in the country. The fund was considered general, and if a lodge in Lincoln, Nebraska, needed money, they could send to New York and demand $500. If one lodge necessarily spent more than pro-rata that lodge could demand the New York or Pittsburgh lodge to send money until the funds of each were balanced.

"Another difficulty encountered by this union was that sometimes a strike would be declared when it was useless, and although the union sent money to strikers they would be whipped. For this reason it was determined that a general executive committee or advisory body should pass on all propositions to strike for an increase in wages, and the speaker thought it would be a good idea also if every member of the Union had the privilege of voting, whether any particular lodge should strike for an increase. In that case

(37) Evening Chronicle, November 16.
(38) Commercial Gazette, November 16, quoted. Cf., also, Freiheits Freund, November 16, for a similar comment.
(39) November 16, Cf. Freiheits Freund, November 16.
(40) Daily Post, November 16. This is the sole comment. The speech is not given in papers or Proceedings.
each member would feel personally responsible and would contribute more willingly to sustain the strike.” (41)

Gompers “closed with a long string of very valuable suggestions to the Congress”. (42) He “said he had come to Pittsburgh, not to air his opinions, but to work, not to build a bubble, but to lay the foundations for a superstructure that would be solid, and that would be a true federation of trade unions. He was in favor of progressing slowly, and wanted the organization to be emphatically a workingmen’s organization; one that is not defied by money, but which will in itself contain the elements of strength—the organization—could not be good unless the founders were good, could not be honest unless they were honest; therefore, the elements essential to success were goodness, honesty, industry and practicability.” (43)

“R. E. Weber of the Printer’s Assembly, Knights of Labor, of this city, related the experience of the Dispatch printers during the last strike, when the proprietors of that paper brought on printers from Cincinnati to take the place of the home printers. The strikers sent committees to other Assemblies of the Knights of Labor and in every case an audience was given the committee. The strikers thus got their side of the case before fellow workingmen and from nearly every Assembly they also received financial aid. Where money was given freely the printers accepted it as a gift, but in some cases they borrowed the money, most of which they have since paid back. Mr. Weber predicted that all newspapers in the city will surely come under control of their Union, pointed out the strength of the workingmen when all trades are united to support each other, and closed with the assertion that if the striking mechanic knew he could go every Saturday and get money to keep

(41) Daily Post, November 16.
(42) Statement of Daily Post, November 16.
(43) Quoting Commercial Gazette, November 16. The substance of this is given in the Freiheits Freund, November 16. The Times in a general comment on the five speeches, November 16, says, “A general desire was expressed for the formation of an organization that would advance the cause of labor, honestly and fairly.” This idea plainly came from the speech of Gompers.
him from starving, he would be a much stronger union man than if no money awaited him." (43a)

"R. Powers, of the Seamen's Union of the Lakes, was the next speaker. He related in detail the efforts of ship owners to break up their union and closed by telling changes in the marine laws desired by his Union. One case objected to is that requiring a sailor to pay $15 down if he desires to bring suit for the recovery of wages or for any other cause. They also want a new law providing that at least two-thirds of the crew on any one ship shall be American citizens". (44)

The speech of W. G. McKean, Erie Typographical Union No. 77, which followed that of Mr. Gompers and preceded that of Mr. Weber, does not seem to have attracted attention and is nowhere reported.

On its return the Committee on Credentials reported that ninety-six delegates had presented proper credentials and were entitled to seats. (45) These delegates representing twelve states and a large number and variety of labor organizations, (46) in answering the roll call, gave the number of members in the organizations they represented. (47) Reporters estimated the number represented

(43a) Quoting Daily Post, November 16. Contents of speech not mentioned elsewhere. 


(45) Proceedings, pp. 7-9, lists one hundred and seven of which eleven are marked as having been received subsequent to the committee's first report. Four papers of November 16, Telegraph, Commercial Gazette, Freiheits Freund and Times, put the number at ninety. This suggests quadruple use of one reporter's notes. The Daily Post, November 16, says, "In all thirty one delegates were present," manifestly an error.

(46) Proceedings, pp. 7-9. The Telegraph, November 16. lists thirty four who intended to come. Of these seven did not come, the last name only of four is given and the names of four are misspelled. Obviously in the absence of the minutes this would be a defective record. Other papers only give scattered names.

(47) Proceedings, page 7. Commercial Gazette. November 16; Freiheits Freund, November 16; Daily Post, November 16. This device is not mentioned in the other papers. The Daily Post mentions a ticket given entitling the holder to reduced hotel rates.
at 215,634. (48) Later arrivals (which we know increased the number of delegates to only 107) it was estimated would increase the number of workingmen represented in the convention to almost half million. (49) A special report of the Committee on Credentials on a case of double representation and two motions adding two additional members, one without credentials and the other a substitute mentioned in the Proceedings (50) are not discussed in the newspapers.

"On motion, a Committee on Permanent Organizations was appointed, consisting of one delegate from each of the states represented." (51)

"A resolution was offered and adopted fixing the hours of the sessions of the Congress from 8:00 o'clock a. m. to 12:00 m. and from 1:00 p. m. to 5:00 p. m." (52)

"A motion was offered and adopted that each State delegate select a representative to serve on the Committee on Resolutions and Platform of Principles." (53)

(48) Telegraph, November 16; Commercial Gazette, November 16; Freiheits Freund, November 16; Daily Post, November 16. Again this may be quadruple use of one reporter's estimate. The Times, November 16, puts number represented as "about 225,000". No estimate, strange to say, is given in the Proceedings, page 7.

(49) Evening Chronicle, November 16; Commercial Gazette, November 16; Freiheits Freund, November 16; Daily Post, November 16; Times, November 16. Cf. Telegraph, November 16, "Additional delegates have since arrived." No estimates here in Daily Post.

(50) Pages 9-10.

(51) Quoting Proceedings, page 10, which gives the names. The appointment of this committee at this time is mentioned in all six papers but none of them give the names. The language of the Telegraph and Commercial Gazette is identical at this point.

(52) Quoting Proceedings, page 10; Evening Chronicle, November 16. Resolution mentioned without hours fixed, Telegraph, November 16; Commercial Gazette, November 16; Freiheits Freund, November 16; Daily Post, November 16. Omitted in Times, November 16.

(53) Quoting Proceedings, page 10. The Evening Chronicle, November 16, omits this. The Telegraph, November 16, says, "A committee consisting of one delegate from each State represented was appointed to prepare a declaration of principles." The Commercial Gazette, November 16, uses the same language. The Freiheit Freund, November 16, is in accordance with the Proceedings. The Daily Post, November 16,
J. S. Shuttuck, of Beaver Falls, Penna., then offered the following preamble and resolution:

"Whereas, the united labor organizations of Western Pennsylvania, Eastern Ohio, and West Virginia have, by unanimous resolutions, denounced the proprietors of the Pittsburgh Evening and Sunday Leader, Daily Post and Times, for their unjust and unwarranted action in discharging from their employment competent and faithful Union printers, and employing in their stead imported "Rats", therefore, be it

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

A "short but spirited address" by Mr. Shuttuck sustaining the resolution, support of the resolution by R. E. Weber, and a defense of the course pursued by the Printers by Alex C. Rankin mentioned in the Proceedings, (55) are not referred to by any of the newspapers. Adjournment follows, says, "A committee to prepare a declaration of principles was appointed. The Committee consists of one member from every State represented."

(54) Quoting resolution, Proceedings, page 10. The Evening Chronicle, Telegraph and Commercial Gazette, all of November 16, contain identical language, "presented a resolution endorsing the action of the local trade organizations in reference to the daily papers of the city which do not employ union printers and prohibiting any representative of those papers from attending the meeting of the Congress". The Freiheits Freund, November 16, mentions the three papers. The Daily Post, November 16, summarizes the resolution omitting names of papers mentioned. The Times, one of the papers mentioned, summarizes the resolution, ending in the language, "prohibiting the presence at the Congress of any representative of a paper not controlled by the Knights of Labor".

(55) Page 10.
ed these addresses. (56)

An informal evening meeting, not mentioned in the *Proceedings*, was held on November 15, the first day. (57) Its purpose was "an interchange of ideas on the various problems concerning labor." (58)

President Cline, of the Window Glass Workers Association, was made Chairman. (59) Mr. John Flanagan, iron moulder (60) of Pittsburgh, was the first speaker. (61) He discussed the subject of "Convict Contract Labor". (62) "He spoke forcibly of the injustice of the services of criminals being sold to contractors at prices which enabled them to undersell manufacturers of all classes who employ free labor. The extent of the evil was shown by statistics, and the Congress earnestly exhorted to give the subject their closest attention." (63)

Mr. T. W. Taylor, of Homestead, Penna., who had "acquired a wide reputation as an advocate of principles calculated to advance the best interests of the workingmen" and who was familiarly known as "Old Beeswax" was the

(56) *Ibid*, page 10; Commercial Gazette, November 16; Freiheits Freund, November 16; Times, November 16; other papers omit adjournment.

(57) Mentioned in all six papers of date November 16. The best accounts are found in the Commercial Gazette and Freiheits Freund.

(58) Quoting Evening Chronicle, November 16. Cf. similar statements, Commercial Gazette, November 16; Daily Post, November 16. The remaining three papers make no statement as to the purpose of the evening session.

(59) *Evening Chronicle*, November 16, says, "Col. Isaac Cline." The Telegraph, Commercial Gazette, Freiheits Freund and Daily Post merely say "President Cline". The entire comment on the session by the Times is, "The evening session was devoted to speeches by the delegates."

(60) So only in *Evening Chronicle*, November 16.

(61) So in remaining five papers, excluding Times.

(62) Quoting Evening Chronicle, November 16. "Convict Labor" is the terminology used by the Telegraph, Commercial Gazette, Freiheits Freund, and Daily Post.

(63) Virtually identical language appears in the *Evening Chronicle*, Commercial Gazette and Freiheits Freund, which may be a case of good reporting, but appears to be one reporter's notes used in triplicate. Comment on the speech is omitted in the Telegraph and Times.
next speaker. (64) "He contended that if workingmen did not enjoy the rights belonging to them they had no person to blame but themselves as they were not united as a whole, and in their divided efforts to ameliorate their condition, had contented themselves with feebly attempting to lop off a few branches of the forest, which stood in their way, instead of striking at the root of the evil and pulling it up. As workingmen they did not take sufficient interest in politics, and thereby showed that they did not respect their own power. He did not advocate the principles of any party, but predicted that as long as workingmen voted for men, whose sympathies were not with them, they could never expect to advance. Another of the follies of workingmen was intemperance, and as long as they continue to spend $7,000,000 annually for drink, all their efforts at reform would prove futile. In his opinion, the most effective means of bettering their condition was co-operation. Until workingmen joined together in co-operative societies and established mills and manufacturies there would continue to be a conflict between capital and labor. It was by this means alone that their interests would become identical. He spoke at length on this subject, reciting the success of co-operation in England, and backed up his assertions with numerous instances. In conclusion, he urged the delegates and visitors to consider what he had said, and in the future take an active interest in politics, avoid intemperance and establish co-operative societies as rapidly as possible." (65)

Chairman Cline finally "made a few remarks" (66) and the meeting adjourned.

The Congress met for its morning session of November

(64) Quoting Commercial Gazette, November 16. Cf. Evening Chronicle, Telegraph, Freiheits Freund and Daily Post, all of date November 16.

(65) Quoting Commercial Gazette, November 16. Same detail is in Freiheits Freund, November 16. The speech is correctly summarized in the Evening Chronicle and Daily Post. The Telegraph has neither summary nor comment.

(66) Identical language in Telegraph, Commercial Gazette, Freiheits Freund and Daily Post, all of date November 16, another possible case of reportorial copying of one man's statement or notes.
16, at 9:00 o'clock (67) in Turner Hall, with Mr. John Jarrett in the chair. (68) "After several minor corrections the minutes were approved." (69) The next item of the session was a speech by Mr. Gompers, the delegate from the International Cigar-Makers Union. (70) Several papers had heralded Mr. Gompers as socialistic, and had accused him of desiring to secure the presidency and control of the organization for the socialists, (71) a matter which in reading smacks of a Pittsburgh ruse to defeat him for the presidency and capture the office for Jarrett. (72)

The Proceedings, p. 10, say, "Mr. Gompers requested the floor, to make a personal explanation, and asked that the following extract from the Pittsburgh Commercial

(67) Telegraph, November 16; Freiheits Freund, November 17; Times, November 17. The Commercial Gazette says, "at eight o'clock." Proceedings, page 10, says, "Adjourned to meet at eight o'clock next morning". Time of assembly omitted in Daily Post.

(68) Proceedings, page 10; Evening Chronicle; Daily Post, November 17. The matter of Jarrett as chairman is omitted elsewhere.

(69) Quoting Evening Chronicle, November 16. This item is omitted in other papers. Cf. Proceedings, page 10.

(70) Proceedings, page 10; Evening Chronicle, November 16; Daily Post, November 17; Times, November 17. The Telegraph and the Freiheits Freund omit this item, while the Commercial Gazette gets it out of order.

(71) Commercial Gazette, November 16; Daily Post, November 16. The Commercial Gazette in referring to Mr. M. Gompers as a candidate for permanent chairman remarks, "The latter is the leader of the Socialistic element which is pretty well represented in the Congress, and one of the smartest men present." The Daily Post remarks, "The Socialists are pretty well represented and effort will probably be made to elect one of their leaders" . . . and mentions as candidate, "Mr. Gompers who represents the Socialistic element." Cf. also Evening Chronicle, November 15 for remarks on the socialistic representation.

(72) I wrote Mr. Gompers on August 23, 1922, asking him about the validity of my observation in regard to the Socialistic propaganda against him. He wisely avoided a direct answer. His reply, October 19, 1922, was, "As to your deduction regarding the election of Mr. Jarrett, permit me to say that my name was put in nomination but I withdrew because I wanted unity of decision in the election and did not want any contention to arise over the election of the first president of the organization, the formation of which was the subject of the gathering."
Gazette be read:"

The Evening Chronicle, November 16, says, "Mr. Gompers... called attention to some remarks in a morning paper, in which he was accused of being a leader of Socialists. This he indignantly denied, saying that he was working only in the Congress for the federation of labor. He felt that the remarks of the paper in question were intended to injure him and warp his efforts." The Commercial Gazette, November 17, remarks, "Mr. Gompers took occasion to deny the statement that he was a leader of the Socialistic element, and that the committee has been captured for him saying that he had attended the Congress only for the purpose of assisting in the federation of labor organizations." The Times, November 17, sarcastically remarks, "Mr. Gompers of New York raised a fuss because one of the morning papers had called him a Socialist. Of course he denied it".

"Mr. M. F. Walsh of Wisconsin, rising to a personal explanation, said that the western delegates had been accused of instigating the publication of the slander referred to, but disclaimed their having any connection with it; their first knowledge of it being that morning, on seeing the newspaper referred to." (73)

"Mr. James Lynch of New York stated that now, as the coming report of the Committee on Permanent Organization had leaked out, he was desirous of placing Mr. Gompers square before the Congress. As a member of that Committee, he had urged the selection of Mr. Gompers as Permanent President without the knowledge or consent of that gentleman and paid a high tribute to his ability and strict unionism." (74)

"The credentials of several delegates were presented and approved." (75)

(73) Quoting Proceedings, page 10. This item is omitted in all the papers consulted.
(74) Quoting Proceedings, pp. 10-11. This item is omitted in all the papers consulted.
(75) Quoting Telegraph, November 16. The Evening Chronicle November 16, lists eight names. The Commercial Gazette, November 16, lists eight names. The Commercial Gazette, November 17, omits the approval. The Freiheits Freund parallels the Telegraph statement. The Daily Post and Times
Mr. Robert Howard of the Committee on Permanent Organization next submitted the following report: "To the temporary officers and delegates of the International Trades Union Congress: Gentlemen—In accordance with the duty imposed on us, your Committee on Permanent Organization met last night. After due deliberation, your Committee agreed to recommend that the permanent officers of the Congress shall consist of a President, Secretary and Assistant Secretary. The delegates recommended for these offices by your Committee are as follows: For President, Samuel Gompers of New York—representing the Cigar-Makers International Union. For Secretary, William Wilson of St. Louis—Typographical Union No. 6. For Assistant Secretary, H. H. Bengough of Local Assembly No. 1630. (76)

"Mr. Street of the Committee, submitted the following minority report: For President, Richard Powers of the Lake Seamen's Union, Chicago. First Vice-President, Robert Howard of the Spinner's Union, Fall River, Mass. Second Vice-President, William Wilson of the Printers Union, St. Louis, Mo. Secretary, R. E. Weber of the Printers Assembly No. 1630; First Assistant Secretary, Robert Burns of Buffalo, N. Y.; Second Assistant Secretary, W. C. Pollner of the Cleveland Trade Assembly." (77)

The majority report was clearly an eastern report and the minority report a western report. This division gave the local representation an opportunity for which they ap-
parently had gotten ready and of which they took immediate advantage. Mr. James Maloy (78) of Pittsburgh said at once, "With all deference to the reports of the committee, I think that we should have a representation of the Amalgamated Association on the ticket." (79) Mr. Powers of Chicago replied, "Our work here is in the interest of the grand cause of labor, and we should not consider what organizations our officers belong to as long as they command the respect of all." (80) Mr. A. C. Rankin added, "That is the view to take; the Pittsburgh delegates have not presented the name of any candidate for President, although I can say we have just as good men as can be found anywhere, and we are just as strong in our labor organizations." (81)

"One of the delegates then nominated Mr. John Jarrett for Permanent Chairman." (82)

Mr. Weber of Pittsburgh then remarked, "I had the honor to represent Pennsylvania on the Committee on Permanent Organization, and most warmly urged the name of Mr. Jarrett for President, but the majority of the Committee decided otherwise. Let us consider this matter carefully and select with our best judgment." (83) Mr. Walsh of Wisconsin followed with the remarks, "In selecting our President, I desire to place before the delegates the name of Richard Powers as a representative of the West. The workingmen of Pennsylvania have a magnificent organization, but we should all remember that there are thousands of

(78) Proceedings, page 11; Evening Chronicle, November 16; Commercial Gazette, November 17. The Daily Post, November 17, merely says, "Mr. Maloy." Other papers omit the detail. Proceedings, page 11, says Maloy nominated Jarrett, an item omitted in all the six papers.


(82) Quoting Evening Chronicle, November 16; Cf. Proceedings, page 11; Telegraph, November 17; Commercial Gazette, November 17; Freiheits Freund, November 17; Daily Post, November 17; Times, November 17.

workingmen in the West who require to be organized, and Richard Powers is the man to do the work.” (84)

Quoting the Commercial Gazette, November 17, “For a long time it looked as if the chairmanship would be hotly contested, but Mr. Gompers poured oil on the troubled waters by stating that he was thoroughly devoted to trade unionism, and in order to facilitate the work of completing the organization, would withdraw his name. Mr. Powers gracefully followed suit.” (85)

“On motion the reports of the Committee were both tabled.” (86) Mr. Jarrett was then unanimously elected President. (87) Messrs. Powers and Gompers were unanimously elected Vice-Presidents. (88) The “temporary secretaries, Messrs. Crawford of Chicago, Bengough of Pittsburgh, and Pollner of Cleveland were retained.” (89)

The election of Mr. Jarrett indicated the control of the Congress by the conservatives and his elevation to the presidency appears to have silenced newspaper statements of the socialistic danger which existed in the convention and might by some device secure control of the organization.

“The resolution creating the Committee on Resolutions


(85) Proceedings, page 11, fails to indicate the sequence of the withdrawal. The “Telegraph, November 16, omitting the withdrawal by Mr. Gompers of his name curiously gives that of Mr. Powers. So does the Freiheits Freund, November 17. The Evening Chronicle gives the speeches in sequence. The Daily Post, November 17, omits the speeches, but gives as does the Times, November 17, the withdrawals in sequence.

(86) Proceedings, page 11; Telegraph, November 16, quoted; Freiheits Freund, November 17. This item is omitted elsewhere. The Proceedings, page 11, notes further that even after the tabling of the motion Mr. Gompers was re-nominated by Mr. Lynch of New York, a strange fact omitted everywhere else.

(87) So Proceedings, page 11, and all six papers.

(88) So Proceedings, page 11, and all six papers and in order named.

and Platform of Principles was, on motion, reconsidered. After striking out the words, 'Resolutions and', the original resolution was adopted.” (90)

“'The committee called for by the said resolution was then chosen, one member from each state.' (91) The names given in the Proceedings, p. 11, are found in all the papers except the Commercial Gazette and Times, though with some errors such as the name of the Massachusetts representative, Sherman Cummin, spelled Cummings in four papers; the name of Leo P. Dwyer of Illinois spelled Dwyre in four papers; George W. Osborn of Ohio called Josh. W. Osborn in four papers; and A. Madera of St. Louis called A. A. Madera in four papers; identical errors in four papers indicating that one reporter jotted down the names by sound as read and handed his notes to three fellow reporters.

At this point according to the minutes, (92) "A delegate announced, from the floor, that a reporter of the Evening Leader was present, taking notes. He retired from the hall at the request of the Chair." (93)

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

(90) Quoting Proceedings, page 11. This motion is omitted elsewhere. The Commercial Gazette, November 17, speaks of "the committee to prepare a declaration of principles." The remaining five papers have the form "Committee on Declaration of Principles and Resolutions."

(91) Quoting Proceedings, page 11. The Evening Chronicle, November 16; Telegraph, November 16; Freiheits Freund, November 17; Daily Post, November 17; and Times, November 17, all say "appointed." The Commercial Gazette, November 17, says, "the names were announced."

(92) Proceedings, page 11.

(93) Ibid, page 11. The Evening Chronicle, November 16, and Daily Post, November 17, in identical language, say, "At this juncture the reporter of a non-union paper was ejected from the hall and two sergeants at arms appointed to keep out non-union people." The Freiheits Freund, November 17, gives full information. The Telegraph, November 16, says, "A reporter of a non-union evening paper was discovered in the the hall which created quite a stir. He was precipitately bounced." The two remaining papers omit all reference to the matter.
Platform of Principles.” (94) This plan of calling the roll of States and permitting suggestions was followed the remainder of the day and proved an excellent device for getting at the wishes of the delegates and the labor organizations represented. According to the minutes, “many of the documents read were afterwards embodied in the Platform.” (95) “On the states being called, delegates responded from New York, Illinois, California, and Pennsylvania.” (96) A considerable number of suggestions and several formal resolutions resulted from this device, though a complete account of these is impossible since nowhere in the seven records consulted can the names and order of all the speakers, all of the speeches or all of the resolutions be found. (97) Probably the same topics were touched upon by various speakers.

Convict labor was denounced. (98) So also was the truck system. (99) “Mr. Powers read a bill which he desired the Congress to petition the Congress of the United States to enact. Its objects were for the better regulation of the merchant marine service, both in internal waters and interoceanic commerce, and the protection of life and property on board vessels.” (100)
“Mr. Burgman read a method of organization which had received the unanimous approval of the Representative Assembly or the Trades and Labor Unions of the Pacific Coast. It recommended the Unions of kindred occupations, in addition to maintaining their separate organizations, to amalgamate under heads, as follows: Iron Trade, Leather Trade, Clothing Trade, and Purveyors. Each amalgamated association to choose delegates to a National Council of Federated Trades, whose duties should be simply executive.” (101)

Someone at this point evidently made a speech denouncing Chinese labor. (102)

This was probably followed by the suggestion or resolutions advocating the protection of trades unions by a law providing for their incorporation, (103) an idea which was later embodied in the first article of the platform of principles. (104)

“The following resolution was submitted and received with great applause:

Resolved, that this Congress demand the repeal of the law known as the Conspiracy Act, as far as it relates to labor organizations to regulate their own wages.” (105)

(101) *Proceedings*, page 12, quoted. The *Evening Chronicle* alone mentions this as the “banding together of the different trades.” The industrial union idea here is significant. It is the syndicate idea of Sorel, but it was not incorporated in the Platform or Supplementary Resolutions, *Proceedings*, pp. 3-4.

(102) *Evening Chronicle*, November 16; *Commercial Gazette*, November 17. This was probably a part of Burgman’s remarks, for after the report of the Committee on Platform of Principles which did not include this item he re-introduced it the fourth day and it was included in the Supplementary Resolutions. Cf. *Proceedings*, page 20 and page 4.

(103) *Evening Chronicle*, November 16; *Commercial Gazette*, November 17.

(104) *Proceedings*, page 3.

(105) Quoting language identical in *Evening Chronicle*, November 16 and *Daily Post*, November 17; *Times*, November 17. The *Telegraph*, November 16, is identical with the exception that it says, “was received with considerable demonstration.” The resolution in German translation is in the *Freiheits Freund*, November 17. The *Commercial Gazette* correctly paraphrases and summarizes the resolution incorporated in the Platform as Article 9; *Proceedings*, page 4.
"Mr. McBride of Pennsylvania offered the following resolutions:

Whereas, convict or prison labor, as applied to the Contract System in Indiana, Ohio, Pennsylvania and other states, is detrimental to the product of honest mechanics, lowers the masses of the people in their honest efforts, and demoralizes the manufacturing interests of the country; (106)

Resolved, That it is hereby declared, the sense of this Congress assembled, that we demand the abolition of the evil system, and that we will not under any circumstances support any person or persons to legislative positions who will not offer their support and earnest efforts to the abolishment of the same.

Resolved, That we urge our people that articles made in prison under the contract are in competition with honest toil and we hereby protest against the purchase and sale of the same, and that we ask their co-operation and efforts, that by just legislation the evil may be crushed." (107)

"Mr. Exler read a paper condemning button-set rivets in boilers as unreliable, and the cause of so-called accidents." (108)

Delegate J. W. Crozier of Pennsylvania presented resolutions of sympathy with the people of Ireland in their

(106) It is impossible to resist the temptation to note the similarity between this domestically and German reparations internationally.

(107) Quoting language which is identical in Evening Chronicle, November 16; Telegraph, November 16; Daily Post, November 17; Times, November 17; (In German translation) Freiheits Freund, November 17, which, however, says "of Philadelphia," an error. The Commercial Gazette, November 17, says, "denouncing convict contract labor, demanding its abolition and pledging themselves not to support candidates for the Legislature who did not pledge themselves to attempt its abolishment." Basis of Article 6 in Platform, Proceedings, page 3.

(108) Quoting Proceedings, page 12. Four newspapers, Evening Chronicle, November 16; Telegraph, November 17; Commercial Gazette, November 17; and Freiheits Freund, November 17, say "Axtell" indicating quadruple use of one reporter's notes based on the sound of the name. All four put the resolution in the afternoon as do also the Daily Post and Times. At first it seemed the papers must be right about the time of the resolution, but since the Daily Post and Times had no reporters in the hall and a quadruplicate error exists in the name, it is reasonable to suppose all six reports are erroneous here.
efforts to free themselves from British oppression, and moved that the rules be suspended and the resolutions adopted.” (109)

“The hour of adjournment having arrived while the above resolution was pending, (110) the Congress stood adjourned until 1:00 P. M. (111)

The Congress re-convened at 1:00 P. M., with President Jarrett in the chair. (112) “The reading of the minutes of the morning session was, on motion, dispensed with.” (113) On the order of items which followed there is much doubt. With the exception that the Telegraph, November 16, before going to press stated an Irish resolution came first, a statement which was changed in the Telegraph, November 17, the order in all six papers is the same. (114)

According to the Proceedings, the next business was as follows: “The re-reading of the resolution with regard to Ireland was ordered.” (115) Three papers in identical

(109) Quoting Proceedings, page 12. All the papers put this resolution in the afternoon. As we shall note later it was re-read in the afternoon.

(110) Quoting Proceedings, page 12. This item is omitted in all the papers. Facetiously, the sole reporter taking notes must have started to lunch early.

(111) Quoting Proceedings, page 12. The matter of the recess is, of course, referred to in all the papers.


(113) Quoting Proceedings, page 12, an item omitted in all six papers.

(114) In spite of the fact that one reporter may have been responsible for this, it may be that the newspapers are correct and the minutes wrong. The resolutions may have been handed in on separate sheets of paper and gotten out of order, for, after the final adjournment, “the secretary was directed to have the proceedings printed in pamphlet form, and Messrs. Bengough and Pollner, secretaries of the Congress, were employed to assist in completing the minutes for that purpose”; Proceedings, page 24.

(115) Page 12. Five papers, excluding the Times, with the exception above noted, put prior a motion that a committee of one delegate from each state be appointed on a plan of organization. The mover, Sherman Cummins, has his name spelled Cummings in the four papers which mention the mover, the Evening Chronicle, November 16; Commercial Gazette, November 17; and Freiheits Freund, November 17. Since the Evening Chronicle alone contains the account printed on November 16, one may credit this probably to the Evening Chronicle reporter.
phraseology describe this resolution as "announcing the sympathy of the workingmen for the oppressed people in Ireland, and enunciating the idea that land was common property." (116) Two papers (117) elaborate somewhat the idea as "the idea that the land in Ireland should be owned by the cultivators of the soil, and that no person should be allowed to own more land than he could till." (118) "A lengthy discussion ensued on the motion to suspend the rules." (119)

"Mr. Gompers of New York opposed immediate action on the resolution as he did not admit the land idea as expressed above to be correct, and he did not want to see the Congress commit itself to an idea of that kind." (120) "Several other members spoke in the same strain and the general drift seemed to be that the workingmen had enough to do at home without going abroad for subjects of discussion." (121) "It was finally agreed to refer the resolution to a special committee of five, appointed by the chair, as follows: Messrs. J. W. Crozier, George Dewey, Sherman Cummin, John Kumiar and W. G. McKean." (122) This was good policy. By not attacking "individual rights of

(116) Evening Chronicle, November 16; Freiheits Freund, November 17; Daily Post, November 17.
(117) Telegraph, November 17; Commercial Gazette, November 17.
(119) Quoting Proceedings, page 12. By this is meant opposition to immediate action on the resolution in accordance with the motion made earlier. This item is omitted in all the papers.
(120) Quoting Evening Chronicle, November 16. The Freiheits Freund, November 17, has an exact translation of this. In fact the statement may be made that the Freiheits Freund frequently merely copies the account of the papers of the previous afternoon. The Daily Post, November 17, erroneously it would seem, says, "Mr. Gompers approved the expression of opinion in regard to common property. This may indicate that "opposed" in long hand was misread by the excluded Daily Post reporter as "approved."
(121) Quoting Evening Chronicle, November 16. The Freiheits Freund, November 17, has an exact translation. The Commercial Gazette, November 17, and Times, November 17, have similar but not identical statements. Omitted elsewhere.
(122) Quoting Proceedings, page 12. Cf. Evening Chronicle, November 16 (with names); Telegraph, November 17, (without names); Commercial Gazette, November 17 (without names); Times, November 17 (without names; Freiheits Freund, No-
private property", (123) they avoided criticism which might have been heavy. (124)

According to the Proceedings, (125) "The regular order being called, the reading of resolutions, by delegates from Pennsylvania, was continued." (126)

"Delegate Daniel Rogers of the Miners' Association introduced resolutions demanding the abolition of the truck system, reduction of the number of working hours, and the enforcement of all laws relating to miners. He asked that the Congress adopt them at once without referring, which was done." (127)

Mr. James Michels, next, it seems, introduced a resolution denouncing the wholesale importation of cheap foreign labor, a resolution which evidently was referred to the committee. (128)

Next probably, Mr. Eli Powell of Pittsburgh introduced
a resolution asking State Legislatures to enact laws requiring stationary engineers to be licensed. (129)

Mr. Gompers of New York next introduced a resolution asking "for the establishment of a bureau of labor statistics," (129a) a resolution which was referred to the Committee. (130)

Mr. Isaac Cline of Pittsburgh spoke next, probably, asking that the United States Congress be requested "to levy a tax on all labor imported for contract purposes." (131)

Mr. Daniel Rodgers (132) of Pittsburgh introduced the following resolution which was adopted at once:

(129) The language of all the newspapers except the *Daily Post* in stating the content of the resolution is identical, but the *Evening Chronicle*, November 16, says, "Mr. Eli Power," the *Telegraph*, November 17, says "Mr. Powers" as does also the *Commercial Gazette*, November 17; The *Freiheits Freund*, November 17, evidently following the *Evening Chronicle*, say "Eli Power." There is no mention of the matter in the *Proceedings*, page 12. The *Times* November 17, puts it immediately after the next resolution.

(129a) Quoting *Evening Chronicle*, November 16, and *Freiheits Freund*, November 17. The *Telegraph*, November 17, and the *Commercial Gazette*, November 17, say "establishment of a bureau of statistics," omitting the word "labor." The *Daily Post*, November 17, says, "establishment of a bureau of labor statistics;" *Times* November 17. It should be considered in all footnotes after 108 that the printing of the *Telegraph* follows later than morning papers mentioned.


(131) Quoting identical language in *Evening Chronicle*, November 16; *Telegraph*, November 17; *Commercial Gazette*, November 17; *Times* November 17. The *Daily Post*, November 17, merely says, "tax on imported labor." The *Freiheits Freund*, November 17, "to lay a tax on the importation of wares which served contract designs." This whole resolution appears confused. The matter is not mentioned in the *Proceedings*, page 12, but the Platform contains two articles, 11 and 12, either of which may be referred back to Cline's resolutions. Article 11 is, "That we recommend to the Congress of the United States the adoption of such laws as shall give to every American industry full protection from the cheap labor of foreign countries." Article 12 is, "That we demand the passage of a law by the United States Congress to prevent the importation of foreign laborers under contract."

The *Evening Chronicle*, November 16, and the *Freiheits Freund*, November 17, say "Isaac Cline."

(132) So in certified list, *Proceedings*, page 9, but spelled page 12,
"Whereas, This Congress learns with great sorrow of the death of Alexander Macdonald, M. P., of Great Britain, and realizes that a heavy loss has befallen the cause of Labor throughout the world by reason of his death; therefore

Resolved, That a letter of condolence be sent to the Miners' National Union of Great Britain signed by the officers of this Congress." (133)

At this point according to the Proceedings, (134) "A motion was adopted that the chair appoint a committee of five on Plan of Organization." "Messrs. Gompers, Brant, Howard, Somers, and James Lynch were appointed as such committee." (135)

"On motion, a Committee on Rules was appointed, consisting of Messrs. Powers, D. Rogers, and Betting." (136)

Messrs. Slicker and McClure (137) were appointed Sergeants-at-Arms, in compliance with a motion ordering the appointment of such officers. According to the Proceedings, (138) the Committee on Rules next made its report, (139) one not differing much from ordinary con...

"Rogers." The Evening Chronicle, November 16, omits his name. The Telegraph, November 17, says "Mr. David Rogers" as does the Commercial Gazette, November 17. The Freiheits Freund, November 17, like the Evening Chronicle, omits the name. Item omitted elsewhere.


(134) Page 10. It has already been noted, ante p. 223, foot note 115, that five papers place a kindred motion as the first item of the afternoon's business.

(135) Quoting Proceedings, page 12. Item omitted in all six papers.

(136) Quoting Proceedings, page 12. Note Rodgers name is again misspelled. Item omitted in all papers.

(137) Quoting Proceedings, page 12. Note that elsewhere, page 9, the latter's name is spelled McClure. Item omitted in all six papers.

(138) Page 12.

(139) This was quick work. Thirteen rules were formulated; Proceedings, pp. 12-13. The report of the Committee on Rules at this point in the afternoon is mentioned, Telegraph, November 17; Commercial Gazette, November 17; Freiheits Freund, November 17. The Commercial Gazette and Freiheits Freund use the same language. The Daily Post calls all this "further routine business." The Times, November 17, calls it "business
vention rules.

After the adoption of the rules, "Mr. Wilson of St. Louis called for the report of the transactions of Mark W. Moore, Secretary of the General Committee of the Terre Haute Convention, who failed to put in appearance at the present Congress." (140)

The Secretary read a long report which had been forwarded by Mr. Moore. (141) This report contains much interesting information. According to this report "prominent Trades Unionists throughout the country" all were in favor of the undertaking "of a Congress of Labor." Secretary Moore reported, "I have sent out over 2,000 copies of the call (three editions) putting the same before every union in the United States and Canada of which I could obtain any information."

Sixty-nine labor organizations contributed toward the expenses of the Secretary $147.00, an average of $2.52 each. One organization sent $15.00, another $14.00, and a third $10.00. None of the remaining sixty-six sent more than $5.00. Fifty-five sent $4.00 or less, fifty-three $3.00 or less, fifty $2,00 or less, and thirty-one $1.00, statistics which throw some light on the prosperity of labor unions at this period.

In some remarks at the end of his report the Secretary said, "Let the word go forth the world over that the American workingman is not a slave, and that our Labor Congress is the champion of right, justice and equality." He admonished, "Let your action be cool, deliberate, and not too overreformatory. Grasp one idea, viz., less hours and better pay, and carry it into all your work as the first principle." Nine labor journals are specifically mentioned as having published the call. Any special labor newspaper "organ" at that time was disountenanced.

of an uninteresting nature." Only the Proceedings give the rules. Elsewhere there is no reference even to content.

(141) Ibid, page 13. The Evening Chronicle, November 16, omits all reference to this. The Telegraph, November 17, says the report was read but consideration of its contents postponed until the following day. The Commercial Gazette, November 17, contains the information in the Telegraph as does the Freiheits Freund, November 17. The Daily Post styles this "further routine business." Nowhere in the papers is the content of the report given or discussed.
"The Committee on Resolutions were, after some discussion, authorized to have their report printed. During the discussion of the motion the character of the organization to be formed was alluded to. Mr. Jarrett was of the opinion that the work of this Congress could only be preliminary, as he, for one, could not act until he had obtained consent of his organization. Other delegates differ in opinion, but the majority thought with Mr. Jarrett, that the only thing to be done was to agree upon a plan or organization, make a declaration of principles, and submit the same to the various trades. Then if it were deemed advisable, a permanent federation of trades could be formed."

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

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

"There was no evening session because it was desired that the various committees should get through their work so that they could report to the Congress this morning."

Newspaper comment on the convention at this point is worth noting. The Commercial Gazette, November 17, summed up matters as follows: "The principal business to be considered is the report of the committee to which was

(142) Quoting Commercial Gazette, November 17, Freiheits Freund, November 17. The account in the Telegraph summarizes the item. It is omitted in Proceedings, page 15; Evening Chronicle, November 16; Daily Post, November 17; and Times, November 17.

(143) Quoting Proceedings, page 15. The use of Schiller Hall is mentioned in Telegraph, November 17; Commercial Gazette, November 17; Freiheits Freund, November 17; and Daily Post, November 17. which adds "at the corner of Fourth Avenue and Liberty Street." The reason for the change is omitted in all six papers.

(144) Quoting Proceedings, page 15. Adjournment at this point is noted in all the papers.

(145) Quoting Daily Post, November 17. Item not found elsewhere.
referred the Irish resolution; the plan of organization, and the declaration of principles. The discussion of the first and last subjects will likely be animated, and the reference to the rights of land owners will be expunged if the resolution is adopted as the majority of the delegates, while sympathizing with the Irish people, do not think it comes within their province to dictate how many acres of land shall be owned by any person. Unless some new questions are sprung upon the Congress it will likely finish its work today.” (146) In an editorial on the same day, this paper surveys the general situation. It remarks, among other things, “Their organization is not political...Such an organization is susceptible of accomplishing much good, but the danger is that it will be used by ambitious demagogues or designing agitators to further their own personal ends.” “It is to be hoped that all those baneful influences which strike at good order, social stability and the rights of property will be promptly frowned down.”...“There is much to be accomplished within the bounds of practicability.”... “The public will watch the proceedings of the Congress with no small degree of interest, as under wholesome direction it can be made a powerful agency for good.”

A long editorial in the Telegraph, November 17, is worthy of full quotation. It says, “From the list of resolutions already presented at the International Labor Congress, in session in this city, it is clear that the subjects to be considered are neither few nor unimportant. The Chinese cheap labor problem, the prison contract system, store order payments, which in some respects may be considered as sectional, find place with questions of broader scope, as the reform of laws concerning conspiracy and trade organizations, the establishment of a bureau of labor statistics, etc. In several forms resolutions have been presented having in view the protection of American industry from unworthy foreign competition, and if practical measures can be agreed upon by these eminently practical men to secure that much desired result it must have an important effect in moulding future legislation to conform to their views.” After reciting resolutions already referred to, the Telegraph continues, “The members of this Congress are

(146) The statement in the Freiheits Freund, November 17, is identical indicating dual use of one reporter’s notes.
nearly all known to be men who have devoted years to the study of industrial reforms and in the agitation of practical measures for the elevation of industrial classes upon various theories, and their meeting, which is thus far conducted in the most deliberate and orderly manner, can not well fail to produce much good fruit."

While excluded from the hall of the convention the reporter of the *Daily Post* did able work on the evening of November 16. The information in the *Daily Post*, November 17, on the affairs of this evening, amounts to a small "Scoop." The information is significant and will be cited in full.

"The Committee on Platform assembled in the afternoon at the rooms of the Amalgamated Association and discussed the matters which were to come within its scope. In the evening the same subject was further discussed at the St. Clair Hotel, and Mr. Leffingwell took charge of the drawing up of the formal enunciation of the principles of the Congress. The promulgation will contain the following, which was obtained from the committee last night." (147)

"The Committee on Permanent Organization of the Congress with a view to perpetuating its existence and having it assemble annually, also met last night at the St. Clair Hotel. The idea is to make the Congress a body similar to the English Trades Congress, which has potent influence in national affairs in that country. It does not affiliate with either political party and does not go into details affecting any particular trade. Its object is to watch carefully all public measures which have a bearing on labor generally, assist such measures as may be beneficial to labor and show to workmen the evils which will arise from other measures not tending to aid their cause."

ALFRED P. JAMES.

(Continued in January Issue)

(147) The reporter got only eleven out of the seventeen items in the Platform and Supplementary Resolutions and these not in the sequence found in *Proceedings*, pp. 3-4. If it was guess work, at least he included nothing not found. Since every item mentioned is so found, omission is possible here. It is apparent that the *Freiheits Freund*, November 17, got the same information as the *Daily Post* for it contains the same items, enumerated. It omits, however, reference to the evening meetings.