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OF THE  
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ROCHESTER, N. Y.,  
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ILLUSTRATED HISTORY  
of the  
Central Trades and  
Labor Council

ROCHESTER, N. Y.



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Compiled by  
EMANUEL KOVELESKI

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Published by the  
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# ILLUSTRATED HISTORY

*of the*

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ROCHESTER, N. Y.

*also*

## NEW YORK STATE FEDERATION OF LABOR

and

Showing statistical data anent the march of Union Organized Labor  
along the Highway of Time during the past 75 years

*Compiled by*

EMANUEL KOVELESKI

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# HISTORY OF THE NEW YORK STATE FEDERATION OF LABOR

AFFILIATED WITH THE  
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When and Where and by Whom the New York State Labor  
Movement was Given Life

History of the most Potent Delegate Labor Body in the World (A. F. of L.  
alone excepted). What It has Accomplished and what It Hopes  
to Accomplish in Protecting the Rights of Wage-  
Earners and Advance Civilization.

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Compiled and written by John M. O'Hanlon, of Troy,  
Chairman of Legislative Committee

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The present New York State Federation of Labor had its inception in mass meetings of representatives of existing labor unions held in New York and Albany during March and April of 1864. These meetings were called to protest against the enactment of the bill introduced March 7 by Senator Frederick H. Hastings of Rensselaer and Washington Counties, comprising the Twelfth Senatorial District, which by its terms made it a misdemeanor for groups of workmen to combine for the purpose of conducting a strike, the bill amending the statute in relation to conspiracies and misdemeanors and carrying a penalty for violation of one year's imprisonment or a fine of \$250, or both. Subsequently this bill had been reported March 24 from the Senate Judiciary Committee, the chairman of which was Senator Charles J. Folger, in more drastic form and its title changed to read: "An act to punish unlawful interference with employers and employees." The amended bill became popularly known thereafter as "Folger's Anti-Trades Union Strike Bill." The mass meeting in New York City was held in Tompkins Square on April 1, 1864, and approximately 15,000 workmen were present. William Harding of the Coach Painters' Union presided. After several addresses explanatory of the bill and the purpose of the meeting, a petition was signed and sent to the Senate protesting against the passage of the bill as "an infringement upon our rights and contrary to the spirit of free institutions." One speaker called upon all present to pledge themselves to defeat Senator Folger for Governor if he became a candidate, as it was then generally reported was his ambition. In 1882, when Mr. Folger was the Republican candidate for Governor after serving in President Arthur's cabinet, he was defeated by Grover Cleveland by a plurality of 192,854. The meeting in Albany was held at 586 Broadway, and other meetings were held throughout the state in industrial centers where labor unions existed. At each of them similar petitions were signed, and a suggestion made by Robert Crowe of the Tailors' Union at the New York meeting, that a state labor organization be

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HISTORY OF NEW YORK STATE FEDERATION OF LABOR — Cont.

formed to care for labor's legislative interests at the capitol, was endorsed. A joint committee was organized to visit the capitol and see to it that the petitions reached the officers of the Senate and Assembly. This committee was enabled later to report to the various industrial centers that Senator Hastings had on April 11, with the unanimous consent of the Senate, moved to recommit the amended bill from Committee of the Whole to the Judiciary Committee for a public hearing. After the hearing, when organized labor's voice was for the first time heard in the halls of the State Legislature, the bill was pigeonholed and died in committee.

As a result of this experience, the labor unions of the state sent delegates to a called convention in Albany on February 26, 1865, and the first state organization of labor unions was founded under the title of "New York State Trades Assembly," with Henry Rockfeller of Troy Typographical Union as President and James Conway of Albany Coach Makers' Union as Secretary. In September of the same year, when the body met again to discuss the results of legislation, its name was changed to "Workingmen's Assembly of the State of New York," and John Jacobs of New York Ship Builders' Union was chosen President, with Mr. Conway as Secretary. In 1898, when the state branch of the American Federation of Labor was amalgamated with the Workingmen's Assembly, the title was then changed to "Workingmen's Federation of the State of New York," and at the Niagara Falls convention in 1910, when all vestiges of the Knights of Labor, which had maintained a form of state organization for some years, had disappeared, the present title was adopted as inclusive of all organized men and women workers of the state exclusive of the four railroad brotherhoods, which maintained state legislative boards that act in unison and in co-operation with the New York State Federation of Labor on all matters of legislation and non-partisan political action.

### PRINCIPAL OFFICERS FROM 1865 TO 1924

From 1865 until 1897, the Presidents of the Workingmen's Assembly were as follows:

**1865**—Henry Rockfeller of Troy Typographical Union (short term).

**1865, 1866 and 1867**—John Jacobs of Ship Builders' Union of New York City (Veteran of Civil War).

**1868, 1869, 1870 and 1871**—William J. Jessup of Ship Builders' Union of New York City. (Fifth anniversary celebrated during his 1869 term).

**1872 and 1873**—James Connolly of Practical Painters' Union of New York City. (First Factory Inspector of New York State).

**1874 to 1883, Ten Successive Years**—George Blair of Packing Box Makers' Union of New York City (Veteran of Civil War).

**1884 and 1885**—Walter N. Thayer of Troy Typographical Union. (Afterwards President of Common Council of Troy and Warden of Dannemora Prison).

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HISTORY OF NEW YORK STATE FEDERATION OF LABOR — Cont.

**1886**—Samuel Gompers of Cigarmakers' Union of New York City. (The President of the American Federation of Labor).

**1887, 1888, 1889, 1890, 1891**—Thomas J. Dowling of Blacksmiths' Union of Albany. (Subsequently State Commissioner of Labor Statistics).

**1892, 1893, 1894**—John Phillips, national secretary-treasurer of Hatters' Union of Brooklyn.

**1895, 1896 and 1897**—William J. O'Brien of Granite Stone Cutters' Union of New York City. (Afterwards Sheriff of New York County).

The Presidents of the New York State Branch of the American Federation of Labor from its organization until and including 1897 were as follows:

**1888, 1889, 1890**—Frederick Haller of Cigarmakers' Union, No. 141, of New York, later a resident of Buffalo. (Resigned at close of 1890 to practice law, which he had been studying. Was assistant district attorney of Erie County in 1901 when President McKinley was shot, and as such prosecuted and convicted Czolgoz, the assassin.)

**1890 and 1891**—Harry Ogden of Molders' Union of Utica, who had been elected vice-president with President Haller, succeeded to the Presidency and served out the remainder of the 1890 term and was elected President in 1891.

**1892, 1893, 1894, 1895, 1896 and 1897**—Daniel Harris of Cigarmakers' Union of Brooklyn. (A veteran of the Civil War.)

When the joint conventions of 1898 completed the amalgamation of the two state organizations under the composite title of "Workingmen's Federation of the State of New York," Presidents Daniel Harris and William J. O'Brien of the two old state bodies became respectively first and second vice-presidents of the united state organization, which chose as its first president James A. Lavery of Poughkeepsie Typographical Union, who served one year. (Mr. Lavery was elected alderman of Poughkeepsie and in 1913 was appointed and served two years as State Civil Service Commissioner. He was editor of Poughkeepsie Truth at the time of his death in September of 1922).

Those who have served as President since the amalgamation until the present date are as follows:

**1899**—Daniel Harris of Cigarmakers' Union of Brooklyn, former and last President of State Branch of A. F. of L. He declined re-election in 1900 because of condition of his health.

**1900, 1901 and 1902**—Martin F. Murphy of Molders' Union of Buffalo. (Served as Civil Service Commissioner of Buffalo and was later purchasing agent for American Locomotive Works, and is now established in business in Buffalo.)

**1903, 1904 and 1905**—John J. Pallas of Pattern Makers' Union of New York City. (Died a month after his re-election in 1905. Served as Park Commissioner of Greater New York.)

**1905**—W. O. Jones of Carpenters' Union, No. 125, of Utica, who had been chosen first vice-president with President Pallas, and served eleven months as President. (Served as Building Inspector of the city of Utica.)

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**1906 to 1915, Nine Successive Years**—Daniel Harris, former President, who came back with renewed health and died during 1915 with a sickness aggravated by having to attend sessions of the legislature during 1915 to oppose the many measures offered by hostile interests to break down the labor laws. (Memorial services held at convention of August, 1915, at Buffalo.) Funeral was conducted at his home by G. A. R. post of which he was a member, labor participating, and Mr. Gompers, his lifelong "pal," making the oration.

**1915**—Hon. Homer D. Call of Syracuse elected Treasurer of the State of New York by the legislature in 1913 and served until January 1, 1915; also General Secretary of the International Butcher Workmen's Union; had been vice-president for many years with President Daniel Harris, and filled out the remainder of the term, refusing an election for 1916, and retiring from all activities. President Call is also a member of the G. A. R.

**1916 to 1923, Eight Successive Years**—James P. Holland of the Eccentric Firemen's Union, No. 56, of New York City. (President Holland served as School Commissioner of New York City before becoming President. He is now serving as representative labor member of the Board of Standards and Appeals of that city, which passes on safety of construction.) Re-elected at sixtieth annual for ninth term.

James Conway of Albany, the first secretary of the Workingmen's Assembly, retired in 1868, when Alexander Troup, a member of Typographical Union No. 6 of New York, was chosen in his place, and Mr. Troup remained secretary until he went to New Haven, Conn., where he subsequently founded the New Haven Daily Union, became Democratic Leader of the state and served under President Cleveland as Collector of Customs. At the time of the amalgamation in 1898 Edward F. Farrell, a member of Typographical Union, No. 6, of New York, was secretary of the Workingmen's Assembly. He subsequently was elected as a Member of Assembly from a King's county district.

The first secretary-treasurer of the State Branch of the American Federation of Labor elected in 1888 was John C. Dernell, a member of Cigarmakers' Union of Troy. He resigned in 1890 when chosen as chief auditor by the Cigarmakers' International Union, and was succeeded by Michael Muldoon, also a member of Troy Cigarmakers' Union. Mr. Muldoon served until the end of 1892, when Richard H. Curran, a member of the Iron Molders' Union of Rochester, was elected to fill the office. Mr. Curran was still secretary-treasurer at the time of the amalgamation in 1898, and was chosen by the convention as the first secretary-treasurer of the new Workingmen's Federation of the State of New York. He held that office until the convention of 1903 at Schenectady, when he was succeeded by Edward A. Bates, a member of Utica Typographical Union. Mr. Curran thus served continuously as secretary-treasurer for eleven years. He served as deputy City Clerk of Rochester, was elected a member of the State Constitutional Convention of 1915 from Monroe county, and is now serving as a member of the State Industrial Board.

Edward A. Bates of Utica, who was elected as secretary-treasurer in 1903, is still holding that office, having been successively

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HISTORY OF NEW YORK STATE FEDERATION OF LABOR — Cont.

elected each year. Mr. Bates served as President of Utica Typographical Union for many years and as President of the Utica Trades Assembly. In 1893 he was the choice of Organized Labor of the state for nomination as delegate-at-large to the State Constitutional Convention of 1894, and although not elected was only beaten by a few thousand votes in that great contest. He served as Civil Service Commissioner of Utica as the choice of Labor of that city, and for several years edited the Utica Labor Advocate, the official journal of the Utica Trades Assembly at that time. When John S. Whalen, the union tobacco worker, was elected Secretary of State in 1906, he appointed Mr. Bates as deputy Secretary of State and turned over to him the work of organizing and conducting the new automobile license bureau established in 1907. Retiring with Mr. Whalen, he some time later entered the civil service examinations for supervising factory inspector, and being successful in attaining high credits in the tests was appointed to that office with headquarters in Utica by State Labor Commissioner John Williams, formerly a vice-president of the Federation and General President of the Brotherhood of Carpenters. This position Mr. Bates continued to hold until the Miller administration of 1921 legislated him and several other trades unionists out of office and filled their places under another title with political party selections, suspending the Civil Service law to accomplish the change. The 1921 convention of the Federation enlarged the duties of the secretary-treasurer and it now requires all of the time of the officer to perform the work of the office. Therefore when the new State Industrial Commissioner, Bernard L. Shientag, restored the position of Supervising Factory Inspector in his plans to rehabilitate the State Labor Department in 1923 and offered Mr. Bates re-appointment to his former position, Mr. Bates declined.

Originally the Workingmen's Assembly cared for its work in the state legislature at Albany through the agency of the President and all of the delegates of the conventions resident in Albany, Troy and vicinity, and the Legislative Report with record of votes for and against Labor bills was prepared by the Executive Board of the Workingmen's Assembly. Later a Political Branch of the Assembly was formed in 1882 and existed for six years, which performed this work in conjunction with the Assembly officers. The Political Branch was dissolved in 1888 and from then onward there was a regular Legislative Committee with an active chairman as sole legislative agent, which was similar to the method adopted by the State Branch of the A. F. of L. The Legislative agents of both state bodies usually worked together as the legislative programs of each were almost identical. In fact many of the labor unions of the state were represented in both state bodies; the point of difference being that the Workingmen's Assembly admitted Knights of Labor assemblies, while the State Branch of the American Federation of Labor admitted only unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. The State Branch chose James E. Roach of Albany Molders' Union as its first legislative agent in 1888 and he served until 1891. Mr. Roach is at present General Organizer for the American Federation of Labor with headquarters in this state. Prior to amalgamation, Patrick J. Doyle of Albany Typographical Union was chairman of the Legisla-

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tive Committee of the State Workingmen's Assembly, serving for many years in that position, retiring in 1894 to accept the position of official proof-reader with the old State Railroad Commission, where he remained until his death. He was succeeded as chairman by James H. Dulin of Albany Painters' Union, who held the office until amalgamation, when he and Francis Freckelton of Albany Typographical Union, who had succeeded Mr. Roach as chairman of the Legislative Committee of the State Branch, A. F. of L., made a joint legislative report for the sessions of 1897 to the joint convention of 1898, both legislative agents having co-operated at the Legislature of 1897 by prior agreement. The amalgamated state body chose as its first Legislative Committee James A. Grogan of Troy Molders' Union No. 2, chairman; John J. Pallas of New York, afterwards president, and James M. Lynch of Syracuse, subsequently successively President of the International Typographical Union, State Labor Commissioner, and member of the State Industrial Commission. Chairman Grogan, whose health failed him, called in the assistance of James P. Hooley of Troy, a former international officer of the Iron Molders' Union who had served in the State Legislature as an assemblyman during 1883 and 1884 and also as a deputy state factory inspector. Mr. Grogan, a highly esteemed officer of the Molders' Union, did not survive his illness, and on the occasion of his death a movement was started to erect a monument to his memory in Troy. This monument was erected and dedicated on Labor Day a year later. It stands not far from the main entrance within St. Joseph's Cemetery in Troy. In 1899 Mr. Hooley, who was a member at this time of the Musicians' Union of Troy and had served that union as an international vice-president, was chosen by the Workingmen's Federation as chairman of Legislative Committee to succeed Mr. Grogan. Chairman Hooley continued as chairman and legislative agent until 1902, when James A. Lavery of Poughkeepsie, president in 1898, was elected and served until the convention of September, 1903, when Mr. Hooley was again chosen legislative chairman. In 1904 James McManus of Cigar-makers' Union of Troy, who had served as President of Troy Federation of Labor, was elected chairman of the Legislative Committee. After serving a little more than three years, he resigned on being appointed mediator in the State Labor Department by Labor Commissioner P. Tecumseh Sherman, a son of General Sherman. President Daniel Harris appointed Thomas D. Fitzgerald of Albany Typographical Union to succeed Mr. McManus. Mr. Fitzgerald was then president of the State Allied Printing Trades Council and had been for several years president of the State Union Label League. Previously, in 1897, he had been elected as alderman of the Fourth Ward of Albany on an independent ticket. In the 1899 city election of Albany Mr. Fitzgerald was elected president of the Common Council and Francis Freckelton, the last legislative agent of the State Branch, was elected City Assessor at the same election, each being on opposing party tickets and each winning by a small plurality, union voters voting for both. Mr. Freckelton served eight years as City Assessor, and was then elected clerk to the board, which position he held at the time of his death.

Mr. Fitzgerald served continuously as legislative agent until

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1914, when he was appointed a deputy Compensation Law Commissioner for the Albany district under the Workmen's Compensation Law enacted December of 1913 and re-enacted, under the constitutional amendment adopted by the people in the 1913 referendum in January of 1914. He was succeeded as legislative agent by John J. Henley of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' Union of Schenectady, who was President of the Schenectady Trades and Labor Assembly, and also ranking member of the State Federation of Labor Legislative Committee. Mr. Henley had charge of the Federation's legislative affairs in the Legislature of 1915, when vigorous efforts were made to tear down the Labor Laws and reduce the State Labor Department, which had been largely built up during the preceding four years by the recommended legislation of the Factory Investigating Commission, on which the present Governor, Alfred E. Smith, then an assemblyman; President Samuel Gompers of the American Federation of Labor, and Supreme Court Justice Robert F. Wagner of New York, then a state senator, served as executive members, with the present Industrial Commissioner, Bernard L. Shientag, as assistant chief counsel. Because of this onslaught against the Labor Laws, and the legislative agent being new to the work, President Daniel Harris felt obligated to attend the sessions although suffering from a renewed attack of his former malady. This enforced attendance, coming and going by train in the middle of a mean winter, and refusing to remain in his home as strongly urged by his attending physician, aggravated the malady and Daniel Harris died before the session ended. Mr. Henley was re-elected at the 1915 convention as chairman, and Mr. Fitzgerald, who had resigned as deputy Compensation Commissioner, was made a member of the Legislative Committee again, succeeding Mr. Henley as chairman when the latter was made general organizer of his national union early in 1916. John M. O'Hanlon of Troy Typographical Union was ranking member of the Legislative Committee in 1915 and, while Mr. Henley was away on business of his union, was appointed by President Homer D. Call as acting chairman to handle all the work of the Federation before the Constitutional Convention of 1915, which met in April and was still in session when the Buffalo convention of the State Federation of Labor assembled in August of 1915. Mr. O'Hanlon made a voluminous manuscript report to the Federation convention foreshadowing the final action of the Constitutional Convention as unfavorable to the hopes of the people of the state. Later, after adjournment of the Constitutional Convention, he prepared an analysis of the new submitted State constitution, which was considered by a state conference of Organized Labor called by the Federation and held at Albany. This analysis condemned the new constitution as the product of aristocrats who were seeking to chain the will of the people and substitute caste government. Chairman Elihu Root sent former Mayor Seth Low of New York City and other leading delegates of the Constitutional Convention to this conference of wage workers to explain the new constitution and seek approval for it. Questions asked these visitors by members of the conference, based on the analysis prepared by Mr. O'Hanlon, failed to secure satisfactory answers. The conference adopted the analysis and decided unanimously to oppose

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HISTORY OF NEW YORK STATE FEDERATION OF LABOR — Cont.

the new constitution as submitted at the polls and organized a state committee to make the facts in the analysis known to the voters. On election day the new constitution was defeated by the voters by more than half-a-million majority. Mr. O'Hanlon retired from the Legislative Committee as ranking member at the 1915 convention to enable the election of Mr. Fitzgerald to that place, as it was possible Chairman Henley might not be able to serve and Mr. Fitzgerald could thereby be again available for legislative chairman. This proved to be the case, and Mr. Fitzgerald took up the work of legislative chairman again at the 1916 session of the Legislature, continuing in that position until continued illness required him to relinquish the position in 1920. Mr. O'Hanlon, who had again resumed a place on the Legislative Committee, took up the work at the request of the Executive Council, and in 1921 was elected chairman, and re-elected in 1922 and 1923. Chairman O'Hanlon has for many years been editor of the Legislative Labor News and was for 23 years a legislative correspondent at the Capitol for his own and other publications. He gained his experience with legislative procedure in this capacity and had co-operated with all of the legislative chairmen in some degree since the amalgamation in 1898. Some years ago he was chosen by the State Board of Regents as a member of its Advisory Council on Industrial Education, and in 1918 he organized an Educational Bureau as a part of the work of the State Federation of Labor in co-operation with Peter J. Brady, president of the State Allied Printing Trades Council. Through the agency of this bureau many local educational bureaus were established for the promotion of lecture courses, study classes and reading rooms by the central labor bodies of the industrial communities of the state for use of all wage earners. Mr. O'Hanlon was engaged actively in this work when called upon to act as legislative chairman.

The long list of vice-presidents and associate officers accumulated during the past sixty years contain many of the most notable names in trade union annals and of many now occupying prominent places in business, professional and governmental circles.

The position of State Organizer was created by the amalgamation convention in 1898, when James E. Roach of Albany Molders' Union was elected as first organizer, resigning when he accepted the superintendency of a large union foundry in Albany. He was succeeded by John N. Bogart of Typographical Union, No. 6, of New York, who had held a similar position with the State Branch, A. F. of L., in 1896 and 1897. Mr. Bogart subsequently became Labor Editor of the New York Evening Journal and served as License Commissioner of Greater New York. When chosen commissioner he resigned and was succeeded as organizer by Herman Robinson of the Clerk's Union of New York City, who also succeeded Mr. Bogart as License Commissioner four years later. Mr. Robinson remained as organizer until his death, when the duties of State Organizer were merged with the duties of the President.

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State meetings of Organized Labor appears in the proceedings of the 1869 convention of New York State Workingmen's Assembly, the original title of the present New York State Federation of Labor. At that convention there appeared representatives of the Women's Typographical Union No. 1 of New York City, a union of women printers that had been organized in 1868, and of the Collar Laundry Workers' Union of Troy, described in the proceedings as having "a large membership." Miss Augusta Lewis, the organizer and president of the Women's Typographical Union, came as its representative. She and the representatives of the Collar Laundry Workers' Union requested that they be admitted as delegates and presented credentials from their unions. When the matter came up in the convention, a motion to seat the women was laid upon the table by a vote of 21 ayes and 8 noes, it being held that under the Constitution and Laws of the Workingmen's Assembly, women were not eligible to be seated as delegates. However, later in that convention the Constitution was amended to permit the entrance of women delegates, and the delegates from the Women's Typographical Union and the Collar Laundry Workers' Union were admitted and took their places as delegates, participating in the remainder of the fifth annual convention of the organized wage workers of the state. In this convention there was adopted a resolution proposing legislation to regulate the hours of work of minors in employment and to provide that such minors must attend school at least three months in each year, a proposal that was advanced by the women delegates. In every subsequent convention commencing with 1869 women delegates, representing women's unions and also unions with a membership of both sexes, were present and took a very active part in the deliberations. The women delegates usually represented textile and garment making trades unions. As a rule, these women delegates were sponsors for resolutions proposing that women should be given the right to vote as citizens, nearly all of them being members of the old Equal Rights Association, founded by Susan B. Anthony. These resolutions were always adopted by the State Workingmen's Assembly, which was one of the pioneer advocates of Women's Suffrage. In the convention of 1884 a resolution was adopted demanding that the Legislature provide for a State Constitutional Convention and that the enabling act calling for the election of delegates further provide that all women citizens of the age of 21 years be given the same rights as men to vote at the election for such delegates. This resolution was introduced by John McMackin of the Painters' Union, who afterwards served the State as State Labor Commissioner. However, the legislature refused to provide for any Constitutional Convention. Susan B. Anthony, realizing the great sympathy existing among trades unionists for woman's suffrage, organized a union of women workers in New York City entitled Working Women's Protective Association, No. 1, of New York City, and was herself chosen as its delegate to the convention of the National Labor Congress held in New York City in September of 1868, a body in which the State Workingmen's Assembly was represented by H. B. Mulhall of the Painters' Union. Miss Anthony was admitted as a full-fledged delegate, as was also Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, who presented credentials from the Women's Suffrage Asso-

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HISTORY OF NEW YORK STATE FEDERATION OF LABOR — Cont.

ciation. In the memorials presented by the State Workingmen's Assembly and its successor, the State Federation of Labor, to Constitutional Conventions of this State, held in 1894 and 1915, there were demands inserted that the women be given the right to vote in the proposed new constitution. This agitation was kept up and the demand inserted in every Legislative Program of the State Federation of Labor until the right to vote was granted by adoption of the constitutional amendment in this state. In 1894 a great mass meeting in favor of Woman's Suffrage was held in New York City at Chickering Hall on Monday and Tuesday, February 26 and 27. At this mass convention speeches in favor of an amendment to be inserted in the proposed new state constitution were made by President Samuel Gompers of the American Federation of Labor and by the late James P. Archibald, representing the New York Branch of the American Federation of Labor and the Central Labor Union of New York City.

Since 1868, the year of the beginning of the organization of women workers in this state and their recognition by the male trades unionists, the coming of women into industry in this state has progressed in a most wonderful manner. Figures and facts compiled by the Bureau of Women in Industry of the State Labor Department and published in April of 1922 show that there were then 1,135,948 women gainfully employed in this state. They are employed in nearly all occupations in which men are also employed and constitute almost 27 per cent. of all the gainfully employed human labor in this state. Their chief industrial occupations are, of course, in the garment making and auxiliary trades, where they are highly organized and enjoy the best wages and conditions of employment, but it would be difficult to name an occupation, with the possible exception of the building trades, where they do not appear as a considerable factor both as fully skilled and semi-skilled workers. The study of "Women Who Work," published by the Bureau of Women in Industry, says on page 27: "The trade union movement has done much toward standardizing of work for women," and instances the organizing of women workers into men's unions with equal pay for the same job, and the enactment of labor legislation for women such as the nine-hour work-day and factory sanitation and safety and equipment and anti-sweat shop laws as part of the work accomplished by the trade union movement. Of all the women gainfully employed in this state, however, only 113,354 are listed as members of labor unions, with 96,162 of these as members of New York City unions. The next largest group of union women workers in any city of the state is in Rochester, where there are 9,515, being over 25 per cent. of all union workers in that city, whereas in New York City they aggregate only 14¼ per cent. Troy, with its immense collar and shirt factories, where women workers of the state first organized and who were engaged in a strike for higher wages in 1864, according to the Albany newspapers of that period, has only 1,213 women members of unions, or about ten per cent. of all union workers in Troy. Yet, notwithstanding these comparative facts and figures of to-day, it is hopeful to know that these figures represent an increase of more than 60 per cent. in the organization of women workers since 1914, and proves

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that the industrial experience of women during the war showed them the value and necessity of organization, and that organization of women workers in all vocations except clerical, professional and domestic occupations is increasing rapidly. The possession of the right to vote has been a great stimulus in the desire for the benefits of labor organization, and vindicates the belief long held that when possessed of that right the women worker will rise to her opportunities and assume all of her industrial obligations. In her own unions she has already established the 44 and 48-hour week. It is interesting to contemplate the fact that when the New York State Federation of Labor was formally founded in 1865 at its first called convention of all the labor unions then existing in this state, there were not as many trades unionists of both sexes in the whole commonwealth of New York as there are women trades and labor unionists to-day in the cities of Greater New York, Albany, Binghamton, Buffalo, Niagara Falls, Rochester, Schenectady, Syracuse, Troy, Utica, Yonkers, Cohoes and Amsterdam, the industrial communities that contain nearly all of the women who work who believe in and are members of organized labor.

Prior to 1915 women delegates to the convention had on several occasions been chosen as officers, and in 1915 the convention of the New York State Federation of Labor, as a distinct recognition of the great value of the work of women trades unionists in both the industrial and legislative fields, amended its constitution so as to provide that a woman should be a member of its Executive Council that makes up the annual Legislative Program and that a woman must be chosen as one of the vice-presidents of the Federation. Miss Nellie Kelly, a member of the United Garment Workers of Syracuse and business manager of her local union, was under this amendment chosen a vice-president and member of the Executive Council by the convention of 1915. Miss Kelly was unanimously re-elected continuously until 1921, when she retired and Mrs. Betty Hawley, treasurer of the Central Labor Council of Buffalo, was unanimously chosen to succeed her and was re-elected at the 1922 and 1923 conventions. In the performance of their vice-presidential duties, these ladies on numerous occasions presided over the deliberations of the Federation in convention.

## **REVIEW OF PRINCIPAL ACHIEVEMENTS DURING PAST SIXTY YEARS — OUR FUTURE**

The 1865 original state organization meeting, composed largely of Civil War veterans, declared the objects of the body thus formed were: "To agitate such questions as may be for the benefit of the working classes in order that we may obtain the enactment of such measures by the State Legislature as will be beneficial to all of us, and the repeal of all oppressive laws which now exist; to use all means consistent with honor and integrity to so correct the abuses under which the working classes are laboring as to insure to them their just rights and privileges; to use our utmost endeavors to impress upon the various divisions of workingmen the necessity of a close and thorough organization, and of forming themselves into local unions wherever practicable." When that declaration was made nearly all statute law of this state and the Common Law inherited

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HISTORY OF NEW YORK STATE FEDERATION OF LABOR — Cont.

from colonial days relating to workers was of the disciplinary "master and servant" type. In the almost sixty years that have elapsed, mainly if not entirely through the efforts of this state association of trades and labor unions, those undemocratic statutes and legal precedent have been completely removed and a great code of Labor Laws erected with an administrative department for their enforcement that since its rehabilitation this year is second in importance only to our State Educational Department.

From the outset the State Workingmen's Assembly sought reform of the so-called "Conspiracy Law" which hampered development of labor unions, and in 1870 secured an amendment providing that it "shall not be construed in any court of this state to restrict or prohibit the orderly and peaceable assembling or co-operation of persons employed in any profession, trade or handicraft, for the purpose of securing an advance in the rates of wages or compensation, OR FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF SUCH RATES," the latter clause fully legalizing the acts of unions in ordering strikes and conducting them to a successful issue. Realizing the lack of verified information on which to base legislation, the Workingmen's Assembly demanded in 1871 the creation of a State Bureau of Labor Statistics such as had just then been created in Massachusetts. This was the initial effort to establish a department of the state devoted to the affairs of labor, and it was continued with vigor until the Legislature of 1883 by unanimous vote of both houses finally passed the labor bill erecting the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the foundation stone of the present important State Department of Labor. The original statistics for this bureau were furnished from accumulations gathered by the State Workingmen's Assembly. In the meantime legislation had been promoted and enacted guaranteeing apprentices humane treatment and proper instruction and lifting them out of the servile, underpaid and underfed condition that the organization of the state labor body had found them in throughout the state. This legislation was the beginning of the laws to regulate child labor in this state. A bill creating an eight-hour workday for employees of the state, counties and cities was introduced and finally enacted as Chapter No. 385 of the Laws of 1870, thus laying the foundation for the eight-hour workday in public and private employment. Mechanics' lien laws for unpaid wages were secured in 1875. In 1881 the labor bill requiring that seats be provided for women workers in their places of employment became Chapter No. 298 of the Laws. This was the beginning of the code of laws recognizing that women workers are entitled to special consideration. In the Legislature of 1886, when Samuel Gompers was president of the Workingmen's Assembly, labor's chief preferred measure to provide for inspection of factories in the interest of the health and welfare of factory workers, was enacted and signed by Governor Hill as Chapter No. 409. This was the beginning of the actual work of enforcing the Labor Laws of the state. James Connolly, a former president of the Workingmen's Assembly, was made state factory inspector, with John Franey of Buffalo Typographical Union as assistant, appointed by Gov. Hill. At the same time a State Board of Mediation and Arbitration, advocated by President Gompers, was erected by law, and this brought into exist-

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ence the third bureau devoted to the interests of wage earners, all of which were subsequently welded into one organization as the State Department of Labor. In 1887 a bill passed making Labor Day a legal holiday. By Chapter 688 of the laws of the same year it was made unlawful to require as a condition of employment that a worker should not belong to a labor union, and by Chapter 410 of the same year employment agencies were brought under state regulation. By the terms of Chapter 381 of 1889 corporations were compelled to pay wages in cash and the custom of requiring employees to trade only in company stores, which usually left them without a cent of real money, was abolished. Union labels were legalized by Chapter 385 of the same year, and workers were thereby enabled to confine their expenditures for goods to articles made by other union workers and thus promote the sale and consumption of products made under fair industrial conditions. Regulation of the hours of work on elevated, street and steam surface railroads was secured by Chapter 529 of 1887, and by Chapter 564 of 1890, railroads were made responsible for wages of employees of contractors with railroads in an effort to protect laborers from the padrone system. Inspection of mines and tunnels in the interest of the safety of workers was secured in Chapter 394 of the Laws of 1890. In 1885, the sweat-shop in industry was attacked and the first victory gained by the enactment of the Roosevelt law prohibiting tenement house cigar making, and in 1896 by Chapter No. 384 inspection of mercantile establishments by boards of health was authorized and women and children prohibited from employment in basement shops under stores and the employment of children under 14 years of age in or about a store a store entirely prohibited. In 1899 by Chapter 192 prohibiting the employment of minors under 16 years in connection with light and power plants was commenced the code of prohibited hazardous occupations for minors. Chapter No. 46 of 1890 gave women workers in New York and Brooklyn a preferred claim for wages in all occupations and the right to imprison judgment-debtors for such unpaid wages, and Chapter No. 899 of 1895 extended the preference to women workers throughout the state. The first regulation of the hours of labor of women and minors in factories and the requiring of efficient lighting of factories and inspection of boilers therein was contained in the labor bill enacted and signed as Chapter No. 192 of the laws of 1899, and by Chapter No. 191, its companion law of that year, licensing and requiring inspection of tenement workshops was inaugurated to abolish the sweat-shop in this state.

Meanwhile two other great projects of organized labor had also been steadily pushed forward from the beginning by the State Workingmen's Assembly and its successors while these foundations of our present code of Labor Laws were being laid. These were the development of free public education and abolition of contract prison labor. Free public schools, which had been originally demanded in a mass meeting of organized wage-earners during 1826 in New York City, were finally brought into some semblance of reality after the Civil War and under the administration of Governor Hill (who had entered public life as a Knights of Labor candidate) in co-operation with the demands of the workers a law was enacted providing for

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HISTORY OF NEW YORK STATE FEDERATION OF LABOR — Cont.

compulsory education of the youth of the state in free public schools, the effect of which was to remove many children from grinding factory toil and restore to them their heritage of equality of opportunity to seek the rudiments of knowledge and an open door to a better life. This principle of compulsory attendance of minors at school was contained in the apprenticeship law of 1871 secured by the exertions of the State Workingmen's Assembly and that law may therefore be said to be the base upon which our present system of compulsory school attendance to the eighteenth year is erected. The other project of abolishing the evil of contract employment of convicts in competition with free workers and private industry involved a long continuous struggle with the beneficiaries of that system, the contractors, who enjoyed an easy and vast profit from such debasement of industry. It invaded every important industry of the state, and it was at the instigation of Organized Labor made the subject of numerous investigations by legislative committees. Organized Labor advocated from the beginning the state use plan of employing prison labor, and in 1882 the Workingmen's Assembly established a State Political branch which existed until 1888, whose principal efforts were directed towards electing legislators favorable to the abolition of contract-convict labor as the chief plank in its legislative program. At one time there was in the legislature a group of eight legislators whose nomination and election had been accomplished by this Political Branch. But it was not until the constitutional convention of 1894 that all this campaigning brought any appreciable result. The state labor organization presented a memorial to that convention headed by the demand for abolition of the contract system of employing convicts. It was advocated before the convention by John Phillips, president of the Workingmen's Assembly, and Daniel Harris, president of the State Branch of the American Federation of Labor, acting jointly for all organized wage earners of the state except the few isolated groups contained in the fast-disappearing Knights of Labor. Judge John T. McDonough of Albany, who was counsel for the Albany Molders' Union and was afterwards counsel for the State Federation of Labor and who was stricken on March 16, 1917, while arguing before a committee of the legislature of that year in favor of the Federation's labor bills, dying on March 29 following, was a member of that constitutional convention, and he espoused Labor's Memorial, with the result that with the active cooperation of Hon. John M. Francis, editor of the Troy Daily Times, who was chairman of the sub-committee dealing with that subject, a section was put in the new constitution abolishing forever the contract system and substituting the present exclusive state and municipal use of the products of prison labor. Organized Labor of the state made a campaign for the adoption of the new constitution, and when the votes were counted on election day, 1894, the sustained campaign of many years, originated by the Molders' Union in 1859, had resulted in victory.

To attempt a complete enumeration of the great number of labor bills that have been progressively enacted in the work of building up the Labor Laws, Public Health Laws and Education Laws and of their continuously extended and improved enforcement, and to tell

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HISTORY OF NEW YORK STATE FEDERATION OF LABOR — Cont.

the serial story of how often such bills were offered and defeated before opposition was eventually overcome, would fill a very large volume. In 1918 the writer compiled a compendium of most of these statutes from 1864 to that date and it was printed in a closely set 20-page pamphlet published by the New York State Federation of Labor under the title of "Achievements of a Progressive Up-to-Date Labor Organization," to which the reader must be referred for a detailed statement containing only the most brief digest of the purpose of these statutes. However, there are outstanding measures, in addition to those already noted herein, that form substantial parts of the edifice of our Labor Laws and their history that may well be included here. Organized Labor secured the passage of a law, Chapter No. 262, in 1890, which compelled employers to allow employees time to vote at general elections and since then that law has been extended to include primary elections, and the constitution amended and a law passed to permit railroad and other workers unavoidably absent on election day to vote by mail. By a decision of the courts in 1903 the eight-hour and prevailing rate of wages law for public work, originally enacted by our efforts in 1899, was declared unconstitutional. The State Federation of Labor presented an amendment to the constitution, which passed two legislatures, and in 1905 was ratified by the people at the polls after a strenuous campaign conducted by the Federation. This amendment legalized an eight-hour and prevailing rate of wages law for all public work done anywhere in the State, and in 1906 the original law was replaced on the statute books as Chapter 506, having been introduced in the legislature by Thomas Rock, a union street paver, who had been elected an Assemblyman from New York City. The experiences of injured and killed wage earners and their dependents in endeavoring to collect damages from employers for negligence under the Employers' Liability Law so absolutely proved the hopelessness of recovery against a casualty insurance company with whom the employers were insured and who compelled the employer to fight the employee with every resource, which resources included contributory negligence, fellow servant negligence and assumption of risk by the act of going to work, that after years of attempt to improve this law such a course was abandoned and in 1910 a law was sought and secured establishing the principle of Compulsory Workmen's Compensation for injuries and death in certain clearly defined extra hazardous occupations and optional compensation in other occupations, the wage earner surrendering any right of negligence action for specified indemnity payments while actually disabled or in event of death to his actual dependents. The principle of automatic payment of claims for such injuries had already been set up in the Barnes law holding railroads liable to injured employees. The courts, however, promptly annulled the compensation law, and organized wage earners had to again go through the arduous task of amending the state constitution, which was finally accomplished by referendum in the elections of 1913, when speakers from Labor's ranks had to visit all sections of the state to deny and expose the falsehoods peddled by insurance companies and unintelligent employers. An extra session of the 1913 legislature, still in session in December after the people had voted, passed the present Workmen's

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Compensation Law but because of the hostility of the insurance companies and unintelligent employers to an Exclusive State Insurance Fund to provide the required insurance all forms of profit-taking insurance were finally permitted. This law was re-enacted by the legislature of 1914, and more rights given to insurance companies under its provision under which the insurance companies sought to bar married men from employment until halted by an order from the State Compensation Commission. In 1915 the insurance companies were given the further right to make bedside bargains with injured workers, and they forced such settlements under this grant of power that when Governor Smith in 1919 ordered a state investigation of these settlements it was revealed that the injured and dead of industry had been outrageously victimized and robbed. This revelation caused the legislature to act at once on Governor Smith's recommendation to repeal that part of the law. The benefits of the law have been increased and improved progressively since 1913, but the participation of insurance companies keeps alive many of the old evils. The Federation of Labor had from the beginning advocated only State Fund Insurance, which is less costly and lacks all the brutalities inherent in insurance company participation on a profit basis. It is still seeking such amendment of the law.

The golden era in remedial factory legislation and expansion of the State Labor Department's powers of enforcement of existing labor laws opened in 1911, when the Factory Investigating Commission was created by Chapter No. 561 of the laws of that year. At that time the labor laws of the state were contained in one 3x6-inch booklet, built up word by word against the most intense opposition, and the State Labor Department into which the three original bureaus had been consolidated occupied a small space under the southern eaves of the Capitol, the Labor Commissioner's office being approached by a ladder leading to a mezzanine floor, his insufficient staff of inspectors working out from the floor below amid the paraphernalia of records being handled by a few clerks. The State Federation of Labor had repeatedly introduced bills to provide for more factory inspectors and more equipment for enforcing the labor laws. Failure to secure enactment of these bills was followed by the Federation drafting and having introduced a bill permitting the State Labor Commissioner to appoint members of labor unions to act as factory inspectors, their salaries and expenses to be paid by organized labor. This bill, introduced by Assemblyman Samuel Prince, a union cigarmaker from New York, was not passed, but it forced the issue and finally brought about the enactment of the legislation creating the State Factory Investigating Commission. This Factory Investigating Commission contained President Samuel Gompers of the American Federation of Labor, Edward D. Jackson of Switchmen's Union, President Mary E. Dreier of the Women's Trade Union League and other members willing to dig out and to know the facts. Senator Robert F. Wagner (now a Supreme Court Justice in New York City) was chairman, and Assemblyman Alfred E. Smith (now Governor) was vice-chairman. Bernard L. Shientag, the present State Industrial Commissioner, was assistant counsel, serving under Chief Counsellor Abram I. Elkus, who afterwards

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was chosen Judge of the Court of Appeals. As a first result of the investigations and work of this commission, which reached into every work place in the state in a most thorough manner, eight new labor laws were recommended and enacted in 1912, extending in the most comprehensive way the state's protection of men, women and children engaged in industry as to health, life and limb safeguards, hours of labor of women and minors, and their actual conditions of employment. Among these new laws were the 9-hour work day and 54-hour week for all women and minors employed in factories, with an 8-hour day for minors under 16 years, a law which had been urged by the Federation for several years. The inspection force of the State Labor Department was doubled and all other agencies for the enforcement of labor laws increased, again vindicating the attitude of the Federation. In 1913 another batch of labor laws was recommended by the commission and enacted, still more widely extending the scope of existing sections and adding new whole sections to the labor laws, all designed to protect workers at work, increase their comfort and facilitate production on a humane basis. Dark age factory methods were torn up by the roots. Altogether forty-four new additions to the labor law were enacted in 1913 as the result of the recommendations of the Wagner-Gompers-Smith Commission, as it had come to be popularly styled among organized wage earners, who co-operated in its work in every way and submitted proposed bills to it for approval. Chapter 145 of 1913 so completely reorganized the State Labor Department that the already increased annual appropriation had to be more than doubled to carry out its requirements. It became at one bound the second largest department in the state government, with 151 new officials added to its quota, as increased by the legislation of 1912. It was taken out from under the roof and assigned commodious quarters on one of the main floors of the Capitol and given power to open much-needed branch offices in industrial centers of the state, with supervising factory inspectors in charge. State Free Employment Bureaus were likewise established. Among others of the 44 new labor laws of 1913 were those extending the 9-hour work day for women and minors to mercantile establishments; bringing all canning factories under the labor law and regulating the working hours of women and children employed therein; extending the school attendance laws applicable to working minors to bring them into harmony with the improved labor laws; establishing one day's rest in seven in all factories and stores and many other work places; creating a humane schedule of hours with proper medical attendance for compressed air workers in caissons and tunnels; providing that seats for women workers must have backs, and requiring adequate dressing rooms with proper heat and light; prohibiting smoking in factories and amplifying preventives of fires and means of escape; establishing continuation schools for employed minors; licensing tenement house workshops, making a sanitation code for them and providing continuous regular inspection, with identification tags to go on articles made in such workshops; regulating where not prohibiting children in street trades; prohibiting work by women and minors in factories after 10 P. M. or before 6 A. M., and requiring physical examination of minors by phy-

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sicians to decide their fitness for employment; enumerating dangerous employments at which minors and some at which women must not be employed; removal of poisons, fumes, gases and infected material from contact with workers, with numerous provisions for guarding of hoists, stairways and belting and machinery of every description. The foregoing and many other enactments of similar import of 1913 were in each case designed to cure or remove some evil condition complained of by organized labor and officially uncovered by the Factory Investigation Commission in its inspection of factories and work places, which up to that time had never been really inspected by the State of New York. It was in 1913 that the Full Crew Law for steam railroads was enacted, and the atmosphere created by the commission had much to do with getting the bill through and signed, as it had been passed by a prior legislature and vetoed. The recommendations of the Commission continued to be converted into law by the legislature of 1914, and the labor laws were further improved. However, in 1914, a reaction set in against this meritorious work, and employers banded with the Republican party and succeeded in electing a reactionary legislature in both branches, which, when it took its seat in 1915, immediately undertook to weaken or remove the laws enacted in 1912-1914. It was a very stormy session of the legislature, and repeal and modifying bills filled the calendars. Some were passed and signed. A great many were finally defeated, while several which passed, such as the Bewley bill restoring all the vile conditions of degrading women and children in the canning factories, were so destructive that the new Governor refused to sign or even consider them. A bill reorganizing the State Labor Department and putting out of existence the Commission created in 1913 to administer the new Workmen's Compensation Law was enacted and signed, and the reactionaries had finally to be content with the opportunity this ripper reorganization afforded to weaken the enforcement of the labor laws and Workmen's Compensation Law. Later this hope of the reactionaries was shattered by the appointment of retiring Labor Commissioner James M. Lynch and Commissioner John Mitchell of the Workmen's Compensation Commission as two of the members of the new consolidated Industrial Commission, with Mr. Mitchell as chairman and therefore executive head of the commission. The other members of the commission proved to be men not easily led by reactionaries, and the commission as a whole usually agreed on administration and on recommendations strengthening the labor law and Workmen's Compensation Law instead of weakening them. Attempts to further weaken the labor laws in the legislature of 1916 were not very successful; the World War was on, Germany had endeavored to enlist the Japanese and Mexicans in attempt to harass our national government, and baiting of union labor by labor union haters became a decidedly unpopular sport. The unrivaled patriotism of the trades union labor movement of this state and of the nation in aiding the government on our entrance into and during our part in the World War paralyzed the activities of anti-labor unionists, and during the continuance of the war all of their hostilities were suspended. No sooner had the armistice been signed, however, than the war against labor unions and labor laws was re-

newed with increased and pent-up venom. Bills to tear the labor laws to shreds were introduced by the sympathizers with the so-called "Open Shop" anti-union labor group of large employers. Fortunately Alfred E. Smith had been chosen Governor at the close of the World War, and he consistently vetoed every bill presented to him that weakened the labor laws or sought to impose any disabilities on wage workers. In the Presidential election of 1920 the reactionaries were supreme and this state elected a decidedly reactionary state administration and legislature, Governor Smith being defeated for re-election, although running almost one million votes ahead of his ticket. With the assembling of the legislature of 1921 the work of labor law destruction was commenced with enthusiasm. A revision of the labor laws made by a commission the previous year, and which had not weakened in any degree the existing laws or their manner of enforcement, was altered over night, pages torn out and others substituted, stripping the State Labor Department of most of its powers of enforcement, the State Industrial Commission with its two labor members and the State Industrial Council with its equal representation of employees and employers being abolished and a single commissioner substituted with a State Industrial Board to advise with him only on matters of rules. The appropriation for the State Labor Department was reduced to less than one-half and that provided in a bulk sum so the new autocratic commissioner might hire and fire whom he pleased, as all statutory places in the State Labor Department were by the same act abolished and the Civil Service Laws suspended as far as this department of the state was concerned. From that hour until January, 1923, when Governor Smith came back as chief executive with a Senate pledged to his platform containing nearly all of the State Federation of Labor's legislative program and with an Assembly containing a greatly reduced reactionary majority, organized labor of this state was involved in a hand-to-hand struggle with the "Open Shop" anti-labor unionists in the industrial field, in the legislature and in the courts to preserve the right to maintain unions, engage in strikes, preserve the labor laws and stay out of prison under a hurricane of lockouts, anti-strike bills, labor law ripper bills and injunctions. Led by the State Federation of Labor, railroad and trades and labor unions of the state entered politics in 1921 on a non-partisan basis more widely and intensely than ever before, allying the industrial interests of wage earners with their political interests. Wholesale changes in political control were made throughout the state. One example is illustrative of the many instances of such change of partisan campaigns of 1921 and 1922. On January 1, 1921, the city and county of Albany were solidly Republican, with only two members of another party holding any office in the city or county; it had three Assemblymen and one Senator of that political faith. Every officer in the capitol on the hill, from Governor down, was of the same political faith, and that party controlled by large majorities both houses of the legislature. Bills restricting the rights of the people were being passed against that Governor Smith had vetoed and were being made into laws. On January 1, 1922, the city of Albany had a new Democratic administration in every office. On January 1, 1923, every office in the city and county governments of

HISTORY OF NEW YORK STATE FEDERATION OF LABOR — Cont.

Albany was filled with a Democrat, the county Board of Supervisors and city Board of Aldermen had Democratic two-third majorities, and the Senator and two of the three Assemblymen of Albany County had been elected on the Democratic ticket and the Democratic platform containing so many of labor's legislative demands. Coincidentally in the capitol on the hill a Democratic state administration was installed, chosen by pluralities at the polls ranging from 250,000 to 385,000, with a Democratic Senate and a great increase of Democrats in the Assembly, all pledged to the state platform containing 90 % of the legislative and administrative program adopted by the New York State Federation of Labor in its convention and endorsed by the four railroad brotherhoods in their state conventions. The non-partisan campaign of united labor in local and Assembly elections of 1921 was so effective and made so many startling changes in the political map that it had the satisfactory effect of halting a scheme to emasculate the Workmen's Compensation Law in the interest of insurance corporations and greedy employers and putting a quietus on further efforts to enact anti-labor union and anti-strike laws. Indeed, on the contrary, the revision made of the Workmen's Compensation Law under the new circumstances created by labor at the polls was thereafter conducted in a liberal manner in consultation with labor's legislative representatives, and some good changes were made in the law. One excellent amendment providing compensation for injured workers during healing of wounds that would leave permanent disablement had to be cut out of the revising bill or otherwise the casualty insurance companies and their reactionary allies in both houses of the 1922 legislature would have defeated the entire revision, as they subsequently did the healing period bill when offered in a separate measure. Thus although not much was gained in the legislature of 1922, all harmful legislation was decisively halted.

The outstanding acts of the legislature of 1923, with a particularly divided legislature, are a complete rehabilitation of the State Labor Department under the administration of a commissioner who had long since proven his belief in labor law and its thorough enforcement, equipped with a largely increased appropriation, the unanimous defeat of a bill to license and restrict labor unions, and enactment of bills repealing some of the repressive Lusk laws that helped to make the Miller administration of 1921-1922 so offensive to a free people. Several good laws were passed. Many, but not all, of labor's measures passed the Senate and most of them were defeated in the Assembly by partisan voting. Therefore, it is plain that the education of the legislature must continue, and more members be introduced who are in sympathy with the people and their needs and desires.

To this education of the legislature of this state, the New York State Federation of Labor will in the future, as it has in the past, contribute to the fullest extent of its resources and capacities.

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N. B.—The completion of the history of the New York State Federation of Labor from the years 1923 to 1927 — not being completed — is omitted from this article.



## Modern Trade Unionism

AN ADDRESS BEFORE THE HARVARD UNION

By WILLIAM GREEN, *President American Federation of Labor*

In embracing this opportunity and in enjoying this rare privilege of addressing you, I am profoundly impressed with the task which I have assumed and the obligation I am called upon to discharge. This is an historic city, with a background created by those who, for years and years, have here been engaged in academic training and teaching. Harvard University, with its record of educational achievements, an instrumentality of culture, refinement and knowledge, has, with a fixed purpose to find and know the truth, made most diligent research in the field of social and political economy. Its traditional past has added luster to its glory and fame as an American institution of teaching and learning. Upon this stage with its inspiring setting and before this illustrious audience I bring my message of trade-union philosophy and trade-union creed. With a keen sense of responsibility and appreciating most fully the dignity of my task, I am inspired by the consciousness that I have been invited here by the representatives of a group of liberal-minded, sympathetic Harvard people who have created an atmosphere most favorable to a broad, comprehensive, tolerant study of present-day social and industrial problems. Having these circumstances in mind, I have chosen as my theme befitting the occasion, "Modern Trade Unionism." This is a subject most appropriate for this occasion.

In the domain of industry and industrial endeavor there are numerous factors which play a part in the plan of commodity production and distribution. Some of these are inconsequential, some important and some indispensable. The outstanding and primary factors in all industrial enterprises are capital and labor. Both are essential in industry, and each is dependent upon the other. Between them there is an interdependence so fixed and irrevocable as to make complete success attainable only through understanding and co-operation. If there might or could exist between these two prime factors a proper regard for the functional service of each, within their recognized spheres of jurisdiction, then the age-long conflict between these two forces would be terminated. This would be a most happy and desirable accomplishment, for with understanding, good-will and co-operation established between these basic, indispensable factors in industry, all other elements could be developed and utilized to the highest points of efficiency.

It is to these problems of industrial co-operation and understanding that modern trade unionism is addressing itself. We do not believe our common problems are impossible of solution, nor do we believe the obstacles to be met are insurmountable. As evidence of our faith, we refuse to accept the oft-expounded theory that the differences between capital and labor, between employer and employees, are irreconcilable. The conflicts which arise in industry and which in many instances become bitter and violent are directly traceable to a flagrant disregard or denial of the common rights of either employers or employees. Invariably it arises out of an attempt to substitute tyranny for justice, autocracy for de-

mocracy and secretiveness and dictation for frankness and mutual-ity in industrial relationships. To accept the doctrine that the establishment of right relationship between employers and employees is impossible of attainment means that justice and righteousness have been dethroned and that instead of refinement through education and the development of a keen sense of justice and intellect, we still recognize the law of the primitive, the rule of force, where only might makes right. I do not mean by this that the time will come when there will be no controversy between employers and employees over what constitutes a just and equitable division of the wealth which their joint efforts create. Such a difference of opinion manifests itself in all forms of human activity where men barter, buy and sell. Understanding and agreement upon this controversial subject can, with few exceptions, be reached through the process of collective bargaining. Particularly is this true where both sides approach consideration of the disputed question with patience, frankness and a spirit of justice and fair dealing as between man and man. It is not a disagreement over wages which causes the most bitter industrial conflicts, but it is the denial of the workers' right to organize and to bargain collectively which causes strife which, in some instances, becomes industrial warfare. Where the right of the workers to organize is conceded and collective bargaining is practised, the possibilities of strikes are minimized, but where the exercise of this right is denied and the workers are not permitted to act collectively or speak collectively, through their chosen representatives, a spirit of revolt manifests itself and the resort to strikes becomes increasingly probable.

The assurance of complete success through the medium of collective bargaining must be predicated upon a mutuality of interest in industry. A positive understanding must be reached providing for a proper regard and a just recognition of the rights of all concerned. Inasmuch as collective bargaining is based and founded upon group action, the union of the workers must be unreservedly recognized. In similar fashion, the right of employers to control, direct and manage industry and to receive a fair return upon invested capital must be willingly conceded. A spirit and purpose to follow the right and to do the right, to take no unfair advantage, to practice no trickery or deceit, neither to threaten nor coerce, should govern the representatives of employers and employees in all wage negotiations and conferences. Through such reciprocal relationship the common problems of industry can be solved, efficiency in service promoted and economies in production introduced. The practical operation of such a plan of understanding must necessarily be based upon the presumption that employers and employees are no longer inspired by hate, malice and enmity toward each other. Instead, the antagonistic and hostile attitude, so characteristic of the old order in industry, must be supplanted by a friendly relationship and a sense of obligation and responsibility. This is the newer concept of Modern Trade Unionism. In expounding this philosophy, I am conscious of the fact that there are employers of labor (so-called Captains of Industry) and workers in industry (so-called members of the proletariat) who take sharp issue with the views here expressed and the conclusions reached.

That is to be expected. It is both logical and natural.

While the employers and employees represented in these two groups are as far apart as the poles upon practically all questions peculiar to modern industry, they are united in their opposition to collective bargaining. They do not believe in it and see no virtue in it. The employers in this group are opposed to collective bargaining because they believe that ownership in industry is supreme, superseding all other rights, and that this is the only authority recognizable in industry. The discarded rule of master and servant is still a part of their creed. They refuse to recognize the relationship of employer and employee. The workers who constitute this other group are opposed to collective bargaining because they assert it means wage slavery. They do not believe in wage contracts or wage scale regulations. They preach class war and class struggle. They are opposed to the existing social order, to what they term "capitalism," and pretend to look forward to the time when capitalism will be destroyed and the rule of the proletariat will be substituted in its place. They believe that any improvement in wages and working conditions which comes to the workers through the medium of trade unionism and collective bargaining prevents the final triumph of the proletariat and the early realization of their predicted millennium. The enjoyment of high wages and humane conditions of employment by the workers is regarded by this second group as an obstacle in the way of progress, while poverty and suffering are looked upon as stepping stones to success. Obviously modern trade unionism is opposed to these two extremes and of necessity is forced to contend against the vigorous opposition which emanates from these groups. Confronted by hostile employers and the workers' revolutionary group, trade unionism is pursuing its own policy, fighting for public acceptance of its creed and philosophy.

The best answer which can be made to those who challenge the workability of collective bargaining is the fact that it has been working successfully in many industries and in many fields of employment. Co-operation, understanding and friendly relationships have been established between employers and employees through the medium of collective bargaining. The success which has come through the establishment of such industrial relationships is a complete answer to those who assert that no harmony or reconciliation is possible between capital and labor.

For the purpose of making comparisons between the experiences of early trade unionism and modern trade unionism it becomes necessary to dwell for a short time upon the origin, development and growth of the trade union idea. We all know from a study of history the progress of the working people from the stage of barbarism to that of slavery, serfdom and later individual freedom. In the early days of human history the wants of the masses were few and simple. Acquisition of food and shelter satisfied the human instinct and practically all personal needs. Each community depended upon its productive ability to supply the meager demand for the necessities of life. There was very little transportation of foodstuffs, and manufacturing was practically unknown.



MODERN TRADE UNIONISM—Cont.

Through conquest and acquisition the strong overpowered the weak and made slaves of the people. Those who were made slaves and serfs were compelled, through forced labor, to work for their masters and lords upon such terms and conditions as the owners and lords fixed for them.

In the development of civilization the use of tools grew and multiplied. Later the use of steam power revolutionized the whole industrial organization and transportation. Manufacturing enterprises were formed and undertaken in all civilized countries. With these changes in civilization came a change in the mode of living. Towns and cities were built, and this necessitated the building of highways and railroads so that foodstuffs could be brought from the agricultural sections to the cities, travel could be facilitated and manufactured products carried into the fields of commerce. All of these changes took place with surprising rapidity, practically revolutionizing the existing social and industrial order.

The human element played a very important part in the transition. The workers were brought together in groups upon the railroads, in the manufacturing plants and in the mines. They became the users of the tools, the operators of the engines and machines. Naturally, the question of wages and conditions of employment became a subject of vital interest to both employers and employees. Differences of opinion arose as to what the wage schedule should be and what constituted tolerable conditions of employment. Out of the differences which arose between employers and employees grew the organization of workers. In the beginning it was crude, simple and of little influence. These organizations we called unions, and were different from the medieval organizations which included all in the industry, called guilds, and their members were both skilled and semi-skilled artisans of master and journeymen workmen. As this form of organization increased both in numbers and influence, much opposition was encountered. This opposition became so great that they were classed as revolutionary and against the public interest. Legislation was passed making strikes illegal and the relationship between the employer and employee that of master and servant. From that day to this the struggle for human liberty and industrial freedom has been directed against the legislative restraints and limitations which have been imposed upon the activities of the workers in the formation and growth of their trade unions. The whole process has been slow and tedious. Whatever success has come in the work of organization and in the benefits and blessings which have come through organization to the men and women who toil, has all been achieved as a result of the exercise of great effort, intense suffering, much sacrificing and the expenditure of huge sums of money.

It is clear to all who have studied the history of this great social and economic development that trade unionism is not a discovery or a formula. It grew and evolved slowly out of the needs of human experience. In the beginning when unions were first formed, their primary purpose was to defend the workers against wage reductions and unfair treatment. They were regarded almost solely as defensive measures for defensive purposes only. It seemed that

the thought uppermost in the minds of the workers was the maintenance of what had been secured by them in the way of wages and working conditions. The methods employed in those days could be characterized as dominantly militant. The rule of force and might seemed to guide and influence the thoughts and actions of the workers. Concessions granted to workers by employers were usually forced through the medium of industrial warfare. There was little attention given to the thought or suggestion of conference, understanding and reasoning between employers and employees. The thought of fight to win, or force and brutality seemed to inspire both employers and employees in their industrial relationships.

From such crude and primitive beginnings trade unionism and organized labor has grown into the place which, with increasing influence, it occupies in our social and industrial life to-day. During the formative period, organized labor relied almost solely upon its economic strength, while to-day it places immeasurable value upon the convincing power of logic, facts and the righteousness of its cause. More and more organized labor is coming to believe that its best interests are promoted through concord rather than by conflict. It prefers the conference table to the strike field.

Trade unionism has kept pace with the progress which has been made in industry. It has emerged from its primitive state into a modern institution, grappling with modern problems in a modern way. It is resolutely facing the task of seeking and finding a remedy for existing industrial ills. In doing so, organized labor is not committed to any dogma or to any inflexible rule. It shapes its policies in accordance with experience and the circumstances which it is called upon to meet. While the exercise of the right to bargain collectively, to use its economic strength, when such action is justifiable, is considered to be fundamental, it follows a policy of elasticity in its executive and administrative work.

Organized labor recognizes and appreciates the value and importance of education. It believes that the workers can advance their economic and social interest through education and knowledge. The workers believe fully that the future of the trade union movement is very largely conditioned upon the effectiveness with which we link up educational opportunities with trade union undertakings. The trade unions were truly pioneers in demanding free public schools so that there might be equal educational opportunities. Along with the adoption of the free public school institution, labor is advocating a constant widening of the service rendered by the public schools. Culture should not be the heritage of any limited group. All should be enabled to make their life experiences opportunities for culture. The statement made by Lord Haldane that "Class division in knowledge goes deeper than any other class division" is profoundly significant.

In addition to advocating free public schools, organized labor has always favored compulsory school attendance laws and anti-child labor regulations. In addition, organized labor is deeply concerned in the quality and method of teaching. Holding that democratic institutions place upon all the obligation to participate intelligently in public business, the American Federation of Labor has

MODERN TRADE UNIONISM—Cont.

established a permanent committee on education for the purpose of carrying into effect labor's educational program. This committee is promoting the establishment of local co-operating committees on education by every central labor union, so that the educational needs of the children of wage earners may be systematically presented to the school authorities. The plan of work suggested to these committees contains the following recommendations: Labor representation on school boards and on boards of directors of public libraries so that the wage earners of the country may be in a position to help secure more adequate appropriations to school buildings, teachers' salaries and library upkeep and administration. These local committees are also charged with responsibility for promoting adult education for wage earners in co-operation with the Workers' Education Bureau and securing the co-operation of the local library in plans for adult education.

In the year 1919 the American Federation of Labor first began organizing for educational service. This joint undertaking of learning and labor has since been made the official agency of the American Federation of Labor for its work in the field of adult education. The bureau promotes the organization of study classes for workers, plans for the development of study guides and aids, as well as the preparation of a workers' bookshelf which contains volumes adapted to the needs of the group. Certainly we can visualize the significance of this educational development. Through education which will bring wisdom to the formulation of the institutions of the future, labor seeks deliverance from the limitations of existing conditions. This does not mean that labor will suddenly discard its militant tactics and traditions. Until employers and management are better educated, labor will be forced to maintain defensive and aggressive policies.

We believe that the only way to assure our civilization a culture instinct with life is to make the work process an agency for educating the worker. Whether that work process be making pottery, managing a steel plant, or operating a power loom, it is in the day's work that the human agent shows most clearly what manner of man he is and finds opportunity for growth. If he brings to his work an attitude of mind that is inquiring, resourceful, constructive, he increases his services many fold. When trade unions have established certain fundamental rights which assure industrial justice, and the channels through which mutual problems may be discussed and considered, there is created an opportunity for this higher kind of workmanship. If the whole industrial situation stimulates initiative, and therefore workmanship, educational possibilities are quickened. Industrial development of that character will purge our civilization of the blight of commercialism and low ideals. The trade union movement is making its contribution to that end, and can accomplish much more when management offers understanding co-operation.

The trade union movement has been passing through that period when physical controversies and the tactics of force were most effective; it is now in a period when its leaders must seek the conference room, and there, by exposition and demonstration, con-



vince conferees of the justice and wisdom of labor's position. In such service labor is finding a special need for trained representatives and effective information.

The new idea of joint responsibility in approaching the solution of industrial problems on the part of the employers, management and employees is being tried in various lines of industry. As a result of the shopmen's strike in 1922, the management and employees of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad have been working together in a constructive way and with what seems to be most successful results. A simple preamble which was incorporated in the agreement between the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad and the shopmen's union, following a settlement of the strike, reads as follows:

"The welfare of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad and its employees is dependent on the service which the railroad renders the public. Improvements in this service and economies in operating and maintenance expenses result chiefly from willing co-operation between the railroad management and the voluntary organizations of its employees. When the groups responsible for better service and greater efficiency share fairly in the benefits which follow their joint efforts, improvements in the conduct of the railroad are greatly encouraged. The parties to this agreement recognize the foregoing principles and agree to be governed by them in their relations."

Under this preamble a co-operative committee was established consisting of one man from each shop craft and a like number of supervisors, who meet once a week to consider constructive suggestions and shop betterment. Consideration of grievances is entirely divorced from the co-operative work. The unions through whose initiative the development began have retained their own engineer. The first problems taken up had to do with planning and routeing systems in order to co-ordinate work between gangs and departments. The tool situation and adequate provisions for tool rooms were also among the early problems. After adjustments were made in such matters, the co-operative committee was then ready to study stabilization of employment. During a period of less than eight months more than 3,800 suggestions out of 5,272 considered in the meetings of the co-operative committee were put into effect and are now part of the standard practice of the Baltimore & Ohio. Because this co-operative relationship has brought about practical understanding and good-will, as well as great economies in repairs on the Baltimore & Ohio, the development has been extended to the maintenance of way and operation departments. Co-operative agreements have since been signed with the Canadian National Railroad and the Chicago & Northwestern Railroad.

In these and in various other ways the organizations of labor are adjusting themselves to the marked changes which have come through education and the modernization of industry. The union of the workers is not standing still. It is consolidating the gains of the past and pressing courageously along the highway of progress. The union itself is an elemental response to the human instinct for group action in dealing with group problems. Daily work in industry is now a collective undertaking. The union expresses the work-

MODERN TRADE UNIONISM—Cont.

men's unsatisfied desire for self-betterment in all of the phases that desire may find expression. No substitute can hope to replace the union, for it has the intrinsic right to existence which comes from service rendered to fit changing stages of development. Many wage earners have had dreams of ownership of industry, but we all know that whatever the ownership, private, governmental or employee, the vital problem for us is the terms and relations we have with management. To deal with this problem, labor must always have its voluntary organizations directed and managed by itself.

Working men and women are no longer mere fixtures in industry, but instead are intelligent, understanding human beings with a concept of life which emphasizes the cultural and spiritual rather than the material. We want to make it possible for the workers to acquire and enjoy more of culture, refinement and education. Through this process they will better understand industry, their work, and thus raise the standard of efficiency and service. These announced purposes and policies possess merit and virtue, and we feel justified in soliciting your sympathetic interest, your approval and support.



# The Union Shop and Its Antithesis

*By* SAMUEL GOMPERS

The synonyms for "union" shop and "non-union" shop respectively are "democracy" and "autocracy." In the union shop the workers are free men. They have the right of organizing in trade unions and to bargain collectively with their employers through representatives of their own choosing. Employees in the non-union shop are like cogs in a machine. They have nothing to say as to the conditions under which they will work, but must accept any wages, hours and working conditions that may be fixed arbitrarily by the employer.

A non-union man who accepts employment in a union shop has the privilege of joining the union which has a voice in determining with employers the wages, hours and conditions of work. He is given time in which to make application, if he so desires.

No union man, if known, is permitted by the employer to work in a non-union shop.

Men who believe that the Chinese Exclusion law should be repealed, who believe the Literacy Test should be repealed, who believe that hordes of illiterate immigrants from Southeastern Europe should be permitted to enter the United States as freely as citizens of this country pass from state to state, are the men who object to the union shop. They believe in autocracy in industry. They hope to use these hordes to lower the standard of living of the workers of the United States. Furthermore, they will fight to the last ditch to prevent the taking away from them of the arbitrary power of dictating wages, hours and conditions of employment to the workers in their employ.

Most relentless propaganda has been used to discredit the union shop and to hold up to the public the great benefits of the non-union shop. No more malicious misrepresentation of a desirable condition in industry ever was launched. It began in the early 1900's, when a number of associations were formed to destroy the trade union movement. Lawyers were employed to travel about the country delivering addresses, all of which were confined to denunciation of labor organizations. The most venomous charges were made against them.

Judges were influenced by this propaganda to decide that the union shop was illegal. The opinions of these judges contained 'most bitter statements against the workers who had the temerity to organize. They were charged with being non-progressive obstacles to the welfare of the country, and un-American. These opinions were heralded through the newspapers as the turning point from which the trade unions would gradually disintegrate. Employers' associations, citizens' alliances and organizations of many other names composed of employers or their agents kept up a perpetual criticism of labor.

The reason was purely selfish. The antagonists of labor believed that if they could destroy the trade union movement, wages could be reduced to a low standard; that it would not be necessary for them to safeguard the health of their employees or build plants



in which the machinery was so protected that it was of less danger of injury to the workers.

When labor sought the enactment of laws providing for compulsory education, it was such men who fought them most viciously. The latter believed if the children of the workers were permitted to go to school that when they grew older they would demand better conditions of employment than their fathers. It is for the same reason they have been and are now demanding the non-union shop.

It is the principal method used to repress the workers, to brow-beat them and keep them in perpetual fear. To make Americans is none of their concern. They do not care whether their employees are loyal citizens or not as long as they can have their goods manufactured at less cost than a fair-minded employer of labor.

But this propaganda that stirred the country in the early 1900's reacted. The people learned that the men who were employed in union shops were possessed of better characters and higher principles that made them more intelligent, proficient and productive workers than those employed in the non-union shops. Besides, it made them better citizens.

Furthermore, investigations made by many employers taught them that collective bargaining with organized workmen brought greater results than the arbitrary fixing of conditions for the non-union workers. Gradually the benefits of the union shop became better known. Employer after employer changed his attitude and voluntarily agreed to the union shop. There are many thousands of employers in the United States who are conducting the union shop and would not change under any circumstances.

But after the armistice was signed, the profiteers, in order to hide their nefarious practices, launched a bitter crusade against the union shop. It has reached high tide and will soon recede, as the public, and especially the non-union workers, are beginning to realize that the only hope for relief is in organization. This has been exemplified in the past year by more than a million men joining the organized labor movement, until now (July, 1920) there are 5,500,000 organized workers in America.

The repeated crusades against the union shop have been boomerangs. They have called the attention of the non-union workers to their economic plight.

When the American Federation of Labor was organized, the big cities of the country were filled with sweat-shops. The tenement house system in New York was so abominable that the legislature, through the insistence of the American Federation of Labor, enacted a law for its abolition. It was most highly injurious to the health of the workers on sanitary, economic, moral and social grounds. Whole families lived in one room where cigars and clothing were made by women and children.

It was the trade union movement that gradually drove the sweat-shops from the tenement houses and compelled the establishment of factories in well-ventilated buildings. The sweat-shop was the non-union shops.

The sweat-shops were not abolished, however, until the workers were organized and demanded sanitary working conditions.

This required the establishment of factories. The factories were union shops. While the bread winners of families who lived in the tenement houses were at work in the factories, their dependents gained health in the improved living surroundings because of the law forbidding home work.

Those now living who in the early 80's were employed in the large plants of the country realize the great improvements made in the conditions of employment. It was not until the union shop was demanded and largely secured that these economic benefits were gained.

It is because labor is continually seeking improvements in working conditions and the standard of living that the objections are aroused of those who desire to keep the workers servile. Upon what other grounds would employers oppose the organization of the workers? What other reason could be given? They are the men who clothe themselves in the cloak of piety and raise their eyes upward in horror when they hear anyone speak of the union shop. They stand in the way of progress, as others have done since the beginning of time. They are the reactionaries who believe in involuntary servitude. They are the men who seek legislation to tie men to their jobs. The union shop is an obstacle to their dreams of autocracy in industry. Therefore they seek to make the union shop detestable in the eyes of the people, while the non-union shop is lauded as the greatest harbor for "free" men that could possibly be conceived.

But employees in a non-union shop soon find out that they are not free men. When they enter such a plant they leave all hope of economic improvement behind.

What is a union shop?

A union shop is a shop where the employees are members of trade unions or are willing to join. The workers, through representatives selected by themselves, meet the employers in the industry on a common ground. They hold meetings in their unions, in which all grievances they may have are thoroughly discussed. These include wages, hours of employment and rules covering their health, safety and comfort.

The union shop represents true democracy in industry. There are no class distinctions or autocratic rulings to disturb the best relations between the workers and their employers. The right of organizing into trade unions is conceded. Employers and employees meet as man to man. Each respects the other. The employee is a willing worker, and the employer keeps the part of the bargain he has made with the workers through their chosen representatives.

What is a non-union shop?

A non-union shop is where the workers, who are unorganized, are employed as individuals. Their wages and hours of work are determined without consultation with them and without their consent. If the worker has grievances, he is unable to present them. Fear of retaliation by the employer or his representative in this plant keeps the worker from making complaints. If he does com-

plain, he obtains no redress. Consequently, the workers work day in and day out, week in and week out, in fear of discharge. This artificial atmosphere is created for the purpose of forcing the employees to greater exertion. Pacemakers are scattered throughout the plant for the purpose of keeping this perpetual fear of losing their jobs before the non-union worker. But this fails. The unorganized workers become morose, sullen and rebellious. There is no comradeship among such employees. Consequently, they work under duress and without enthusiasm for their employment.

An autocratic power may dictate any rule that may be conceived. No protest can be made by the non-union workers, as they have only fear for each other, the fear that if they voice their disapproval of the conditions under which they work, some fellow worker would report it to a "straw boss." That would mean separation from their jobs.

Why is the union shop preferable?

Countries grow great as their people increase in confidence and loyalty. Men who are congenially employed, who can hold up their heads and say what they think, without fear of the headsmen's axe separating them from their employment, make real Americans. Only in union shops can men be found who are striving for better conditions of employment in order that they and their dependents can enjoy life and happiness. They do not enter the plants in the morning in fear and trembling that some supernumerary will meet them with stinging, unjust criticism.

It is always noticeable that "straw bosses" in non-union shops are burly men whose very looks inspire fear. There is no intimidation in the union shop. Everything is open and above board. In the union shop if a foreman or superintendent wishes something to be done by the men, they inform the latter in the language that any fair man would use to another. There is no brutality in their talk. Because of this fact, the employees go about their task in a whole-hearted, loyal manner.

"What is the 'open shop'?"

An "open shop" is a non-union shop where the fiction is kept alive that union men may work but are not permitted to do so.

An employer who refuses to employ a union man will say: "I do not discriminate against union and non-union men. I conduct an 'open shop,' that is, those who apply for work will be given employment when they are needed. This is a shop where men are free."

But when a workman applies for employment he is asked a number of questions. In many cases he has to fill out a questionnaire giving his entire history from the cradle to the present time, and one of the most important queries is: "Are you a member of any union?" If the man answers this question in the affirmative, he is not employed. He is told that his name will be placed on file and that he will be notified when there is work for him.

But he never is notified. Instead, his name is sent to other manufacturers to prevent the possibility of his being employed elsewhere. This is a method used by the non-union shop employers to place on the blacklist all members of unions.



The so-called open shop influences wages and the standard of living downward, and it is based upon the sycophancy of the most docile and servile and the most immediate needs of those in distress of the poorest situated among the workmen.

This so-called "open shop" is the disintegrating factor that leads to the non-union shop; in other words, the shop which is closed to the union man, no matter from whence he hails or what his skill and competency.

What is the "closed shop"?

The term "closed shop" was originated about 1903. It was coined by the enemies of trade unions for a purpose. That purpose was, and continues to be, to divert attention from the defensive action of union men.

The union creates certain desirable conditions. The non-unionist tries to destroy them. By not competing with one another for the employment, the unionists make their advantage. By competing, the non-unionists would leave the dictation of terms wholly to employers. And then the employers, when the union has gained something through its advantage, come forward with a demand for the "open shop" and make an appeal to the public in the name of liberty.

The term "closed shop" is a false designation of the union shop. Those who are hostile to labor cunningly employ the term "closed shop" for a union shop because of the general antipathy which is ordinarily felt toward anything being closed, and with the specious plea that the so-called "open shop" must necessarily afford the opportunity for freedom. As a matter of fact, the union shop is open to all workmen who perform their duty, and they participate in the benefits and advantages of the improved conditions which a union shop affords. The union shop also implies duties and responsibilities. This is incident to and the corollary of all human institutions.

The dishonest idea given in the term "closed shop" is that no one can secure employment there except members of trade unions.

When the unions make an agreement with the employers as to wages, hours and working conditions, it is natural to believe that the contract is between members of unions only and the employers. But men can be employed who are not members of a union. A certain period is given them to prove their competency, and then if the result is favorable their applications as members of the unions are accepted. Any wage worker can join a trade union. All are open, wide open, to all wage workers qualified at the occupation organized. They pay an entrance fee barely sufficient to equalize the payments of unions' benevolent benefits and current cost of administration. No union ever asks a non-unionist to pay for the slightest percentage of the damage he has done as a disruptionist. It is literally and positively true, without evasion or equivocation, that trade unions, and consequently union shops, are open for all wage workers whom any employer would possibly contemplate as employees who would be kept regularly and permanently in his employ.

THE UNION SHOP AND ITS ANTITHESIS—Cont.

What the trade unionists call for is the union shop. Those who speak of it as a "closed shop" are enemies of labor, who, by distorting the facts, seek to discredit the trade union movement.

The question is often asked: "Why should a non-union man who secured employment in a union plant agree to join the union after he has proved his competency? Why should he not be at liberty to work as a non-union man?"

Wages in union shops are higher than in non-union shops. The hours of work are less and the working conditions are more desirable. These are gained through the workers dealing with the employer collectively. Each member contributes a small sum to carry on the work of the union. Why should a non-unionist be permitted to enjoy the benefits gained without paying his share of the cost of securing them? It is a fundamental principle that those who are the beneficiaries of organization should share in the responsibilities and obligations involved in the achievements.





## Unions Reduce Industrial Waste

*By WILLIAM GREEN, President, American Federation of Labor*

The very deep interest which the public is beginning to manifest in consideration of industrial problems constitutes a healthy sign and will ultimately prove to be both helpful and serviceable. There is no factor in our social and industrial life more potent than public opinion consequently when the public conscience is aroused to the point where it forces consideration of such problems as the minimization of industrial controversy we, who are directly associated with industry, are heartened and encouraged to believe that a just and proper solution of our most vexing problems will be found.

The subjects listed for discussion are appropriate and well chosen. They are most comprehensive because it is possible to touch upon and deal with almost every problem peculiar to industry and yet keep within the subject under consideration. Industrial waste and industrial controversy are inseparably associated and directly connected with collateral problems such as efficiency, management and economy in production.

In considering the proposition of elimination of industrial waste one must take into account the causes which produce waste. As a physician must first diagnose the case of a patient in order to determine the cause of illness, those directly connected with industry must conduct a survey in order to determine the cause or causes of industrial waste. Waste can only be eliminated through the application of a curative remedy. It has been the generally accepted theory that the problems of efficiency and the elimination of waste in industry were solely the problems of management. That point of view is giving way to the newer concept of mutuality of interest in any and all problems relating to service and production.

Labor is interested in the successful management of industry because it reasons that with the introduction of economy processes, in the development of efficiency and increased production the cost of manufacturing and production can be reduced without lowering the standard of the workers or reducing wages. Labor firmly believes that if the cost of production of commodities must be lowered it should be accomplished through the promotion of efficiency in workmanship and management, the elimination of waste and the introduction of economy processes. This belief is contrary to the old accepted rule of reasoning which held that a lowering of the cost of production could only be brought about through a reduction in wages.

High wages can command efficiency in service. In turn, the efficiency so secured is reflected in the volume of productivity and, in many instances, in the character and quality of the manufactured article.

One of the primary causes of waste is unreasonable competition. This competition results in the installation of inferior equipment and in some instances in the criminal waste of indispensable public commodities. In addition, it leads to a shocking disregard of human life and human welfare. This human waste is the greatest and most indefensible waste which can exist. This appalling waste in human life and in human values forms the basis of a strong appeal to all classes of people for the elimination of unjustifiable cheapness in production.

UNIONS REDUCE INDUSTRIAL WASTE—Cont.

No appeal is so strong as an appeal which has for its purpose the conservation of life. To those of us who are familiar with what is going on in varied industries the force of this statement is apparent. We know how a great basic industry in our country has been and now is suffering from the effects of merciless competition. This state of affairs is mainly due to an abundant supply of an indispensable commodity which is easily accessible. Incidentally, the war caused over-expansion and over-development in this basic industry. The capacity to produce is far in excess of market requirements. This means that an unseemly scramble for the very limited market for their commodity is taking place among the producing interests. As a result chaos prevails throughout the entire industry, misery and suffering stalk through the communities where live the workers connected with this industry and many corporations, partnerships and companies are on the verge of bankruptcy. It is most significant that an increasing toll of human life has been exacted by these economic forces which reduced this basic industry to such a low level.

Another waste of serious import is that which the Nation suffers in the loss of an irreplaceable commodity upon which the success of future generations and our future civilization depends. This form of waste involves a moral question because it is morally wrong for society to permit such depredation.

Because of my official relationship to the movement of organized labor in America I feel it is expected that I will address myself specifically to that part of the topic of discussion entitled "Minimize industrial controversy." The proposition implies that industrial controversies are inevitable and while they cannot be entirely eradicated they can be minimized. The great body of organized workers in America is in thorough accord with the purpose and intent of the proposition. The workers realize that their welfare, their prosperity and their success, in a great measure, depend upon the establishment and maintenance of peace in industry. From the inception of trade unionism the workers have vigorously contended for the acceptance by the employers of labor of the principle and practicability of collective bargaining and wage contracts. In fact one of the primary purposes of organized labor in the formation of trade unions was the reduction of the possibilities of industrial controversies. The workers believed that this was necessary and vital and that it would be a functional process which would enable them to bring about that degree of co-operative relationship between employers and employees which they felt was essential.

Industrial controversies, as a rule, arise from differences of opinion existing between employers and employees. These differences of opinion may be related to most any subject peculiar to industry. Disagreements over wages, hours of employment, working rules, sanitation and various other questions cause industrial conflict. Perhaps the greatest source of industrial conflict is the refusal of employers to permit their employees to exercise the right to join labor unions. In fact the most bitter, costly and far-reaching strikes in history were due to the hostility of employers toward the organization of their employees. In the light of this experience is it not therefore reasonable to conclude that if employers of labor would accept trade

UNIONS REDUCE INDUSTRIAL WASTE—Cont.

unionism as an essential part of industry and would treat with their employees collectively, strikes inaugurated for the purpose of establishing organization would be entirely eliminated? This would remove one of the greatest causes of industrial controversy. This would be a reasonable, rational policy for enlightened employers to pursue. In some form or another efforts have been made to destroy organization among the workers or to prevent them from organizing into trade unions. This policy has been pursued for many years. Even now some employers spend large sums of money in employing spies and so-called guards in their efforts to prevent their employees from organizing. Relentless warfare, conducted for the purpose of exterminating the organization, has been waged by employers through the application of the blacklist, the boycott, and through the discharge of workers who are active in the work of organization. In view of the fact that all of these destructive measures have failed and labor organizations instead of being destroyed have grown both in numbers and influence why should employers continue this mode of industrial warfare? Inasmuch as labor organizations cannot be destroyed or prevented why not recognize their value and merit and accept from them the benefits they can give through their organized effort? Many forward-looking, progressive employers have caught this spirit and have accepted trade unionism as an institution. This is indicated by a most recent utterance by Sir Henry Thornton, chairman and president of the Canadian National Railways, the largest single system in the world. He declared in a public address recently that "trade unions are not the enemy of capital. Trade unions are here. They cannot be gotten rid of. It is much better to work with them than to fight with them."

The organization of the workers constitutes a stabilizing force in industry. It is the means and method by which a proper equilibrium is established and maintained. Through collective bargaining processes it brings about uniform wage rates so that the competitive relationship of employers in industry is maintained upon a sound and stable basis. In operation it bears out the theory of the worker that the machinery of organization can be utilized in every practical way for the promotion of peace and peaceful relationship between employers and employees. Through these well-established channels of approach and personal contact amicable and harmonious relationships between employers and employees can be established and maintained so that industrial differences, disagreements and conflicting opinions can be settled and adjusted in a peaceful and satisfactory way. Obviously, this results in a reduction of the possibilities of industrial conflict and minimizes industrial controversy.

There is no power which can be invoked which will prevent the workers from organizing into trade unions. They will unite for mutual protection and in the interests of their common welfare. Opposition to organization only inspires them to greater effort. They have a right to organize into trade unions and will insist upon the exercise of that right. Through their organizations they have accomplished much good and have achieved great success. The expenditure of large sums of money on the part of employers in trying to prevent the workers from organizing is a waste of money, time and effort. This waste is made up of the expenditure of money, loss of



operation, good-will and co-operation. Evaluation of such waste can not be adequately computed. All of this could be entirely eliminated and industrial controversies would be greatly reduced if employers of labor who are hostile to the trade unions would cease their destructive tactics and would permit the workers to join labor organizations when they desired to do so.

If trade unionism were un-American, unpatriotic or antagonistic to the American form of government or to American institutions then employers of labor might be justified in vigorously opposing the very existence of such an organization. But, they do not have even this excuse for American labor and American labor organizations are loyal to America, to its traditions and to the American principles of government. The labor organizations of our country recognize the existing order and have steadfastly refused to embrace any imported philosophy no matter how it may be disguised or how seductive and alluring it may appear. Labor is rational, sound, constructive, and practical. Because of the opposition which has come to labor at every turn of the road it has been forced to assume a militant attitude. It has been compelled to fight for the enjoyment of freedom, liberty and justice. It has fought for its existence.

Labor does not want to waste its energies and its resources by engaging in industrial conflicts. It prefers industrial peace and the settlement of industrial disputes through peaceful methods. Labor understands fully the cost of industrial strife and the sacrifice it must make when forced to strike. It is determined, however, to assert its right to organize and to bargain collectively, regardless of cost or sacrifice.

I am confident that we can minimize industrial controversy through a proper regard and recognition of the rights of both employers and employees. The right of the employer to manage his industry, to control it and to receive a fair profit upon his investment should be maintained and recognized. The right of the employees to organize, to bargain collectively, to be represented in conference with employers, through their chosen representatives, is a right which should be readily accorded and completely recognized. A religious observance of these rights will do more to minimize industrial controversy than the application of any rule or formula.

Supplementing the recognition of these simple rights must come understanding, co-operation and the manifestation of a mutuality of interest in the management and conduct of industry. Good faith and good will must be firmly established. Perfect candor must characterize the attitude and relationship of both employers and employees.

Labor organizations have succeeded in many lines of industry in establishing such business relationships between employers and employees and thus reducing the cause of industrial controversies. Organized labor is deeply interested in the proposal to eliminate industrial waste and has succeeded in bringing this about in a very large measure where it has had a proper opportunity to function. It seeks for the opportunity to do more effective work. It can, if given this opportunity, provide the machinery through which industrial controversies may be lessened and substantial help can be given in the task of eliminating waste and inefficiency.

By WILLIAM GREEN, *President, American Federation of Labor*

(Reprinted from the North American Review)

Temperamentally, there are two kinds of people in the world. One says: "Progress can be made. How can we contribute to that end?" The other: "We shall do well indeed if we are able to maintain present achievements without incurring the hazards involved in making changes." The first group has aided constructive change, and the other group has consistently opposed it, regardless as to whether the proposal dealt with education, politics or human welfare. Labor proposals have uniformly been opposed by the second group.

The two early demands of organized labor were the shorter work day and free public schools. In Colonial days education was a home responsibility, just as training in a handicraft. Children got their first educational training in the home and in private schools. As public schools developed, children were required to attend, their tuition being paid by their parents, their masters or the community. This put the children of the poor on a different footing from the children of the rich. Wage earners organized in unions were among the first to urge our free public school system. Their efforts, together with the extension of suffrage, were potential in securing the necessary legislation.

Professor Frank Carlton has classified the arguments up to 1820 for free tax-supported schools as follows:

(1) Education is necessary for the preservation of free institutions. (2) It prevents class differentiation. (3) Education tends to diminish crime. (4) It reduces the amount of poverty and distress. (5) It increases production. (6) Education is the natural right of all individuals. (7) Education will rectify false ideals as to unjust distribution of wealth.

As against educational advance, Professor Carlton summarizes the following:

(1) Free education for all increases taxation unduly. (2) Taxation for the purpose of maintaining free public schools is a violation of the rights of the individual. (3) A public school system of schools was opposed by certain religious elements because of possible injury to particular religious sects. (4) Certain non-English speaking people opposed the public school because they feared that their own tongue would be supplanted by the English language. (5) Impractical legislation caused much opposition. (6) It was urged that education would not benefit the masses. (7) Injury to the private school was alleged. (8) Public education tends to break down social barriers.

As the movement progressed the arguments charged that free public education was a violation of the rights of the individual and an infringement upon his liberty. The following argument represented the point of view of those who believed free education revolutionary:

Among the strange notions which have been broached since I have been on the political theatre, there is one which has lately



seized the minds of men, that all things must be done for them by the government, and that they are to do nothing for themselves. \* \* \* Look at that ragged fellow staggering from the whiskey shop, and see the slattern who has gone to reclaim him; where are their children? Running about ragged, idle, ignorant, fit candidates for the penitentiary. Why is all this so? Ask the man. He will tell you: "Oh, the government has undertaken to educate our children for us. It has given us a premium for idleness, and now I spend in liquor that which I should otherwise be obliged to save, to pay for their schooling."

Modern versions of these arguments have been raised against every proposal to widen educational opportunities.

Early in the nineteenth century the work day was from sunrise to sunset. The first shorter hour movement set ten hours as the maximum. To the journeymen carpenters of Boston, who made this demand in 1825, the master carpenters replied:

"We learn with surprise and regret that a large number of those who are employed as journeymen in this city have entered into a combination for the purpose of altering the time of commencing and terminating their daily labor, from that which has been customary from time immemorial." They considered such a combination "fraught with numerous and pernicious evils," especially to the journeymen themselves, as they might expect soon to become masters and were entailing upon themselves "inconveniences" when they should have attained that situation. They furthermore considered that the measure proposed would have an "unhappy influence" on apprentices "by seducing them from that course of industry and economy of time" to which they were anxious to "enure them" and would expose the journeymen themselves "to many temptations and improvident practices" from which they were "happily secure" when working from sunrise to sunset. \* \* \* Finally, they declared that they could not believe "this project to have originated with any of the faithful and industrial Sons of New England, but are compelled to consider it an evil of foreign growth, and one which we hope and trust will not take root in the favored soil of Massachusetts." "And especially," they added, "that our city, the early rising and industry of whose inhabitants are universally proverbial, may not be infected with the unnatural production."

These arguments were supplemented by contentions that the prices and estimates upon which contracts were based made the proposal impossible at that time. It was not until 1840 that the ten-hour day became general in mechanical trades.

The arguments against manhood suffrage were akin to those against universal education. The following is typical:

Our citizens who have not yet voted have one day more in which they may exercise the privilege of determining whom they will have for their rulers. The old party lines are nearly obliterated, but there has sprung up a new interest which his formidable both for the number of its adherents and the disorganizing purposes by which they are actuated. By throwing open the polls to

every man that walks, we have placed the power in the hands of those who have neither property, talents nor influence in other circumstances; and who require in their public officers no higher qualifications than they possess themselves. \* \* \* We cannot believe that we are so soon reduced to the condition of the Romans, when the popular voice was raised against every honorable distinction; a voice which finally prevailed, to the utter extinction of the Republic.

The first adoption of the eight-hour day was, according to John R. Commons, in the Navy Yard in Charleston, Mass., in 1842, by the carpenters and ship caulkers. A national movement for the eight-hour work day came after the Civil War and as a result of the tireless zeal of Ira Stewart of Boston. Stewart taught that wages do not depend upon the amount of capital or the supply of labor, but upon the habits, customs and wants of the wage earners. He held that inventions and machinery increased production, and that out of increased production wage earners might raise their standard of living. He taught that a reduction in hours was an increase in wages.

The American Federation of Labor in 1884 adopted a program of sustained endeavor to establish eight hours as the standard work day. With the establishment of the shorter work day came proposals for the shorter work week. No more dynamic changes can come into the lives of the great majority of our citizenry than free educational opportunities for all and a work week that permits labor to be more than drudgery. Because of these opportunities for larger living, wage earners can make larger contributions to industry and community life and also make larger demands upon civilization.

The opposition to the shorter work week placed its main dependence in economic arguments. Output and production increasingly became the points of contention.

The United States Steel Corporation held out the longest of all important production concerns. It contended that it could not adjust production to a three-shift system or afford the additional costs involved. Yet it has overcome the technical difficulties in going upon the eight-hour basis, and the eight-hour shift has not interfered with increases in net earnings. For the first three quarter periods of 1926, ending in September, net earnings were \$52,626,826, which is greater than the net earnings for any previous period except the war years of 1916 and 1917. The Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, which unexpectedly went on three shifts, found to its surprise that the system was a financial saving to the company as well as a satisfaction to its employees. The executives of the United States Steel Corporation still seem to have drawn no practical deductions from their struggle of two decades against a shorter work day. Judge Gary recently declared: "I know I can't do as much work in five days as I can in six, and I don't think anyone else can." Surely wage earners have a right to demand a more discriminating consideration for their proposals.

The National Association of Manufacturers, a group of employers organized among other purposes for militant opposition to

unions, was in convention simultaneously with the American Federation of Labor. It then and there voiced opposition to the five day week. It has since issued a pocket manual against this proposal. It submits the following objections:

1. It would greatly increase the cost of living.
2. It would increase wages generally by more than 15 per cent and decrease production.
3. It would be impractical for all industries.
4. It would create a craving for additional luxuries to occupy the additional time.
5. It would mean a trend toward the arena. Rome did that, and Rome died.
6. It would be against the best interests of the men who want to work and advance.
7. It would be all right to meet a sales emergency, but would not work out as a permanent thing.
8. It would make us more vulnerable to the economic onslaughts of Europe, now working as hard as she can to overcome our lead.

These arguments are amazingly like those which were offered a century ago by employers against the ten-hour day. Yet the innovations of the nineteenth century did not block the remarkable technical advance that has put us in the vanguard of industrial progress. On the contrary, they encouraged mechanical invention by placing the burden of production on the machine rather than the man, and made possible an American standard of living and a higher type of American citizenry. This stimulus was integrated in the dynamic force that carried things forward.

These arguments are all based upon the unwarranted assumption that the shorter work week entails reduced production. Quite the contrary is labor's purpose. We realize that permanent progress must rest upon increased output — increased things at the service of human beings. We maintain, however, that we can devise still more efficient methods: Layout, machinery and mechanical power have been geared to a pace based upon human labor power for an eight-hour day. If performance must mesh into a higher gear, the work period must obviously be shortened. Reasoning from past experience, the output will be increased. Individual wages should increase with productivity, but this does not necessarily result in higher production costs per unit. Efficient management will prevent that result.

Labor does not suggest an immediate change to the five-day week in all industries. The remaining arguments submitted by the National Association of Manufacturers are of an oratorical nature, which fail so completely to state any principle with precision that they do not justify serious reply. We all know that the luxuries of one generation are the necessities of the next, and we know also that men who want to work and advance will get further if they assume that progress can be made and do their part in the necessary experimentation to find the means. The familiar straw



man, the European competitor, comes at an inauspicious time now that Europe is spending commissions here to study our mechanical progress and to find the "secret of high wages." Methods that have led to progress in the past should not be denied another trial.

The American Federation of Labor resolved to work for the shorter work week, fully conscious that all industries are not equally prepared to introduce the forty-hour week. Because we believe that the shorter work week is industrially practicable and expedient and socially wise, organized labor offers its co-operation in developing technical changes and conditions under which the shorter work week can go into effect and usher in a period in which the workers shall find new and greater opportunities for growth and service, both as workers and as citizens. The joint efforts of management and those who use the tools and machinery to carry out work orders, will put all past experience to work to find the way to the next big change.

There are industries that should now consider plans for the five-day week. These are mining, construction, automobiles, garment making and textiles.

A part of this higher gearing of industry to maintain output can be expected to grow out of the five-day week as its natural effect upon the human part of the industrial mechanism. Experience has proved that the effect of shortening hours is to increase output per hour, and this has not only been demonstrated once or twice, but has been the general experience. Allowing a period of one or two months for adjustment, reductions from a twelve-hour to an eight-hour shift, and from a ten-hour to an eight-hour shift, in a shell manufacturing operation and glass manufacturing, respectively, have given a 19½ per cent and a 10 per cent increase in hours of production, and in the Minnegua steel plant of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company the change from the twelve-hour to the eight-hour day has resulted in a greater hourly production in every department, according to Mr. Weldon, president of the company. Even where the operation is machine controlled, shorter hours have produced a greater hourly output. Studies of women turning fuse bodies in a munition plant show the following results: When working 66 hours a week they turned out 100 units of production an hour; when working 54 hours, 134 units; and when reduced to 45 hours per week, 158 units. When the hours are reduced below eight a day, the increase continues. In the tinplate industry in South Wales reductions from eight to six hours a day brought increases of 4.7 per cent, 8.5 per cent and 10.6 per cent in hourly production in three factories investigated. In another factory where hours were reduced from eight to four the increase was 11.5 per cent. Over a period of time the effect of shorter hours is cumulative, the greater physical capacity of the men being reflected in continually rising production curves over a period of several months and sometimes a year or more following the reduction in hours.

All this goes to show that the element of fatigue is an important factor in industrial waste and that the maximum efficiency of

the human machine can be had only when rest periods allow ample time for recuperation. The time needed for complete recuperation must be greater where specialization and mechanical devices reduce the workman's part to the constant repetition of a few motions at a high rate of speed. Here monotony and nervous tension produce a greater strain than in work involving greater variety. Certain scientific investigations in England have placed the work time which under existing conditions give the maximum efficiency of the human machine at forty hours a week.

Another means of maintaining output under a shortened work week schedule is that of stabilizing the industry to prevent seasonal rush and slack periods. Many of our industries are now operating only two-thirds or three-fourths of the working year, owing to seasonal fluctuations and other controllable elements. By eliminating as far as possible seasonal ups and downs, the operation period can be regularized and a larger total yearly output be produced. In the boot and shoe industry, an industry much affected by changes in style and seasonal fluctuations, certain firms have made an intensive study of sales and markets, and through special efforts came 20 per cent nearer to running full time. This was done by interweaving the manufacture of staples and novelties so as to make up stocks in staples during slack periods, by working up advance information on sales, and by co-operation between different manufacturing plants and allied trades. In the building industry seasonal depression has been overcome through winter building programs, which have equalized constructions through the year and resulted in larger yearly output and saving in overhead expenses due to idle equipment.

W. J. Lynch, vice-president of the Thompson Starrett Company of Chicago, made a careful survey of the unit costs of concrete work, form work and brick work on five large jobs, which clearly showed that the average unit costs of winter operations are as favorable, if not more so, than summer work. He asserted that winter construction is not only practical, but desirable, with direct benefit to owner, builder and labor and to the community at large.

Similar experiments have been found successful in other industries, notably in the garment industry, where the five-day week is now in effect in larger markets, and in the repair shops of some railroads where a system of union management co-operation has been in effect. These results are suggestive of what may be accomplished by scientific handling of fluctuation problems and of the possibility of spreading output over a longer period, with consequent savings and increases, of using our present industrial equipment to more nearly its full capacity and taking care of unemployment by week and holidays throughout the year, rather than by resorting to seasonal lay-offs.

One of the phases of the shorter work week planning which must be treated most seriously is that of costs involved. However, we know that increasing the costs of any one element entering into production does not need to increase the production cost per unit.



production involves dynamic forces. If any one operates under changed conditions, change may be expected in the performance of other factors.

In considering the costs of the shorter work period as compared with costs under former conditions, we are handicapped by the inadequacy of the records kept by industry. The National Industrial Conference Board has issued a few research reports based on questionnaires without checking up to find out whether deductions were based upon similar or comparable bases. The importance of such checking up is evident when we consider under what diverse conditions the shorter work day has been introduced in different industries. In some instances there was no adjustment of wage rates; in others, particularly in a time of increases in wages, rates were increased; sometimes management planned to make the shorter work day more efficient; sometimes management failed to assume this responsibility; sometimes management asked the co-operation of labor; sometimes not. All of these factors affect labor costs under the shorter work period. This explains also the diverse opinions on output and costs resulting from shorter work period proposals.

However, it is plain that from the standpoint of national and social progress, the shorter work period is a desirable goal. It is also plain that planning, invention and persistence can find increasingly better ways of doing the same job. This makes it practical to set a definite goal such as the American Federation of Labor adopted at its Detroit convention, and then mobilize all the agencies that can contribute to the realization of this ideal.

The organized labor movement is the standard making agency for all labor in America. It is the only agency that can speak for those that work for wages, and it is the custodian of industrial experience and craft skill, as well as the welfare of those who use the tools and handle the materials of production.

Labor power is an indispensable factor in production. However powerful and efficient machinery becomes, there is always need for human control and human judgment in its use. Labor knows that if the area it controls is widened by power and machinery, it needs more vitality and resourcefulness of mind and body in order to keep pace with progress and remain master of the production process instead of being controlled by it.

For these reasons Labor through its trade unions offers its co-operation in working out the production problems necessary to continued progress. With labor's co-operation, management can make quicker and greater progress than without. Labor cannot enter into such agreements except through its own agencies which it controls.

The offer of trade unions awaits the decision of industries.



## Things Every Worker Should Know in Case of Accident

By JAMES A. HAMILTON, *Industrial Commissioner*

STATE OF NEW YORK — DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

The law requires every employer:—

1. To carry Workmen's Compensation Insurance so that you may be properly taken care of in case of accident.
2. To post a notice that he carries insurance and the name of the company. Look for this notice.

### THE DO'S:

1. Tell your employer or foreman at once of your accident no matter how slight it is. Tell him where and how you were injured. If this notice is not given to your employer within 30 days after the accident, you may lose your right to compensation.
2. Ask him for a doctor. He must provide medical care for you free of charge. If he does not provide a doctor, you may get your own and the money will be repaid to you.
3. Make out a claim for compensation and send to the nearest office of the Department of Labor [see last page] as soon as possible. If this is not done within a year you may lose your right to compensation.
4. If your employer cannot give you a form on which to make this claim for compensation write to the Department of Labor for one.
5. Attend the hearings on your case when you are notified to appear.
6. Go back to work as soon as you are able.

If you do all these things you will receive your compensation promptly.

### YOUR RIGHTS:

1. You are entitled to medical treatment as long as you need it.
2. You are entitled to compensation if your accident keeps you away from work more than a week.
3. Hearings on your claim will be held by the Department of Labor. At these hearings you have a chance to tell your story and the Department of Labor protects your interests so that you do not need to hire anyone to do it for you.

**BEWARE** of anyone who asks you to hire him and who claims he can get you more compensation if you pay him.

\* \* \* \* \*

Compensation is never as high as your wage. The law limits it to two-thirds of your weekly wage—never to be less than \$8 a week nor more than \$25.

In addition, accidents mean pain and worry.

\* \* \* \* \*

Accident prevention is better than compensation.

\* \* \* \* \*

PRACTICE SAFETY

BE CAREFUL

# Deep Appreciation

—and sincere, hearty good wishes prompt us to dedicate this page — a public acknowledgment — to those firms and individuals who deeply interested and always loyal to the cause of union organized labor — lent generous financial assistance to the publishing of this “Labor History” — yet for purely personal reasons refrained from permitting their names to become known.

Our Committee voices not only our expression—but that of the various union labor organizations — in appreciation of the help received from this source.

THE COMMITTEE.

## Labor — What It Stands for

---

The labor movement commenced with those who by the crudest form of association agreed to mitigate each others woes and to resist the common oppression. It has from the most remote antiquity, from the days of the "iron worker" in the Temple of King Solomon, developed along the line of increasing aspirations.

From its dawn it has been semi-religious, semi-political, and industrial, holding to those principles that were protection to the interests of many.

The organization of laborers in trades unions recognizes the fact that mutualism is preferable to individualism; that the golden rule, "Do unto others as you would that others should do unto you", means a greater return to happiness to each through the co-operation of all.

Economically considered, the labor movement is the operation of the law of God through the ages. "The earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof," and God gave command over all things of the earth to man — not to a man or a class of men — but to all men.

The philosophy of the labor movement teaches us that the will of a common fatherhood and brotherhood that Christ proclaimed is God's law; that the wisest of self-interest is not in self-aggrandizement or self-abasement, but in mutual advancement; and that the movement that seeks more leisure and more wages will continue until methods and interests shall unite in maintaining, sustaining and enlarging human happiness.

Today modern society is beginning to regard Trade Unions as the only hope of civilization — to regard the Trade Unions as the only power capable of evolving order out of the social chaos. For

"Labor is discovered to be the grand conqueror — enriching and building up nations more surely than the proudest battles."

Wm. Ellery Channing (War).

Men are born possessed with the inalienable right not only of life and liberty, but to the pursuit of happiness, and the labor movement is the outward expression of the instinctive appreciation of these rights. In savage life, the organization of the tribe, and in so-called civilized life, the organization of the nation, and the higher inner organizations — religious, fraternal and economic — are the growth from the root of human hunger for the attainment of the higher happiness.

The organized working men and women — the producers of the wealth of the world and likewise a great body of consumers — the property of a nation — the success of a people — the civilizing of our era can always be measured by the comparative consuming power of a people.

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# History of CENTRAL TRADES AND LABOR COUNCIL

ROCHESTER, N. Y.

The "birth year" of the formation of the various union labor trade organizations in Rochester — which later became merged into our local parent body, now known as the Central Trades and Labor Council — cannot be given, by reason of a lack of records.

The year 1888 — to be accurate, September 29 — witnessed the formation of a "parent body," composed of union labor trade organizations, resulting in the foundation later of the parent Central Trades and Labor Council.

Delegates from a few local unions met at that time and organized the Rochester Trades Assembly. By hard work they succeeded in course of time in bringing together all the larger and prosperous local unions. The time required to do this was four years or more.

It was then determined that for the protection of the union, two bodies be formed, one embracing all connected with the Building Trades and kindred interests, to be known as the "Building Trades Council"; the other, the "Rochester Trades Assembly," to include all other unions.

In order that both bodies should work harmoniously together, it was decided that a stated number of delegates from one body should attend the meetings of the other body.

Thus in the forming of the Rochester Trades Assembly was created what is now known as the "Central Trades and Labor Council of Rochester."

Prior to the year 1888 — just how long cannot be stated, as there are but few records — a Central Labor Union was formed — patterned after General Bodies in other cities. Matters other than Trade Unionism having crept into the Central body, that organization became disrupted and disorganized, and passed out of existence.

The different local trade unions from then until the organization of the "Rochester Trades Assembly" and "Building Trades Council" were left to shift for themselves without any local head or Central Body. All protection was secured through the respective National Unions.

In the first "directory" published in Rochester (1826) — a century ago, by Elisha Ely and printed by Everard Peck — is recorded the names of "three hundred and four carpenters," showing that knights of the "saw and square" were strong in numbers, considering that the records show the names of 1,123 householders — only males being mentioned, women folk being utterly ignored.

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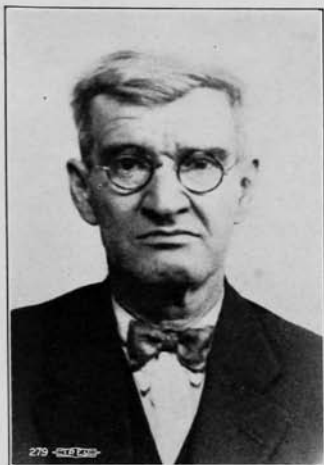
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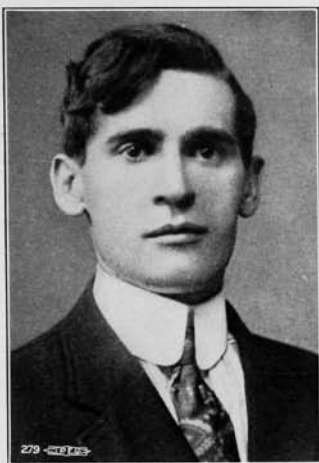
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Sergeant-at-Arms



**FRANK J. HARTNETT**  
Trustee

HISTORY OF CENTRAL TRADES AND LABOR COUNCIL—Cont.

of the pioneers in Rochester — about 1812 to the present — labor has played a highly important part in the progress, growth and development of this city.

Historical records of Rochester occasionally give an inkling of the march of labor throughout the past, showing that many years prior to the formation of a Central Trade head, or local governing body, as the term is best understood—various labor organizations operated in Rochester under direct protection of their respective National Unions.

Labor unions were in evidence in Rochester long before the formation of that most powerful labor organization in the world, the New York State Federation of Labor — (excepting the American Federation of Labor, which was born early in 1864), as is evidenced by the early history of the printers' union — a terse account of which is herewith given, and may be truly termed as among the first of the union organized bodies, following shortly after the organization of the American Federation of Labor in 1850. As early as 1853 Rochester Typographical Union No. 15 was organized and re-chartered by the International Typographical Union, February 14, 1883. The following is a list of the charter members of the union: George A. Barnum, Peter J. Sutton, Albert S. Root, Lucas O. Phinny, William J. Winfield, W. C. Robinson and Louis Barr.

Nearly all the printing offices in Rochester were union up to the time of the big printers' strike in 1887, when the printers were disorganized. Many of the men who lost their places were obliged to leave the city, and the local union was reduced to a small membership. The organization, however, again developed strength and despite the controversy between the local and the Typothetae within recent years, the organization is in a flourishing condition.

Nearly 68 years ago the Iron moulders in Rochester applied for a charter to the International body, and Local Union No. 12 was organized, July 1859. No data of the first officers of this local are obtainable.

However, past records are more complete of the organization of Iron Moulders' Local No. 11, the date being March, 1891, with the following officers:

Peter Sommerville, President; Joseph Richter, Vice-President; Nathan Lindsay, Recording Secretary; Bernard J. Kingsley, Financial Secretary; Richard H. Curran, Corresponding Representative; Joseph Ebersoine, Treasurer. This local was installed by Corresponding Representative No. 12 — Charles E. Van Deuser.

The years from 1885 to 1889 witnessed much labor unrest and strikes. The big strike of the foundrymen in several of Rochester's leading foundries was begun in the latter part of April, 1885, and continued until August of the same year, being finally settled by arbitration.

The masons caused a general tie up in building circles in 1886 owing to their hostility to nine hours for a day's work. This strike continued for a month.



HISTORY OF CENTRAL TRADES AND LABOR COUNCIL—Cont.

Early in 1887 the laborers quit work for some time. Then followed the stone cutters' strike in 1887. Twenty thousand dependents for their support of this branch of the industrial workers suffered considerable till the strike ended.

April 3, 1889, street car drivers went on a strike, which was declared off June 1,

This little difficulty with the old-time horse-drawn car drivers was probably instrumental in hastening the transfer of the horse-drawn cars, for in November of that year the change to electricity was begun.

Until August 5, 1902, motormen and conductors employed by the Rochester Street Railway Company were unorganized. At that time Division 282, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America (affiliated with the American Federation of Labor) was formed in Rochester, having received a charter from the international body.

The original charter members are as follows: George Keenan, Charles A. Bates, R. J. Kennedy, William Whalen, William Ebner, J. N. Nichols, William Hagreen, C. Wallman, E. W. Burns and Peter H. Arthur.

The Rochester Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union was organized August 24, 1900, and the first officers were: President, James D. McNaught; Vice-President, William J. Spafford; Secretary-Treasurer, Henry C. Hauck; Recording Secretary, Charles E. Bahringer; Sergeant-at-Arms, Fred T. O'Grady. Trustees were Charles H. Snell, Thomas McNaught and H. J. Webber.

Electrical workers in Rochester were unionized as early as 1892, for Local Union No. 44 was organized October 26 of that year. The organization was composed of "linemen" and "inside workers," but the latter withdrew and a new local — the present one — was formed. Electrical Workers' Local Union No. 86 was organized November 15, 1899, under a charter granted by the National Brotherhood of Electrical Workers of America.

The signatures to the charter are those of "Tom" Green, President; Harry W. Sherman, Secretary. The latter held the office of Grand President of the National Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

Electrical Workers' Local No. 86 was organized in the Beehive Building, located in Aqueduct Street, where the organization remained for about six months, removing to the Baker Block, which at that time occupied a site on which is now the Duffy-Powers building; and in 1901 occupied a meeting place with the Structural Iron Workers in Palmer's Hall, now the northeast corner of Broad and Exchange Streets.

Later the organization met in A. O. Hibernian Hall in West Main Street, and Musicians' Hall, and now occupies permanent quarters in Carpenters' Hall.

The first president of the new local (No. 86) was J. Frank Farristal. Frank Gorkhe was the first Secretary, with 27 charter members, as follows: W. Z. Dalgety, A. G. Richmond, B. W. Pitt,

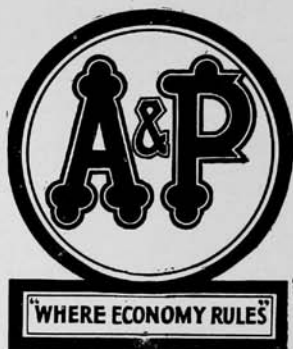
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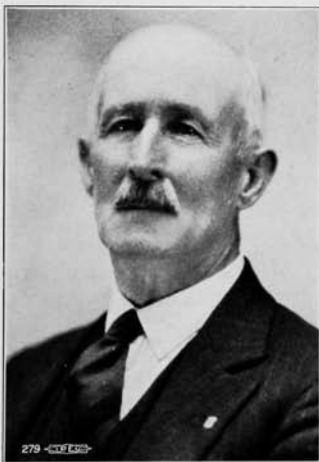
**LEO MESSMER**  
Chairman of Safety Committee



**JOHN HEIDEN**  
Chairman of Compensation Committee



**GEORGE SCOTT**  
Chairman of Organizing Committee



**U. S. MILLER**  
Chairman of Board of Control

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### **Augustus Nulle**

Managing Director, The Waldorf Astoria,  
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**ROY P. BRAINARD,**

**Managing Director.**

A. Blackman, William R. Cook, Charles S. Grannnig, H. C. Fowler, H. M. Wishart, Harry Pearce, R. P. Wetherell, H. J. Keenan, Gustave Weber, L. J. Ferner, J. Frank Farristal, C. G. Wichery, F. B. Flynn, A. L. Denniston, H. G. Boehme, George J. Pett, A. M. Ferguson, J. L. Guerinot, Harvey N. Smith, C. E. Crops, I. L. Brown and E. Major.

In 1892, October 26, seven years prior to the formation of Local 86, Local Union No. 44 was organized. Early records, however, fail to show other than the mere date of formation.

There are four locals of the United Garment Workers of America in Rochester, organized as follows: Cutters, Local 54, organized October 24, 1919; Stock Cutters, Spongers and Ticket Girls, No. 119, organized December 6, 1919; Tailors, Local No. 142, organized August 7, 1919, and Tailors, Local No. 209, organized January 17, 192

The first officers of the locals as above are: President, Gerard Karowitz, and E. C. Devins, Secretary (No. 54). President, John Garley, and Arthur Quinn, Secretary (No. 119). President, Maurice Shulman, and Mary Smith, Secretary (No. 142). President, Frank Klemintz, and George McKissock, Secretary (No. 209).

Brewery Workers' Local Union No. 79 was granted a charter March, 1898. The first Secretary was Conrad Ifflaud.

Beer Drivers, No. 155, was organized April, 1898. The first Secretary was John Schuler.

Brewery Engineers and Firemen, No. 155, were organized April, 1898. The first Secretary was A. Dangler. The organization gave up its charter June, 1904.

The Brewery Workers and Beer Drivers held their charters till March 4, 1920, when the two local unions were amalgamated and received their charter under the title of No. 57.

Bartenders' Local No. 171 was organized March 4, 1899. The first President was James Mykins. Emanuel Koveleski was appointed General Organizer November 1, 1906. He resigned August 31, 1910, to accept the office of Secretary and Business Agent of the local, to which he was elected September 1, 1910. He still holds the same office.

Waiters' Local No. 763 was organized January 18, 1904. Its first President was Frank Stevens who held office for one month. The local then elected Robert Trynoski as its President. The present Secretary and Business Agent is Robert E. Haffey.

Waitresses' Local No. 357 was organized May 1, 1917. The first President was Mrs. C. W. Cook; Secretary and Business Agent, Miss Jane Hamor. The Treasurer was Miss Grace Flannery. The present Secretary is Mrs. Grace Berns.

Rochester Association of Pattern Makers' League of North America was organized 1899. L. R. Thomas was the first President of the league. To Charles Prosser the league stands indebted for valuable aid in organizing this local union.

The association first met in the Durand Building, West Main



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2429

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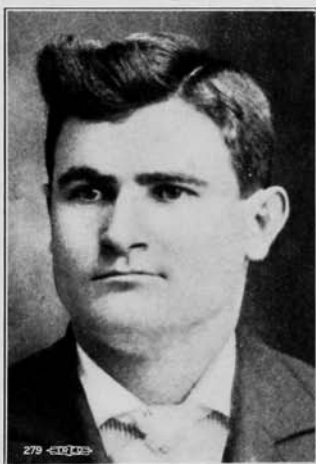
**EMANUEL KOVELESKI**  
Chairman of Legislative Committee



**GEORGE McNAUGHTON**  
Chairman of Banking Committee



**G. CASE**  
Chairman of Congressional Committee

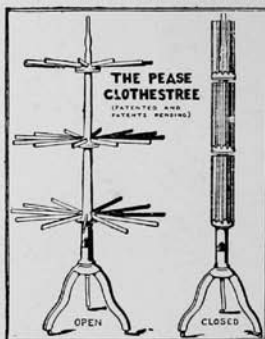


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Street, with George Galbraith as Chairman; George W. Knope, Financial Secretary; and Charles G. Prosser, Recording Secretary. The charter members were: George S. Benedict, F. J. Branzner, A. B. Clunis, Eugene Easterly, John W. Knope, John W. Kennedy, Gustave Kellerson, Charles Prosser, Elward C. Seiser, E. F. Timmerman, H. B. Welch, Charles T. Wallace and Henry C. Walter.

The six carpenters' local unions in Rochester were established according to records as follows: Carpenter Local No. 72, was organized August 14, 1884. This is the largest and leading local in the city. There were eight charter members: Michael J. O'Brien, John B. Wegman, Adam C. Herald, W. Walker, John F. Meehan, David Bettinger, Jacob Bubsor and John S. Weed. The first two members are at present the sole survivors. The other carpenter locals were organized as follows: No. 179, March 10, 1888; No. 231, April 25, 1898, known as the Millmen's Local; No. 240 (East Rochester, N. Y., July 6, 1914; No. 1279, Floor Layers' Local, January 8, 1917, and Local No. 216, November 28, 1925.

National Federation of Postoffice Clerks Local Union No. 215 was chartered November 1, 1917. The first officers were: President, J. J. Sullivan; Secretary, John C. Heister; and Treasurer, S. R. Fullam.

Steam and Operating Engineers' Local No. 71 was organized June 30, 1901. The organizer was W. P. Singer. There were 52 charter members. The first meeting was held on a Sunday afternoon in Foresters' Hall, Clinton Avenue North, which then stood on a site now occupied by the New York Central station. The following were the first officers: President, Ed Crane; Vice-President, A. E. Bain; Financial Secretary, B. F. Cromwell; Recording Secretary, C. S. Holmes; Treasurer, William Burke; Trustees, P. Murray and S. Anderson.

Hoisting and Portable Engineers' Local was installed January, 1921, as a result of the revocation of charter of Local No. 729, which had been formed of members of Local No. 483, which was installed in October, 1911. Local No. 832 is in a flourishing condition and accomplishing good results.

Taxicab and Livery Chauffeurs' Local Union No. 113 was organized February 19, 1927.

Ice Wagon Drivers and Helpers' Union No. 398, organized January 15, 1909.

Milk Wagon Drivers, Chauffeurs and Dairy Employees' Local Union No. 645, was organized October 6, 1924.

Cigar Makers' Local Union No. 5 was organized October 2, 1879. The first officers were: President, James McGinley; Vice-President, Simon Nelligan; Recording Secretary, James Courtney; Financial Secretary, Joseph Heilbronn; Treasurer, Joseph Heberger.

The Union Label was adopted September, 1880; the eight-hour day in 1886.

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John G. Elbs, Arcade Building .....	Rochester, N. Y.
Strasenburg Company .....	Rochester, N. Y.
(New building, Troup and Exchange Streets)	
St. Mark's Lutheran Church .....	Rochester, N. Y.
St. Thomas' School .....	Irondequoit, N. Y.
New Brighton Fire House, Landing Road.....	Rochester, N. Y.
American Piano Co.....	East Rochester, N. Y.

International Association of Machinists Local No. 93 was organized August 18, 1899, and Railroad organization No. 793 was organized August 14, 1917.

Auto Mechanics Local No. 1157 was organized November 12, 1926. The District Lodge, which is composed of delegates from all the local lodges in this city, was organized in 1912.

Journeyman Barbers Local Union No. 246 was organized February 28, 1898. The following were the charter members: Edward Reagan, Frank McCormack, Chas. Robinson, Albert Murphy, E. Schriber, Ed Foster and Patrick H. Reagan. First officers were: President, Edward Schriber; Vice-President, Patrick H. Reagan; Secretary and Treasurer, Edward Reagan; Recording Secretary, Ed Foster. Secretary Patrick H. Reagan, who has served in that capacity practically ever since the organization of this local, was also a charter member and one of the first officers, and likewise holds the office of sixth Vice-President of the Journeymen Barbers' International Union of America.

International Alliance of Stage Employees and Moving Picture Operators of the United States and Canada, Local No. 25, was organized September, 1894. The present Secretary is Henry Malone. Local No. 243 was organized July, 1912. The present Secretary is F. B. Spencer.

The Glass Bottle Blowers' Association, according to information received from the International Union, dates back to 1887. It was impossible to get any further information. The present Secretary is George Slayer.

National Association of Letter Carriers, Branch 210, was organized April 15, 1891, and the first Secretary was Thomas E. Evans.

The Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers, Local No. 15, was organized May 31, 1924. The present Secretary is Miss Helen Kaiser.

What is known today as Metal Polishers' Local No. 113 was organized April, 1899, under the title of Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Brass Workers International. The following were the first officers: President, Geo. O. Kane; Vice-President, John Keenan; Recording Secretary, Chas. R. Chauberter; Financial Secretary, Chas. A. Pease; Treasurer, Christ Kungman; Guardian, John Draper; Statistician, Luke Cooper; Trustees, Jacob Hasselwander and Andrew J. Rogers. Of the above first officers only three are still members: John Draper, initiated May 3, 1899; Luke Cooper, initiated April 16, 1899; Jacob Hasselwander, initiated April 1, 1899. This local at the time of organization had jurisdiction over not only the craft of polishers, but also the buffers, platers and brass workers.

United Garment Workers of America, Local No. 136, was organized July 10, 1897. The first President was C. J. Miller.

Amalgamated Lithographers, No. 11, was organized May, 1913. The first President was John Kieth, and Secretary, Julius Hosterey, Jr.

Printing Pressmen's Local Union No. 36 received a charter on

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May 31, 1912, from the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America.

The charter members were C. W. Gibbs, Clarence Benedict, Edward Geaser, Edward Orin, Al F. Hamsby, Daniel Culhane, John Smith, William H. Harber, J. L. Sutherland, Ely Dawson, J. A. Russell and J. T. Pearce.

Printing Pressmen's Union, No. 38, was chartered August 30, 1898. The present officers are: William J. Ritzenthaler, President, and W. G. Halpine, Secretary.

Plumbers and Steamfitters in Rochester first organized a local union, No. 51, in 1888, with 22 members. Several years later—1890—the present local, No. 13, came into existence. The former local was disbanded. This organization is in a flourishing condition and meets in Carpenters' Hall, North Fitzhugh Street.

A more complete sketch of this local will be found on page 109.

Meat Cutters' Local Union No. 95 was organized August 14, 1900. The Secretary is John Cunningham.

Painters Local No. 150 was organized March 26, 1894.

Paper Hangers Local No. 286 was organized February 2, 1901.

Sign Writers Local No. 532 was organized October 2, 1913.

Boot and Shoe Workers International Union, Local No. 15, was organized April 29, 1895. The names of the original charter members are unknown. The first officers were: President, William C. O'Keefe; Vice-President, R. M. Walsh; Recording Secretary, T. J. Loney; Treasurer, W. L. Howard; Deputy, William Pidgeon, Sr.; Conductor, Gad Martindale. This organization was originally composed of lasters only, and was organized in 1899 as a mixed union.

Local No. 15 at the beginning offered dues of 10 cents a week to its members. In 1899 the so-called high dues at that time of 25 cents a week went into effect and covered sick, death, disability and "victimization" benefits, the latter protection being very desirable owing to assaults made on lives of union workers. A few months after the first organization of Local No. 15, the lasters became dissatisfied with the mixed local and organized Local No. 46, of lasters exclusively, which organization continued until about 1925.

The first officers of Lasters Local No. 46 were: President, John F. Tobin; Vice-President, M. W. Loughlin; Recording Secretary, E. L. Daly; Treasurer, A. C. Howas; Executive Board, W. C. O'Keefe, F. A. Seaverman, Joe Murray, W. A. Molster, E. L. Whiting.

Local No. 150, composed of girl fitters, was organized August 19, 1901, and Cutters Local No. 137 was organized April 1, 1904. At present there are only two locals, Local No. 15, mixed lasters and machines, and Local No. 137, composed of cutters and fitters. The name of Gad Martindale, the present General Vice-President of the International Boot and Shoe Workers, has been identified with the local and general present organization since its inception—1895. The early meeting place of Locals No. 15 and No. 137 was 15 Andrews Street, at the southwest corner of Andrews and Mill



Streets, in the section known as the leather swamp—a meeting place for shoe workers.

Musicians Local Union No. 66, as the organization is termed today, dates back to July 28, 1890, when at a meeting in Germania Hall, Clinton Avenue North, a body of well known Rochester musicians received a charter from the National League of Musicians, under the title of the "Rochester Musicians' Protective Association." The first officers were: President, P. J. Oberdorfer; Vice-President, John Sauer; Secretary, Fred A. Reynolds; Treasurer, Frank W. Judson; Guard, William Painter. About the year 1895 considerable discussion was offered by leading musicians throughout the country regarding the advisability of musical unions joining the American Federation of Labor, which would accept into membership such organizations only under the class of "trades," while leaders in high musical circles held that mastery in music should be classed as an "art" and not a "trade."

However, October 26, 1897, Rochester Musicians' Protective Association received a charter from the American Federation of Musicians and became affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. The local was given the number "66." The charter members were: George Beisheim, John Sauers, John Malone, Charles H. Harrington, J. K. Walsh, Frank W. Judson, Fred Zeitler and Fred A. Farran.

The first officers of the organization after joining the American Federation of Labor were: President, George Beisheim; Secretary, Fred A. Farran; Treasurer, Frank W. Judson. While no records can be had as to names of charter members of Musicians Local at the time of the first organization in 1890, some of the old-timers recall that a few were charter members in both organizations.



# History of Division 282, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America

Prior to August 1, 1902, the Motormen and Conductors employed by the Rochester Railway Company were working under conditions as disagreeable as any body of men have ever been compelled to work. About this time a few of our old members, realizing that they could no longer endure their present conditions, met in the house of one of their number and decided to form an organization. Much credit is due this handful of men, who in the face of certain discharge from the Company if their efforts were a failure, went silently ahead with a determination that meant success. After a few preliminary meetings, a Charter was sent for and officers were installed. Brother George Keenan was elected the first President. After this meeting, eight of the leaders in the movement were pulled off their runs and were told to report at the Superintendent's office. But instead of doing so, they decided to make one grand effort to get the men together. They then distributed their committees over the different lines and, waiting for each crew at the end of the line, prevailed upon them to attend a meeting in Durand Hall, Main Street West, the site now occupied by Duffy-Powers Company. That evening their efforts were successful, and on that night at least 90 per cent of the Motormen and Conductors marched to the hall and enrolled themselves as members of Division No. 282. On this night the Company and every official at their command watched the movements of the men, but after seeing their determined action, they threw up their hands and did not further oppose the organization.

The next day, the large number joined the organization, the eight men who were pulled off their runs reported to the Superintendent and were all charged with some minor offense and told to report for their runs. Shortly after this, the committee of the organization met with the officials of the Company and were accorded a hearty reception. The organization was recognized, and since that time has had a year-to-year working agreement with the Company. At the time of the organization the maximum wage for Motormen and Conductors was 18 cents an hour. In 1920 we reached the highest wage which was a maximum wage for Interurban men of 62 cents per hour and for City line men 60 cents per hour. The working conditions have been correspondingly benefited from an uncertain work-day ranging anywhere from twelve to sixteen hours per day, with no certainty of being relieved for meals. The members now enjoy a nine and one-half hour work-day, with time and one-half for all platform time worked over regular scheduled run. Some of the other good things the organization has brought about are pay for reporting time; pay for making out accident reports and statements; pay for journey time from relieving points to Company's offices, and unlimited transportation in the form of books of tickets over all City lines and Interurban passes to all members and their families.

## Editor's Note

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In gathering data with which to build the first history of union organized labor in Rochester, "Men of Labor in Rochester", since the year 1897—it has been the aim of the compilation department to make this volume an ark of historical facts and labor statistics—which would preserve to future generations records that otherwise might be lost, a work that posterity will look into at distant times and find recorded there the story of the progress of union organized labor in Rochester during three-quarters of a century.

Rather indifference to historical opportunities than to inefficient effort to accomplish a legitimate end to which this work has been dedicated can be ascribed omissions of essential records as well as an absence of facts and figures due to records destroyed or lost.

The concrete expressions of good will and deep interest in the publishing of this labor history on the part of the "big guard" of business in Rochester—from "captains of industry" to the lesser business firms, is evidenced by the advertisements here, without which genuine co-operation this volume could not have been possible, is indeed gratifying—likewise appreciated.

The history of union organized labor in Rochester is the history of "our home city"—for labor has kept a steady march and contributed indeed much to spread the name and fame of Rochester throughout the world.

To these friends whose willing response to call for aid to make this publication a reality—there are no words adequate to fitly express my appreciation—and a mere "thanks" must suffice.

Very truly yours,

EMANUEL KOVELESKI.

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# Historical Sketch

## PLUMBERS AND STEAM FITTERS LOCAL No. 13 OF UNITED ASSOCIATION

What is known at this time as Plumbers and Steam Fitters Local Union No. 13 was organized September 14, 1888, under the title "Local No. 51" with 22 charter members—and continued with success until January 2, 1890.

**President**

Harry Weidemiller

**Vice-President**

William McHale

**Past President**

Raymond Magill

**Financial Secretary**

William Streb

**Corresponding Sec'y**

Albert Yogg

**Treasurer**

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**President**

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Wm. McHale, Chairm'n

John Flynn, Secretary

Joseph Nolan

Morand Brayer

Ernest Fuhrman

Joseph Hensley

**Finance Board**

Hugh Murphy

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Joseph Nolan

Ernest Fuhrman

Raymond Magill

Harry Weidemiller

Ex-Officio

At a convention of plumbers held in Washington, D. C., in 1890, the International Association disbanded, the United Association was incorporated and local No. 51 was then changed to "Local No. 13". The original Plumbers Local in 1888 had for its officers, William Spencer, president; John Bergmaster, vice-president; William Gardner, recording secretary; J. F. Hogan, financial secretary; Arthur J. Heinze, well known in plumbing circles at the present day, was the treasurer of the local, and Edward Cran was the original organizer.



# Central Trades and Labor Council

## OFFICERS

### 1903-1927

July, 1903, the following officers were elected: President, J. Reynick; 1st vice-president, F. Rooper; 2nd vice-president, G. Streving; recording and financial secretary P. Bohrer, Jr.; financial secretary, W. Scott; sergeant-at-arms, E. Welch; trustees, M. O'Brien, W. Mount, Ed Lestner.

Jan. 23, 1904

Pres., Edw. Crane  
1st Vice-Pres., P. H. Brennan  
2d Vice-Pres., C. Harrington  
Rec. Sec'y, P. Bohrer, Jr.  
Fin. Sec'y, G. Streving  
Treas., T. J. Nolan  
Serg-at-Arms, J. H. Welsch  
Trustees, J. E. Mykens, P. J. Donnelly, S. Schmitt

July 28, 1904

Pres., M. J. O'Brien  
1st Vice-Pres., P. H. Brennan  
2d Vice-Pres., W. O'Sullivan  
Fin. Sec'y, G. Streving  
Treas., T. J. Nolan  
Serg-at-Arms, J. H. Welsch  
Trustees, C. Schmitt, P. J. Donnelly, C. Bechtold

Jan. 26, 1905

Pres., M. J. O'Brien  
1st Vice-Pres., P. H. Brennan  
2d Vice-Pres., W. O'Sullivan  
Fin. Sec'y, G. Streving  
Treas., T. J. Nolan  
Serg-at-Arms, J. H. Welsch  
Trustees, F. Koeough, J. Sheehan, H. Henderson

July 27, 1905

Pres., J. S. Whalen  
1st Vice-Pres., P. H. Brennan  
2d Vice-Pres., W. O'Sullivan  
Rec. Sec'y, P. Bohrer, Jr.  
Fin. Sec'y, G. Streving  
Treas., T. J. Nolan  
Serg-at-Arms, J. H. Welsch  
Trustees, W. J. O'Brien, H. Henderson, F. Keough

Jan. 25, 1906

Pres., T. J. Nolan  
1st Vice-Pres., W. O'Sullivan  
2d Vice-Pres., Wm. Chalice  
Rec. Sec'y, P. Bohrer, Jr.  
Fin. Sec'y, G. Streving  
Treas., H. E. Steiner  
Serg-at-Arms, J. H. Welsch  
Trustees, M. J. O'Brien, P. McFarlin, Joel Moses

July 26, 1906

Pres., Thos. J. Nolan  
1st Vice-Pres., W. O'Sullivan  
2d Vice-Pres., Jas. Magary  
Rec. Sec'y, P. Bohrer, Jr.  
Treas., Geo. Keenan  
Fin. Sec'y, G. Streving  
Serg-at-Arms, J. H. Baker  
Trustees, M. J. O'Brien, F. J. McFarlin, Joel Moses

Jan. 24, 1907

Pres., Frank Keough  
1st Vice-Pres., E. M. Nourse  
2d Vice-Pres., Thos. Chadwick  
Rec. Sec'y, P. Bohrer, Jr.  
Fin. Sec'y, G. Streving  
Treas., Geo. Keenan  
Serg-at-Arms, J. H. Baker  
Trustees, M. J. O'Brien, F. McFarlin, Joel Moses

July 25, 1907

Pres., Frank Keough  
1st Vice-Pres., James Finlay  
2d Vice-Pres., Thos. Chadwick  
Rec. Sec'y, P. Bohrer, Jr.  
Fin. Sec'y, G. Streving  
Treas., Geo. Keenan  
Serg-at-Arms, J. H. Baker  
Trustees, M. J. O'Brien, F. McFarlin, Joel Moses

Jan. 24, 1908

Pres., F. Keough  
1st Vice-Pres., Jas. Finlay  
2d Vice-Pres., T. Chadwick  
Rec. Sec'y, P. Bohrer, Jr.  
Fin. Sec'y, G. Streving  
Treas., G. Keenan  
Serg-at-Arms, J. H. Baker  
Trustees, M. J. O'Brien, F. McFarlin, Joel Moses

July 23, 1908

Pres., Thos. Chadwick  
1st Vice-Pres., Jas. Garin  
2d Vice-Pres., R. Lowe  
Rec. Sec'y, P. Bohrer  
Fin. Sec'y, G. Streving  
Treas., G. Keenan  
Serg-at-Arms, J. H. Baker  
Trustees, M. J. O'Brien, Jos. Balling, Paul Moore Strayer

Jan. 21, 1909

Pres., Thos. Chadwick  
1st Vice-Pres., James Garin  
2d Vice-Pres., Richard Lautz  
Rec. Sec'y, P. Bohrer, Jr.  
Fin. Sec'y, G. Streving  
Treas., Geo. Keenan  
Serg-at-Arms, J. H. Baker  
Trustees, Paul Moore Strayer, Jos. Balling, Frank J. McFarlin

Jan. 20, 1910

Pres., J. R. Campbell  
1st Vice-Pres., Wm. Buchanan  
2d Vice-Pres., C. Tracy  
Rec. Sec'y, P. Bohrer, Jr.  
Fin. Sec'y, J. H. Klausen  
Serg-at-Arms, J. H. Baker  
Trustees, Jos. Balling, P. Quirk, R. G. Wackerman

July 21, 1910

Pres., W. Buchanan  
1st Vice-Pres., Thos. Woods  
2d Vice-Pres., Patrick Quirk  
Rec. Sec'y, P. Bohrer, Jr.  
Fin. Sec'y, J. H. Klausen  
Treas., S. Gartland  
Serg-at-Arms, J. H. Baker  
Trustees, O. J. Canute, F. Keough, Thos. McCannon

Jan. 19, 1911

Pres., W. Buchanan  
1st Vice-Pres., Jos. Balling  
2d Vice-Pres., Jas. Scource  
Rec. Sec'y, P. Bohrer, Jr.  
Fin. Sec'y, E. S. Dryer  
Treas., S. Gartland  
Serg-at-Arms, J. H. Baker  
Trustees, Thos. McSweeney, G. Wright, W. McKinley

July 8, 1911

Pres., W. Buchanan  
1st Vice-Pres., Jos. Balling  
2d Vice-Pres., Jas. Scource  
Rec. Sec'y, P. Bohrer, Jr.  
Fin. Sec'y, E. S. Dryer  
Treas., S. Gartland  
Serg-at-Arms, J. H. Baker  
Trustees, W. McKinley, Geo. Wright, Thos. Sweeney

Jan. 18, 1912

Pres., E. Koveleski  
1st Vice-Pres., Jas. Scource  
2d Vice-Pres., D. Gibson  
Rec. Sec'y, P. Bohrer, Jr.  
Fin. Sec'y, E. S. Dryer  
Serg-at-Arms, F. Glynn  
Trustees, Hether, Canute, Scheik

July 18, 1912

Pres., E. Koveleski  
1st Vice-Pres., J. Scource  
2d Vice-Pres., D. Gibson  
Rec. Sec'y, P. Bohrer, Jr.  
Fin. Sec'y, W. Buchanan  
as S. Gartland  
Serg-at-Arms, F. Glynn  
Trustees, W. Scheik, John Flynn, H. C. Barney

Jan. 16, 1913

Pres., G. H. Wright  
1st Vice-Pres., W. Harrington  
2d Vice-Pres., J. Schaffer  
Rec. Sec'y, H. Flaherty  
Fin. Sec'y, W. Buchanan  
Treas., S. Gartland  
Serg-at-Arms, F. Glynn  
Trustees, H. C. Barney, R. W. Wackerman, D. Mosher

July 17, 1913

Pres., G. H. Wright  
1st Vice-Pres., J. Schaffer  
2d Vice-Pres., E. A. Mitten  
Rec. Sec'y, Henry Flaherty  
Fin. Sec'y, W. Buchanan  
Treas., S. Gartland  
Serg-at-Arms, R. Leary  
Trustees, D. Mosher, G. Ennis, A. J. Charles

Jan. 15, 1914

Pres., E. Koveleski  
1st Vice-Pres., J. Schaffer  
2d Vice-Pres., E. A. Mitten  
Rec. Sec'y, D. Gibson  
Fin. Sec'y, W. Buchanan  
Treas., S. Gartland  
Serg-at-Arms, R. Leary  
Trustees, A. J. Charles, D. Mosher, H. C. Barney

July 16, 1914

Pres., E. Koveleski  
1st Vice-Pres., J. Schaffer  
2d Vice-Pres., E. A. Mitten  
Rec. Sec'y, D. Gibson  
Fin. Sec'y, W. Buchanan  
Treas., S. Gartland  
Serg-at-Arms, H. J. Smith  
Trustees, A. J. Charles, H. C. Barney, G. H. Wright



OFFICERS OF CENTRAL TRADES AND LABOR COUNCIL—Cont.

Jan. 28, 1915

Pres., E. Koveleski  
1st Vice-Pres., J. Schaffer  
2d Vice-Pres., E. A. Mitten  
Rec. Sec'y, D. Gibson  
Fin. Sec'y, W. Buchanan  
Treas., S. Gartland  
Serg-at-Arms, Diem  
Trustees, G. H. Wright, H. C. Barney, C. Peterson

July 15, 1915

Pres., E. Koveleski  
1st Vice-Pres., J. Schaffer  
2d Vice-Pres., E. A. Mitten  
Rec. Sec'y, D. Gibson  
Fin. Sec'y, W. Buchanan  
Treas., S. Gartland  
Serg-at-Arms, F. Connors  
Trustees, Geo. Wright, C. Peterson, A. C. Barney

Jan. 27, 916

Pres., E. Koveleski  
1st Vice-Pres., J. Schaffer  
2d Vice-Pres., J. Mitten  
Rec. Sec'y, D. Gibson  
Fin. Sec'y, W. L. Burke  
Treas., S. Gartland  
Serg-at-Arms, F. Connors  
Trustees, Geo. Wright, C. Peterson H. C. Barney

July 27, 916

Pres., E. Koveleski  
1st Vice-Pres., J. Schaffer  
2d Vice-Pres., E. A. Mitten  
Rec. Sec'y, D. Gibson  
Fin. Sec'y, W. L. Burke  
Treas., Wm. Griffith  
Serg-at-Arms, F. Glynn  
Trustees, Geo. H. Wright, H. J. Smith, J. Scource

Jan. 20, 1917

Pres., J. Schaffer  
1st Vice-Pres., E. A. Mitten  
2d Vice-Pres., J. J. O'Sullivan  
Rec. Sec'y, D. Gibson  
Fin. Sec'y, W. L. Burke  
Treas., W. E. Griffith  
Serg-at-Arms, Wm. Reid  
Trustees, J. Scource, Geo. H. Wright, Ed. Greenauer

Aug. 9, 1917

Pres., John Schaffer  
1st Vice-Pres., E. A. Mitten  
2d Vice-Pres., J. J. O'Sullivan  
Rec. Sec'y, D. Gibson  
Fin. Sec'y, W. L. Burke  
Treas., W. E. Griffith  
Serg-at-Arms, Wm. Reid  
Trustees, J. Scource, Ed. Greenauer, G. H. Wright

Jan. 24, 1918

Pres., J. Schaffer  
1st Vice-Pres., E. A. Mitten  
2d Vice-Pres., J. J. O'Sullivan  
Rec. Sec'y, D. Gibson  
Fin. Sec'y, W. L. Burke  
Treas., W. E. Griffith  
Serg-at-Arms, Wm. Reid  
Trustees, Ed. Greenauer, Geo. Wright, Jas. Scource

Jan. 23, 1919

Pres., John Schaffer  
1st Vice-Pres., E. A. Mitten  
2d Vice-Pres., J. Mellody  
Rec. Sec'y, D. Gibson  
Fin. Sec'y, W. L. Burke  
Treas., W. E. Griffith  
Serg-at-Arms, Wm. Reid  
Trustees, Hugh Hackett, J. H. Baker, J. Heiden

Jan. 22, 1920

Pres., J. Schaffer  
1st Vice-Pres., E. A. Mitten  
2d Vice-Pres., J. Mellody  
Rec. Sec'y, D. Gibson  
Fin. Sec'y, W. L. Burke  
Treas., W. E. Griffith  
Serg-at-Arms, J. H. Baker  
Trustees, H. Hackett, J. Heiden, Ed. Greenauer

Jan. 20, 1921

Pres., E. A. Mitten  
1st Vice-Pres., J. J. Mellody  
2d Vice-Pres., W. Dennison  
Rec. Sec'y, Wm. L. Burke  
Fin. Sec'y, Thos. Hoctor  
Serg-at-Arms, J. H. Baker  
Trustees, Ed. Greenauer, John Heiden, Hugh Hackett

Jan. 19, 1922

Pres., S. Carroll  
1st Vice-Pres., W. Dennison  
2d Vice-Pres., John Flynn  
Rec. Sec'y, D. Bradley  
Fin. Sec'y, Thos. Hoctor  
Treas., W. E. Griffith  
Serg-at-Arms, J. H. Baker  
Trustees, Ed. Greenauer, Leo Messmer, Leo Schlemmer

1923

Pres., Wm. Reid  
1st Vice-Pres., John Flynn  
2d Vice-Pres., Walter Norton  
Rec. Sec'y, Wallace Bradley  
Fin. Sec'y, Thos. Hoctor  
Serg-at-Arms, J. H. Baker  
Treas., Wm. Griffith  
Trustees, Leo Messmer, Edward, Greenauer, Leo Schlemmer.

1924

Pres., Wm. Reid  
1st Vice-Pres., John Flynn  
2d Vice-Pres., Walter Norton  
Rec. Sec'y, Wallace Bradley  
Fin. Sec'y, Thos. Hoctor  
Serg-at-Arms, J. H. Baker  
Treas., Wm. Griffith  
Trustees, Edward Greenauer, Leo Messmer, Leo Schlemmer

1925

Pres., John Flynn  
1st Vice-Pres., Walter Norton  
2d Vice-Pres., P. H. Reagan  
Rec. Sec'y, Wm. Buchanan  
Fin. Sec'y, Wallace Bradley  
Treas., Wm. Dennison  
Serg-at-Arms, John H. Baker  
Trustees, Frank J. Hartnett, Frank Rider, George Scott

1926

Pres., John Flynn  
1st Vice-Pres., Walter Norton  
2d Vice-Pres., P. H. Reagan  
Rec. Sec'y, Wm. Buchanan  
Fin. Sec'y, Wallace Bradley  
Treas., Wm. Dennison  
Serg-at-Arms, J. H. Baker  
Trustees, Frank Hartnett, Frank Rider, H. D. O'Connell

1927

Pres., J. Flynn  
1st Vice-Pres., Walter Norton  
2d Vice-Pres., P. H. Reagan  
Rec. Sec'y, Wm. L. Burke  
Fin. Sec'y, Wallace Bradley  
Treas., Wm. Dennison  
Srg-at-Arms, J. H. Baker  
Trustees, Frank J. Hartnett, H. D. O'Connell, C. Redfern

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American Taxicab Co.....	96	Ludington's Sons, I. M.....	6
Atlantic & Pacific Tea Co.....	92	Luther & Sons Co., John.....	36
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Bareham & McFarland.....	42	Maier's Sons, L. W.....	48
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# Public Confidence --and a Newspaper Which Deserves It

Confidence is one of the greatest factors in modern life. To the newspaper, in the long run, public confidence is indispensable. The newspaper is a public institution and owes a public trust. Of what avail is vast circulation, if those who read it have neither faith nor confidence in that paper? How much is advertising worth in a paper whose readers do not believe or even take seriously?

The Democrat and Chronicle during its 95 years of existence has laid its foundation broad and deep in public confidence. It has built slowly but surely toward an aim of a newspaper that is trustworthy and dependable.

Today the reputation of the Democrat and Chronicle is greater than ever, and we are not unmindful of its responsibilities. The very fact that Rochester and Western New York has given this newspaper such a high place in its regard only serves to keep this newspaper constantly on the alert for future betterment.

The constant aim of the Democrat and Chronicle is ACCURACY, COMPLETENESS and SERVICE to its 80,000 daily and 85,000 Sunday subscribers in Rochester and Western New York.

**Democrat**  **Chronicle.**

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