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CONTENTS

| Special Articles | Page |
|--|-------------|
| Tendencies in Trade Union Development in the United States, by John R. COMMONS, LL. D. | 855 |
| The Social Insurance Bill of the French Government, by Gabriel C. RAMON | 889 |
| The Third International Trades Union Congress | 911 |

| | |
|---|------|
| Industrial Relations | |
| Trade Union Organisations | 928 |
| Employers' Organisations | 937 |
| Production and Prices | |
| Cost of Living and Retail Prices | 946 |
| Wholesale Prices in Various Countries | 953 |
| Employment and Unemployment | |
| Statistics of Unemployment | 956 |
| Migration | |
| Notes on Migration | 960 |
| Industrial Hygiene | |
| Notes on Industrial Hygiene | 985 |
| Vocational Guidance | |
| Notes on Vocational Guidance | 995 |
| Government Reports | |
| Factory Inspection in Sweden in 1920 | 1004 |
| Intervention of the United States Federal Government in Railway Labour Disputes | 1007 |
| The Agricultural Crisis in the United States and its Causes | 1011 |
| Bibliography | |
| Book Notes | 1015 |
| Recent Literature on Industrial Hygiene (<i>cont.</i>) | 1028 |
| Errata | 1036 |

more impossible to overcome was the strategy of professional politicians of the two old parties, bidding for labour votes by "stealing the thunder" and issues of the labour party leaders. Finally, even though favourable legislation was enacted, there was the insuperable obstacle of judicial review. From the time of the first quarter of the nineteenth century the courts have repeatedly exercised their power to declare legislation unconstitutional and void. So from the year 1881, when the Federation of Organised Trades and Labour Unions was formed, we find organised labour agitating for certain legal immunities in the eyes of the courts. All these factors, together with changing business conditions, have rendered nugatory successive attempts at labour party action, although the weight of early democratic tradition and suffrage tended to throw labour into active politics.

On the economic side, the early attempts at labour organisations were local societies, often including masters as well as journeymen, without distinction as to craft or industry, financially weak, and, owing to the fluidity of classes (opportunities for self-employment were numerous), unable to develop the solidarity which is essential to permanent organisation. As the area of markets and competition was extended, the merchant-capitalist—original object of attack of early societies of masters and workmen—was gradually eliminated, and the modern industrial corporation came into being. Competition was intensified and extended (4).

In the '80s the corporation with its limited liability and large capital resources was an important factor. Through its influence the introduction of machinery and the encouragement of immigration (5) was accomplished. The competition of cheap foreign labour sharpened the distinction between skilled and unskilled labour. On the other hand, the occupation of the last of the free lands of the West cut off a possible escape from the wage system through self-employment. The American worker found himself bound by an increasingly burdensome wage system. In contrast the corporation found itself in an increasingly advantageous position. Coincidentally a business revival began in 1879. Conditions were most favourable for an extension of trade union organisation.

FORMATIVE PERIOD, 1881-1898

Three influences were in the main responsible for the organisation of the Federation of Organised Trades and Labour Unions of the United States and Canada in 1881, the predecessor of the American Federation of Labour. First, the internal destructive

(4) Prime factors in this tendency were the development of railroad transportation, the early railroad rate wars, and the subsequent regulating policy to equalise competitive advantages.

(5) The aggregate number of immigrants arriving during the period 1880-1889 was 5,246,613, exceeding by more than 1,500,000 the figures for either the period 1870-1879 or 1890-1899, and marking the beginning of the influx of South Europeans.

rivalry between the Marxians and Lassalleans within the International Workingmen's Association, whose headquarters had been moved from London to New York ; second, the building up of a militant economic trade union along British lines by men like Strasser and Gompers of the cigar makers who read the warning of the Workingmen's Association ; third, the business revival of 1879, which aided the transmission of this opportunistic trade unionism to other unions. The principles which the cigar makers' leaders applied from the British unions to their own were : (1) the complete authority of 'international' ⁶ officials over the local unions ; (2) increased dues for building up a strong defence fund ; (3) installation of a benefit system to insure stability ; (4) the principle of "equalisation of funds" (transferring the funds of strong locals to weak locals). At the time of the formation of the Federation of Organised Trades and Labour Unions, twenty-one trades had national unions ⁽⁶⁾. These were organisations of skilled workers, who were bound together by a sense of solidarity in opposition to the unskilled immigrants who were entering the country to take advantage of a rising market.

ORGANISATION OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOUR

The original call for the Federation specifically stated its purpose to be the protection of the legislative interests of trade unionists. The unions forming the Federation were in fairly well defined trades not affected by technical changes. Hence there were no jurisdictional disputes to mar internal harmony. No organising help was needed from the Federation because the regular unions could handle the large cities without help. There was neither need nor desire for extension of organisation at the time, for relations with an existing national union (the Knights of Labour), organised along industrial lines and guarding the economic interests of the wage earners, were quite harmonious. Hence the organisation ⁽⁷⁾ achieved in 1881 was a loose federation with only a legislation committee, after the type of the British Trades Union Congress.

The Federation met each year to resolve upon a platform, elect officers and a legislative committee, and then disperse. The legislative committee each year agitated politically for the following policies among others : legal incorporation of trade unions, compulsory education for children, abolition of child labour, uniform apprenticeship laws, mechanics' lien laws, abolition of

(⁶) These national unions and the dates of their organisations were : Typographical (1850) ; Hat Finishers (1854) ; Iron Moulders (1859) ; Locomotive Engineers (1863) ; Cigar Makers (1864) ; Bricklayers and Masons (1865) ; Silk and Fur Hat Finishers (1866) ; Railway Conductors (1868) ; Coopers (1870) ; German Typographia (1873) ; Locomotive Firemen (1873) ; Horseshoers (1874) ; Furniture Workers (1873) ; Iron and Steel Workers (1876) ; Granite Cutters (1877) ; Lake Seamen (1878) ; Cotton Mill Spinners (1878) ; New England Boot and Shoe Lasters (1879) ; Greenbottle Blowers (1880) ; Boilermakers (1881) ; Carpenters (1881).

For 'international' unions see note (23) on p. 866.

(⁷) Called "The Federation of Organised Trades and Labour Unions of the United States and Canada".

conspiracy laws, a National Bureau of Labour Statistics. The legislative committee was not a complete success. It turned out that the organisation had no compelling interest in national legislation, the committee was either ignored or flouted by the political parties, and the strongest union—the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers—withdrew in 1882 because the Federation would not support a protective tariff. Finally, the Knights of Labour forced the Federation out of its limited sphere of parliamentary interest and gave the urge toward a real protective organisation—the American Federation of Labour of 1886.

The record of the Knights of Labour is brief. From the time they were organised in 1869 until they abolished secrecy in 1878, only the normal number of enthusiasts, believing in trade union action as a prelude to co-operation, were attracted. Thereafter, however, the conjunction of business prosperity and an “anti-plutocratic” appeal, strengthened by several successful strikes, increased membership to 700,000. The Federation of Trade Unions mustered only 150,000. Almost all workers, particularly the unskilled, saw in the Knights of Labour a power equal to that of the capitalists. The Haymarket explosion in Chicago, 1 May 1886, although perpetrated by the anarchists, was a blow to the Knights and the old Federation. Moreover, the depression and some unsuccessful strikes made the Knights endeavour to achieve solidarity by absorbing the trade unions. This the skilled trade unionists opposed, fearing the domination of vast numbers of unskilled workers. Open hostility by the Knights roused Samuel Gompers to an aggressive attempt at organising the American Federation of Labour from the nucleus of the declining parliamentary Federation of Trade and Labour Unions. Continued aggression, aided by the inexperience, dilatoriness, and misfortune of the Knights, assured the dominance of the new American Federation of Labour by 1890.

During this period, the most restless decade in American labour history, were formed in large measure the present policies and structure of the Federation. The antipathy to socialism and to labour party action grows out of the internal squabbles of the International Workingmen’s Association, as intimately known by Gompers and his associates. The militant, though opportunistic, type of trade unionism characteristic of the Federation acknowledges Gompers’ union of cigar makers as its ancestor. The principles of craft organisation, regularity, and autonomy are the resultant of the Knights of Labour episode. Less direct, but also contributory, were the political and co-operative disappointments of the periods leading up to the decade of the “great upheaval”.

RISE OF THE TRADE AGREEMENT

The period between 1890 and 1898 was signalised by five major events: the long depression after the panic of 1893, the break with the Socialists, the crushing of organisation in the steel

industry through the Homestead (Pennsylvania) strike, the extension of the use of injunctions in labour disputes⁽⁸⁾, and the coming in of the collective trade agreement. Up to the '90s a depression had been the occasion for the downfall of trade unionism and the rise of political panaceas. The long period of bad times from 1893 to 1897, however, was unable to cause serious declines in union membership in the American Federation of Labour. The event proved the effective bond of wage consciousness—a modified class consciousness—in holding together a loose federation with much local autonomy as the main economic protection against the employing class.

The experience with the Socialist Trade and Labour Alliance was the last break between the Federation and the "intellectuals", the Socialists. At the start of the depression the Socialists within the Federation became more aggressive than before. In 1893 they secured adoption by the convention of a political platform which included a plank calling for the "collective ownership by the people of all means of production and distribution". Referendum to the affiliated unions confirmed the action of the convention. In the elections of 1893 some three hundred labour candidates entered the political arena, meeting small success. This result was used by President Gompers as a telling argument in winning in 1894 the repeal of the collective ownership plank. Subsequently the entire platform was discarded and in revenge the Socialists united with supporters of the leader of the miners' unions in the Federation to oust President Gompers, the only time Gompers has failed to be elected since 1886. Meanwhile the Socialists under Daniel DeLeon had won a privileged place in the Knights of Labour. When that too was lost in 1895, DeLeon organised his Socialist Trade and Labour Alliance as a protest against non-socialistic union organisations. An upward trend in business shortly afterwards weakened the Alliance, which proved generally ineffective. The American Federation of Labour was completely alienated from Socialism.

The complacency of the Federation as an economic organisation after its victory over the Knights was rudely shocked by the Homestead strike of 1892, which for the first time revealed the immense power of the trust. Failure in negotiations for a new scale with the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers led to a strike specifically on the issue of the preservation of the union. Though the Amalgamated was the strongest trade

(8) The injunction is a writ issued by a judge of a court and ordering an individual, corporation or a group of persons to perform certain designated acts or to refrain from doing certain things which may endanger the property or rights of others. It is used to forestall injury to rights and property which cannot be redressed by ordinary suit for damages. It is an anticipatory intervention of the courts to prevent injury. The injunction is usually issued against persons on strike, commanding them to refrain from acts of violence, coercive picketing, or even from applying funds from their treasury for the support of strikers during a period of strike. Failure to observe the rule makes the person so doing liable to summary punishment for contempt of court with trial before a judge without jury.

union in American labour history up to that time, it was crushed. And thereafter the steel industry was relatively free from unionism, except for the attempted organisations of 1901 and 1919.

The Pullman strike of 1894, in which Eugene V. Debs figured prominently as the leader of seceding railway unions, taught the unions that the Government was fully able to cope with any revolutionary unionism and that the employers had obtained a new ally in the courts. Injunctions had been used before in labour disputes, but not conspicuously in the United States until the '80s, when the doctrine of conspiracy was invoked as justification for injunctions. The contempt case against Debs under the Sherman Anti-Trust Act of 1890 was carried to the Supreme Court, which established in 1895, on a firm legal basis, the use of injunctions in labour disputes. The attitude of the American Federation of Labour in this new situation received vigorous expression in the demand of 1896 for a constitutional amendment "depriving judges of the power to set aside laws enacted by Congress as 'we believe the proper function of courts is to expound and administer the law, not to make it'". Subsequently, active opposition to injunctions was maintained, until finally the Clayton Act of 1914 granted certain immunities which labour believed satisfactory until narrowly interpreted by the courts in subsequent years.

While political policies of the American Federation of Labour were thus being formulated, the trade agreement as an economic device was worked out in the stove industry⁽⁹⁾. The iron and steel workers had worked under a national trade agreement since 1876, but the other unions were hardly strong enough to place confidence in that method. However, after severe struggles the opposing organisations in the stove industry had reached a degree of standardisation, control, and equality which made the 1891 negotiations successful. There has been no break in relations since that time. Other industries, notably the railway unions, previously benevolent organisations, began negotiating trade agreements about the same time. The period following 1898 was dominated to a great degree by this outstanding economic policy of American trade unionism.

PRESENT POLICIES AND METHODS

The year 1898 has been made a turning point in American union history, perhaps arbitrarily. At any rate the long depression of the preceding decade was ended and a period of brisk trade was entered upon. We find the American Federation of Labour the dominant, recognised organisation of the wage earning class, outside the railroads. Both the Knights of Labour, representing the unskilled, and the Socialists, representing the "intellectuals",

(9) See John P. FREY: *A Thirty-Year Experiment in Industrial Democracy*, in the *International Labour Review*, Vol. V, No. 4, April 1922, pp. 539-552.

had been subdued. Even a long period of depressed markets only checked, but did not annihilate, the Federation. It had achieved stability, it was independent of industrial fluctuations. More than that, its distinctive policies were outlined. Partisan political action had proved inefficacious, as had radical socialistic or revolutionary action. Centralised organisations of skilled workers along strict craft lines, loosely federated for protection only, had been proved essential as a defence against the unskilled immigrant. Collective bargaining as the method, the trade agreement as the device, were accepted as the best way to secure the rights of workers against employers.

By the year 1898 the quality of union purposes was clear. As before stated, American labour is called opportunistic. But the usually invidious connotation of the word 'opportunism' needs to be modified and explained. Trade unionism in the United States is opportunistic, because its aims are simple and proximate, the product of leaders who were workers; the 'intellectuals' so-called have had a limited influence since 1898, though there is a present-day tendency to use scientifically trained intellectuals as statistical and legal experts⁽¹⁰⁾. Trade unionism is also opportunistic because its idealism is the homely effort to obtain a better standard of living for individuals and families. This suggests further the individualistic character of labour's ends. Socialism and political party action are officially eschewed.

Although the foregoing describes broadly the quality of the union programmes, the specific purposes are left unrevealed. It must not be supposed that the union programme here spoken of is the unanimous objective of all American trade unions. They present, as elsewhere, such a complexity of motives, aims, tactics, structures, cross-purposes, and relationships, internal and external, that precision is difficult. What is here said merely attempts to give a selective picture of the purposes of the dominant American trade unions, considering the existence, side by side in the American Federation of Labour, of conservatrice and socialistic unions quite opposite in policy and structure.

The growth of large-scale enterprise has necessitated huge accumulations of invested capital, and, at the same time, the courts have broadened their jurisdiction over economic dealings and have extended the concept of private property rights. Thus investments are made secure against arbitrary attack. The same protection has not been accorded to labour. Whether rightly or wrongly, the job, to the workers, is also a property right. The arbitrary use of the right of discharge, unchecked by courts holding to *laissez-faire* doctrines, is the outstanding menace to their organisations. Consequently, struggles for the 'closed' or preferential shop, or for non-discrimination against union men,

(10) The use of experts has reached a high development in the garment and building trades and in the railroad and mining industries; it is spreading among the printing and metal trades and was very effective in the slaughtering and meat packing industry in 1918.

have occupied a relatively large place in industrial relations⁽¹¹⁾. The development of collective bargaining tactics in trade agreements, resulting in a mass of industrial 'shop legislation' protecting the job, has been a remarkable feature since 1898. Since that year the membership of the American Federation of Labour has increased fourteenfold; the membership of the railway brotherhoods has increased correspondingly. But more important than mere numbers is the statement of policy. 'Pure and simple' unionism in 1921 still stands for the right to organise and bargain collectively⁽¹²⁾, for shorter hours, increased wages, control of apprenticeship, and working rules for the shop. The trade agreement is the accepted device; the autonomous union, whether craft union or industrial union, is the accepted structure; bargaining with the major parties for legislation favourable to labour is the official political strategy. Labour parties are not encouraged and Socialism or Bolshevism is discouraged. Except for minor changes in relative importance or in structure to meet changing situations, the items on labour's programme in 1921 are practically the same as in 1898. It is for this reason largely that the history of American trade unionism from 1881 to 1898 was a period of formulation, and the years since 1898 have been a period of expansion and consolidation.

NUMBER AND PROPORTION OF WORKERS ORGANISED

The progress of the right to organise can be shown only inadequately by quantitative measurement. The reported membership of the American Federation of Labour in 1898 was 278,016⁽¹³⁾. In addition, the four railroad brotherhoods aggregated at that time an estimated membership almost half the reported strength of the Federation⁽¹⁴⁾. By contrast the 1921 membership of the Federation was 3,906,528, an increase of

(11) There are several variants of the 'open shop' concept. To the employer it generally means the privilege to hire and discharge whomsoever he pleases; to the worker it means in general discrimination against those who belong to trade unions. The current 'open shop' campaign of manufacturers on a national scale is the outcome, on the one hand, of a falling market and, on the other, of the tenacity of unions insisting on a measure of security of employment for union men and limiting the employers' right of discharge.

(12) President Wilson's first Industrial Conference in October 1919 broke down on this issue, the employers' group refusing to accept the proposed resolution on collective bargaining. This resolution was as follows: "The right of wage earners to organise without discrimination, to bargain collectively, to be represented by representatives of their own choosing in negotiations and adjustments with the employers in respect to wages, hours of labour, and relations and conditions of employment is recognised".

(13) *Report of Proceedings of American Federation of Labour, Eighteenth Annual Convention 1898*; p. 7.

(14) Locomotive Engineers 30,700; locomotive firemen 27,000; railroad trainmen 31,200; railroad conductors 21,900. From Geo. E. BARNETT: *The Growth of Labour Organisations in the United States, 1897-1914*. Quarterly Journal of Economics, Aug. 1916, p. 780. Cambridge, Mass.

1305 per cent. ⁽¹⁵⁾. Aggregate estimated membership of the organisations not affiliated with the Federation was 871,748 in 1920 ⁽¹⁶⁾. This would bring the total organised strength to about 4,775,000.

A better index of progress is the proportion of organised workers to organisable workers. Three such estimates have been made. Professor Barnett estimated the organisable workers in 1900 at 21,837,000 ; in 1910 at 30,267,000. On this basis wage earners were organised to the extent of 4 per cent. in 1900 and of 7 per cent. in 1910 ⁽¹⁷⁾. Dr. Leo Wolman gave more detailed figures for 1910. Excluding employers, the salaried, agricultural, and clerical workers and those below twenty years of age (so-called unorganisable workers), the organisable total was 11,491,000. With an estimated trade union strength of 2,116,000, the percentage of possible organisation was 18.4 per cent. ⁽¹⁸⁾. Excluding only employers and salaried workers, his percentage was 7.7 per cent., which compares closely with Professor Barnett. The latest estimate of degree of organisation is by J. W. Sullivan for 1919. With more liberal exclusions of unorganisable wage earners and a trade union membership of 4,500,000 he places the percentage of organisation between 56 and 75 per cent. ⁽¹⁹⁾.

⁽¹⁵⁾ *Report of Proceedings of American Federation of Labour, Forty-first Annual Convention, 1921* ; pp. 28-31. These figures do not include unemployed or striking workers, who are not required by some unions to pay the *per capita* tax. As there was a large amount of unemployment in 1920-1921, the figures here stated are not accurate. Probably the effective membership of the Federation is over 4,000,000.

⁽¹⁶⁾ CANADA, DEPARTMENT OF LABOUR : *Tenth Annual Report on Labour Organisations in Canada*. Ottawa 1921. This report lists 26 unions not affiliated with the American Federation of Labour. To this number must be added 11 organisations reported for 1919 but not for 1920, a total of 37 national and international organisations not affiliated with the Federation. The six largest organisations reporting were : Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, 184,940 ; Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, 175,000 ; United Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees and Railway Shop Labourers, 155,957 ; Brotherhoods of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, 125,864 ; Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, 86,700 ; Order of Railway Conductors, 56,043. These figures represent the claims of organisations and in some cases are probably excessive. The excess, however, may be compensated by the unreported membership of other unions.

⁽¹⁷⁾ *Op. cit.*, p. 13. This analysis is complicated by the fact that the United States Bureau of the Census changed its occupational classification in 1910. Figures here given for the organisable workers exclude employing, self-employed, and fee receiving classes from the total of persons gainfully occupied.

⁽¹⁸⁾ Leo WOLMAN : *The Extent of Trade Unionism* ; Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. XLIX, p. 118 ; Philadelphia, Jan. 1917 ; and *Extent of Labour Organisation in the United States in 1910* ; Quarterly Journal of Economics, Vol. XXX, p. 486 ; Cambridge, Mass., May 1916. In these articles Dr. Wolman points out the great possibilities of statistical error in the census figures for occupations as well as in the trade union figures.

⁽¹⁹⁾ COMMISSION ON FOREIGN ENQUIRY OF THE NATIONAL CIVIC FEDERATION, 1919 : *The Labour Situation in Great Britain and France* ; pp. 150-153. Mr. Sullivan takes the 1910 census figures for occupations and excludes all except groups engaged in extracting minerals, manufacturing and mechanical work, and transportation. From this total of 14,000,000 he subtracts employers, salaried workers, apprentices, scattered craftsmen in small industries or in non-

Of greater significance for the period before the war are Dr. Wolman's figures for organisation by industries and occupations⁽²⁰⁾. These computations show that the breweries, marble and stone yards, printing and bookbinding establishments, glass factories, and mining industry are each organised to an extent of over 30 per cent. Reckoning by occupations the railway conductors, engineers and brakemen, the electrotypers and the stone-cutters are organised to an extent of between 50 and 100 per cent. The inferences drawn by Dr. Wolman from these statistics are: (1) the effective strength of unionism is indicated less by the bulk of organisation than by territorial and industrial distribution. Where strategic industries, occupations, or localities are organised, the benefits of unionism are as widespread as would be possible with greater aggregate membership; (2) concentrated ownership of capital has been able to check unionism effectively in certain industries; (3) where the bulk of unorganised workers live in small towns, the low degree of organisation has been due to inaccessibility and to a need which has not been pressing; (4) where there is a large supply of unskilled labour, there has been little extensive organisation; (5) the industrial, rather than the craft, union has won greater success where the preponderance of workers is unskilled.

TRADE UNION STRUCTURE

The necessity for meeting the employer on his own ground has modified the structure of labour organisations in the direction of national centralisation. This is to be distinguished from amalgamation into industrial unionism, which has obtained to a

industrial communities, and "unskilled, unassimilated foreigners below the level of constantly proffered trade union help". These excluded groups total from 6,000,000 to 8,000,000, whence the variable percentage (56 to 75 per cent.) of organisation.

⁽²⁰⁾ *Extent of Labour Organisation, etc.*, p. 14, and *The Extent of Trade Unionism, etc.*, pp. 122-3. Percentage of organisation by industries in 1910 was:

| | | | |
|--------------------------|------|-----------------------------|------|
| Breweries | 88.8 | Leather | 14.5 |
| Marble and stone yards | 45.4 | Electric light and power | 14.3 |
| Printing and bookbinding | 34.3 | Lumber and furniture | 10.7 |
| Glass factories | 34.2 | Iron and steel | 9.9 |
| Mining | 30.5 | Food and kindred products | 7.6 |
| Cigars and tobacco | 27.3 | Quarrying | 7.3 |
| Potteries | 21.9 | Metal | 4.7 |
| Transportation | 17.3 | Textile | 3.7 |
| Clothing | 16.9 | Paper and pulp | 2.6 |
| Building trades | 16.2 | Chemical and allied indust. | 0.4 |

By occupations: (1) organised to an extent of from 50 to 100 per cent. — railway conductors, electrotypers, railroad brakemen, locomotive engineers, stone-cutters; (2) from 30 to 50 per cent. — brick masons, printers, locomotive firemen, mail carriers, moulders, pattern makers, plasterers, potters, wool sorters; (3) from 15 to 30 per cent. — bakers, barbers, bar tenders, bookbinders, carpenters, coopers, loomfixers, metal polishers, painters, plumbers, switchmen, tin smiths, wood carvers; (4) less than 15 per cent. — blacksmiths, brickmakers, glove workers, machinists, teamsters, and waiters. The war has changed these figures, notably in the clothing group, where the Amalgamated Clothing Workers have won great power.

lesser extent for reasons to be set forth presently. The years since 1898 have been marked by the supremacy of the national trade union. Experience showed that a city central trades council, possessing unlimited power, could, by independent and ill-considered action, seriously impair the financial strength of the national unions, hamper their administration of beneficiary schemes and their negotiation of national agreements. So we find the American Federation of Labour in 1887 amending the voting power provisions of its constitution to check the power of city federations and district assemblies and to enlarge the influence of national unions. Since that time, especially since 1898, the national unions controlling the Federation have severely limited the powers of city federations to initiate and support boycotts, to assess local unions for strikes, or to interfere in collective bargaining. From the standpoint of the national unions the functions of the city federations are to make more effective a boycott initiated by a national union, to spread propaganda for the union label, and to take requisite political action in their respective localities⁽²¹⁾. To exceed these "instructions" is to make the guilty organisations, whether central councils or locals of a national trade union, liable to suspension⁽²²⁾. The functions of the State federations are similarly restricted to parliamentary action, mainly, however, because State legislatures are the sources of most labour legislation under the Federal form of government.

Toward national craft assemblies as against mixed district assemblies, absorption, rather than limitation, has been the policy of the American Federation of Labour. This was more readily agreed to because the need for meeting the industrial organisations of employers on a national scale was early recognised. The numerous attempts to form departments within the Federation since President Gompers first suggested it in 1888 were all balked by the desire of promoters to remain independent of the Federation. Jurisdictional and sectional conflicts in the building trades arising from the existence of joint councils of limited scope chiefly territorial in their jurisdiction led to the International Building Trades Council of 1898. The leading official or president came from an independent union, which had seceded from its international organisation. Being founded on local councils instead of being a true federation of national crafts, conflicts with national unions were perpetuated. The international unions⁽²³⁾ in the building trades, dominated by the Brotherhood of Carpenters and

(21) Possibly a further restriction will result from the decision of the 1921 convention to extend its political activities by a system of non-partisan committees in each local union.

(22) In 1902 an attempt made by the Milwaukee City Federation to organise a national federation of city federations after the fashion of all the national federations from the National Trades Union of 1834 to the Knights of Labour was suppressed by the American Federation. During the unauthorised railroad strikes of 1920 the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen expelled 86 locals, the Switchmen's Union 18, and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen 60 for unauthorised action in ordering or supporting the strike.

(23) So called because they include in their membership unions in Canada.

Joiners, solved the problem by uniting in 1903 in the Structural Building Trades Alliance, which, after a prolonged struggle, was taken over by the American Federation as its first department in 1908. Other departments followed: Railroad Employees Department in 1908, Metal Trades Department in 1909, and the Mining Department in 1912 upon the affiliation of the strong Western Federation of Miners⁽²⁴⁾. That the department is a perfect substitute for what the industrial unionist demand is shown by the Railway Employees Department. During a railway strike, the machinists, boilermakers, blacksmiths, electrical workers and others of the shop crafts, who are not employed directly on the railroads, remain at work, supporting by their earnings their fellowcraftsmen on the railroads. In collective bargaining the Railway Employees Department, representing all the various crafts involved except the "operating" (line staff) brotherhoods, present a united front to the railroads or the Railway Labour Board, as the case may be.

The American Federation of Labour itself is federated on two different principles, reflecting the political federation of the States in the Union. This came about through the experiences of the Federation of Organised Trades and Labour Unions and the Knights of Labour. The several State Federations of Labour (forty-nine in number, including that of the District of Columbia) are exact duplicates of the British Trade Union Congress, and are the heirs of the Federation of Organised Trades' and Labour Unions, which had itself been modelled on the British Trade Union Congress. Their activity is solely legislative. But the American Federation of Labour is an almost purely economic organisation, formed for the purpose of consolidating the labour unions, abolishing "dual unionism", deciding jurisdictional disputes⁽²⁵⁾, employing organisers⁽²⁶⁾, and, incidentally, in later years, entering the legislative field only in so far as necessary to resist the anti-union decisions of the Federal courts. This double character of the American labour movement is peculiar, and not always understood. It reflects the political organisation of the United States, under which practically all the labour legislation is enacted by the State legislatures, and almost no labour legislation is enacted by the Federal Congress. It is the Federal courts,

(24) A somewhat anomalous department in the Federation, one not resting on a special industry, is the Union Label Department, which is a propaganda Department to encourage the use of the Union label on goods made or work done under trade union conditions and protect it against infringement.

(25) The Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees and Railwayshop Labourers, with a membership of about 150,000, was suspended in 1919 for not abiding by a jurisdictional decision. The long-continued dispute between the plumbers and the steamfitters and its final settlement is another example of the usefulness of the Federation in mitigating this demoralising rivalry among unions.

(26) One-third of the funds of the Federation is devoted to organisation. In 1920, out of a total annual expenditure of \$857,887.70, organising expenses were \$279,605.66, or 32 per cent., of the total. This amount was paid to 105 general organisers and to unnumbered district and volunteer organisers.

and not the Federal Congress, that have forced the national Federation of Labour, within the past ten years, into the field of Congressional legislation in defence of the right to organise and bargain collectively.

The national unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labour are autonomous bodies. They hold their own conventions, regulate their respective crafts, call strikes, negotiate trade-agreements, and function as independent organisations with one proviso, that they shall not organise outside the defined limits of their own craft. As a matter of fact, the principle of trade-autonomy which is fundamental in the constitution of the American Federation of Labour permits the most widely divergent kinds of unions to exist side by side, on the primary condition that there shall be no "dual" unions. Thus the Mine Workers, the Brewery Workers, the Ladies' Garment Workers are types of complete industrial unionism, working along with the craft unions. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers, being a dual union, is outside the Federation. Politically also, there is great freedom for the constituent units of the Federation. The Ladies Garment Workers and the Brewery Workers are both socialistic, and even revolutionary, in their political views. Two or three of the State federations, organised to guard the legislative and political interests of the workers in the various states, are decidedly socialistic in their opinions. Notwithstanding the divergent character of affiliated unions and the deliberate self-limitations of the Federation itself, the Federation has had marked success as a mobiliser of labour opinion and concerted action against decisions of the Federal Courts.

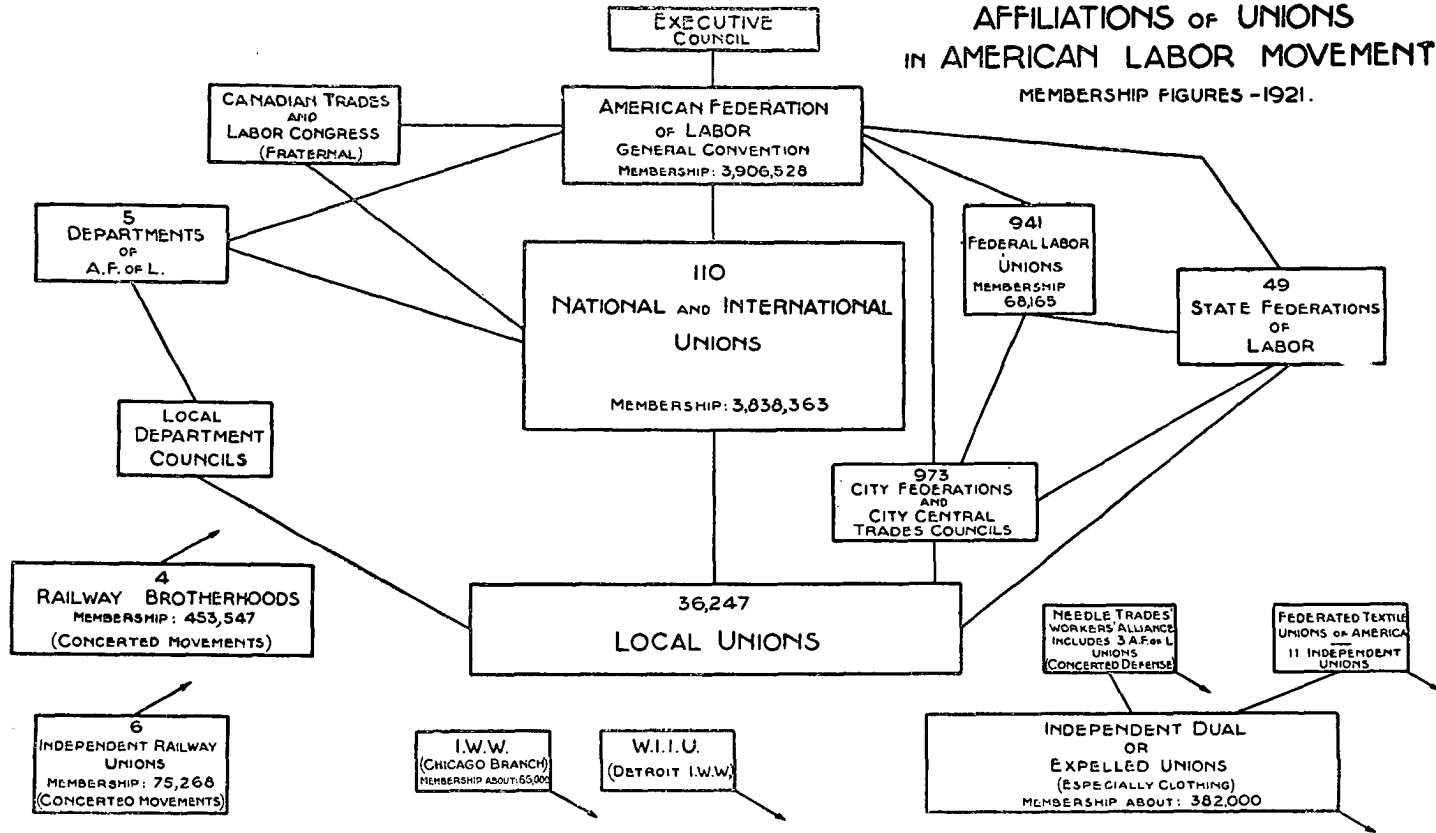
In comparison with the tendency to centralisation of power in the national unions, the trend toward organisation on industrial lines is much less noticeable. To be sure, the largest union in the Federation, that of the miners, is industrial in form, and the formation of industrial departments seems also in that direction. Nevertheless, the principle of craft organisation is quite rigidly held, and it is left to the departments, in addition to informal conferences⁽²⁷⁾, to unite unions in common action without yielding the independence of individual unions. But merging of unions in a common organisation cannot be ignored as a tendency away from strict craft unionism⁽²⁸⁾. On the other hand, the reverse process of disintegration is also apparent. Between 1889 and 1902 the printing pressmen, bookbinders, photo-engravers, stereotypers, and electrotypers split off from the International Typographical Union. More recently the window glass cutters

(27) The "concerted movements" of the railway brotherhoods since 1916 have been accomplished without formal amalgamation. In almost all trade disputes the craft union directly involved seeks the aid of other unions associated in the same industry. Oral pledges between leaders or at the instigation of the Federation suffice for concerted action.

(28) The occasion of the coal-hoisting engineers joining with the United Mine Workers was a distinct trend toward industrial organisation and was at the time opposed by the Federation.

AFFILIATIONS OF UNIONS IN AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT

MEMBERSHIP FIGURES - 1921.



and flatteners have broken away from the Glass Workers' Union. In the boot and shoe industry there has been unity, dis-unity, and unity again at various stages in its history ⁽²⁹⁾.

Outside the Federation ranks the two conspicuous examples of industrial centralisation have been the Industrial Workers of the World and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. The significance of the Industrial Workers of the World movement is its opposition to the type of unionism represented by most Federation of Labour organisations. In contrast to the skilled workers of the American Federation of Labour the Industrial Workers of the World is an industrial unit composed of unskilled, largely casual, labourers. In philosophy it is revolutionary, denouncing political ⁽³⁰⁾ and trade union action, espousing 'class warfare' and sabotage. As an organisation it came into being during the business slump of 1905 and reached the zenith of its power in 1912 during the textile strikes in Lawrence, Massachusetts, and Paterson, New Jersey. During and following the war the effectiveness ⁽³¹⁾ of the Industrial Workers was practically extinguished by court decisions on indictments against 105 leaders charged with obstructing the conduct of the war.

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers has won great power in the men's clothing industry as an independent industrial union, through aggressive, constructive leadership. The nucleus of the union seceded from the United Garment Workers—an American Federation of Labour organisation—in 1914. The socialistic elements within the Amalgamated were originally dominating and still are large. But in the severely practical process of collective bargaining its restrictive policies have been modified to an interesting and constructive trade union policy of industrial government. As a result, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers now have trade agreements in all the large men's clothing centres. The strength of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers was shown in weathering successfully a six months' strike and lock-out in New York during 1920 and 1921 ⁽³²⁾ at a time when the trade generally was passing through acute depression.

⁽²⁹⁾ At the present time there are two rival unions in this industry, the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union affiliated with the American Federation of Labour, and the United Shoe Workers, a secessionist organisation.

⁽³⁰⁾ A less radical wing of the Industrial Workers of the World—believing in parliamentary action—in 1908 seceded from the original (so-called Chicago Industrial Workers of the World) to form the "Detroit Workers' International Industrial Union".

⁽³¹⁾ The present membership of the Industrial Workers of the World is about 10,000; but this figure is uncertain owing to the great autonomy given to local units and to the shifting, casual type of worker to which the organisation makes appeal. For an exposition of the history and the philosophy of the organisation, see Paul Frederick BRISSENDEN: *The I. W. W. ; A Study of American Syndicalism*; second edition, New York, Columbia University, 1920.

⁽³²⁾ During the strike a Needle Trades Alliance for concerted action was formed among independent unions and affiliates of the American Federation of Labour, like the Ladies' Garment Workers.

IMMIGRATION AND LABOUR

The rise of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers to power illustrates the close relation of immigration to the American labour movement. Foreign workers predominate in the clothing union. Its spectacular growth, as well as that of labour unions in general, occurred during a period when immigration was comparatively negligible owing to the war. A cause and effect relation between these two facts may be stressed too much. But it is significant that the periods of greatest immigration, particularly of the unskilled South Europeans, have been the times when craft unions arose and became more exclusive and limited in their objectives. Obviously a confusion of tongues and national antagonisms makes difficult the up-building of a well disciplined union. There are not even the ties of a common trade skill to bind immigrant workmen together, as was evident in the Knights of Labour period. This has prompted the trade unionists to draw closer together, to become more restrictive, to maintain the "aristocracy of labour" more inviolate. This also explains much of the American Federation of Labour opposition to industrial unionism, associated as it is with organisation of the unskilled along with the skilled. The breathing-spell in the tide of immigration from 1914 to 1919 gave the craft unions a release from fear and a chance to enlist more of the unskilled workers⁽³³⁾. Restriction of immigration is still a part of the parliamentary programme of the American Federation of Labour⁽³⁴⁾.

EIGHT HOUR MOVEMENT

In 1898 factories were still working 54 or more hours a week. In 1921 the 8-hour day was more widely accepted than it was rejected⁽³⁵⁾. That is a long stride. The 8-hour movement originated in the Federation Convention of 1884. Except for the carpenters, little progress was made up to 1900, when it was decided to work for the 8-hour day in at least one trade each year. In 1905, when the International Typographical Union won a general strike for the 8-hour day, the Federation reported that 26 trades were enjoying the 8-hour day in whole or in part⁽³⁶⁾. Trade union action was relied upon except for government employments. In that field political pressure from organised labour eventually resulted (1912) in Congressional enactment of an 8-hour day for all government contractors and sub-contractors.

⁽³³⁾ This is one aspect of the steel strike of 1919.

⁽³⁴⁾ Immediately following the war, the Federation lobbied vigorously for restriction of immigration for two years.

⁽³⁵⁾ The United States Steel Corporation is a notorious example of the 12-hour day attributed to the necessity of continuous operation in some of its processes.

⁽³⁶⁾ *American Federation of Labour History Encyclopaedia Reference Book*, p. 11.

The crowning event in the 8-hour day agitation was the Adamson Law of 1916, by which Congress established the basic or nominal 8-hour day on railroads⁽³⁷⁾. The four independent railway brotherhoods—engineers, firemen, conductors, and trainmen—by a joint strike threat, backed by organised labour generally, forced a not unfriendly Administration to negotiate the passage of the Act⁽³⁸⁾. A concerted gesture, aided of course by propitious circumstances, triumphed over the protests of the largest single industry of the country.

When the United States entered the war, the Administration officially accepted and applied the 8-hour day principle. During and since the war some unions used their economic advantage to establish by agreement with employers a 44-hour week. And they are now resisting employers' demands for a return to the 48 or 49-hour week⁽³⁹⁾.

PROGRESS OF TRADE AGREEMENTS

The years since 1898 have been called the era of trade agreements. In that year the miners settled a strike in the central bituminous field by signing an agreement. This action happened to coincide with the beginning of a five-year period of business prosperity. The conjunction of circumstances, reinforced by the previous experience of the Stove Moulders' agreement, gave an impetus to the use of the trade agreement in iron moulding, stove mounting, and brass polishing, machine industry, news paper and book and job printing, the pottery industry, the overalls industry, the shipping industry of the Great Lakes, and in the building and other industries. The refusal of President Mitchell, of the United Mine Workers, to sanction a sympathetic strike of the bituminous miners in the anthracite dispute of 1902 on the ground that such action was a breach of faith with contracting employers, testified to the hopes of trades unionists in the trade agreement as a means of bringing law and order into industry. The slackening of business enterprises following 1903 brought the downfall of many agreements. Reversion to an anti-union policy by such employers' associations as the National Founders' Association, the rise to power of 'open shop' associations like the National Association of Manufacturers, the union-crushing policies of trusts such as the United States Steel Corporation, were evidence

(37) Congress has power to legislate for railroads and their workers under the Inter-State Commerce Clause of the Constitution, and this is one of the few fields in which Congress can enact labour legislation.

(38) Railroad labour leaders disclaim having demanded this legislation. They admitted, however, that its passage would stay the strike. Labour no doubt wanted the 8-hour day, but they desired it as a concession from the management, and not through legislation. Pending the legislation they entered into negotiations with the railroads at the request of the Council of National Defence, and the management granted the demands of the men for the basic or nominal 8-hour day.

(39) The Printers and Ladies' Garment Workers are especially active in this resistance.

to the unions that their integrity and programme had no infallible guarantee in the trade agreement. Since then trade agreements have had their ups and downs according to the temper of business conditions, but on the whole, the last two decades have brought extension rather than retrogression in the field of collective bargaining.

Certain trade agreements have outstanding significance. The stove moulders have kept unbroken peace for over thirty years through all the vicissitudes of trade. The glass bottle blowers, the printers, and more recently the electrical workers have negotiated agreements which are practically national in extent. On the railroads the policy of the Railroad Administration during the war encouraged labour organisation, particularly among the hitherto tolerated, but not usually recognised, shop crafts and other organisations outside the four railwaymen's organisations. With these "new" unions agreements were negotiated embodying a long and complex list of restrictive rules. The tripartite Railroad Labour Board, created under the Esch-Cummins Act of 1920, had the difficult task during 1921 of modifying these rules in favour of the railway companies⁽⁴⁰⁾. The building trades have enormously bettered their economic position through local agreements embodying closed shop provisions, minimum hourly rates of pay, and strict craft demarcations and working rules. In one notorious case the rigour of the agreements led to charges of conspiracy in restraint of trade, which was revealed in the trial and conviction of leaders involved⁽⁴¹⁾.

For effectiveness from both union and employers' standpoints the agreements of the coal miners, particularly in the central bituminous field, have been most successful. With the exception of the widespread 1920 strike⁽⁴²⁾ and the one now in progress, no great strikes have occurred between the contracting parties, though suspensions of the agreement happened in various years, notably in 1910. A good deal of the strength of these agreements has come from the so-called "check-off" system whereby the operators (coal owners) subtract union dues from the men's pay and turn the lump sum over to the union. Thereby the financial and numerical strength of the union is made greater. This provision has been attacked in the courts under the Sherman

⁽⁴⁰⁾ A decision of the Railroad Board in June 1921 laid down general principles to govern the roads in independent negotiation of new agreements. A decision in November 1921 made the restrictions in disputed agreements less rigid.

⁽⁴¹⁾ In New York City the trial and conviction for extortion of the president of the Building Trades Council early in 1921 showed that the union had been used to call unjustifiable strikes in order to further the interests of contractors, who wished to be free from competition of their rivals. Collusion between unscrupulous trade union leaders and contractors resulted in the disruption of a union belonging to the American Federation of Labour and in the building up of a practical monopoly of builders and material men in the city.

⁽⁴²⁾ The strike of 1920 was broken by intervention of the Federal Administration which obtained an injunction from the courts on the basis of the war-time Food and Fuel Control Act.

Anti-Trust Law, the proceedings being an outgrowth of the long-standing West Virginia mine dispute. West Virginia is the only substantial non-union coal field in the central district. The union operators in other States found it hurtful to their interests to have a competing field not bound by the same union restrictions. Consequently, to protect its existing agreements, the miners' union was obliged to attempt unionisation with such energy that bitter armed conflict has periodically broken out, a situation which twice necessitated sending Federal troops to restore order. Recently, the West Virginia operators secured a temporary injunction relieving the coal operators from collecting the "check-off", but this decision was partially overruled in a higher court of appeal. The seriousness to the union of this legal attack can be recognised when it is remembered that the United Mine Workers has in its membership a large foreign element, quick to rally to the union during strikes and equally quick to drop out of the union when the struggle is over⁽⁴³⁾. By means of the "check-off" the union has been able to hold this fickle element to the organisation during peaceful conditions and thereby strengthen its treasury.

The garment trades have the distinction of developing trade agreements to the highest extent. Previously cited agreements have usually been of the static type, periodic contracts providing no means of adjusting and interpreting the detailed working rules during the life of the agreement. Many agreements in the garment trades⁽⁴⁴⁾ present an illuminating difference. They are dynamic agreements in that machinery is set up for continuous adjustment of grievances. Such contracts do not specify detailed working rules; they merely establish general principles which are applied to particular cases from day to day by the machinery of adjustment. Hence this established machinery, whatever its form (trade boards, impartial chairmen, or boards of arbitration) is of the nature of an industrial court, the function of which is to displace the rigid shop rules of the static agreement with the more flexible interpretative rules and precedents laid down in a series of decisions. The outcome of this latter, perhaps not final, form of collective bargaining is a greater elasticity in meeting the ebb and flow of industry.

Trade agreements have five aspects. The first, which is tactical, is that these agreements are economic truces or lulls in the workers' struggle with employers for a progressive measure of control over the job. The second, or political, aspect is the equality of bargaining strength which the agreement shows the union to be possessed of as against the employer. The third is a legal aspect inasmuch as the various working rules incorporated in or by these contracts form an extra-legal code or industrial law.

⁽⁴³⁾ In the anthracite field where the "check-off" system does not prevail the membership has fluctuated at times by 30,000 within a single year.

⁽⁴⁴⁾ In particular, agreements signed by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Ladies' Garment Workers, International Fur Workers, United Shoe Workers, and Leather Workers have some provision for continuous conference.

The fourth aspect is governmental, in that the trade agreement appears as a constitution limiting the rights, duties, liberties, and risks of the two contracting parties. In its fifth aspect the trade agreement marks an evolutionary step in the type of union leadership. Business shrewdness, more than militant class-conscious oratory, is essential to the successful negotiation of trade agreements. In general, it may be noted that trade agreements harmonise with the programme of American labour, for the objects of American trade unions are easily set forth in contract form.

The code of working rules established in trade contracts does not differ substantially from the experience of other countries. Rules vary as much as the technical processes of industry which call them forth. Possibly restrictions on giving preference in employment to union men bulk larger than in some other countries, and this is perhaps due to a relatively greater competition from the unskilled or semi-skilled foreign worker and to a more virulent opposition to unions on the part of employers' associations. Otherwise the rules are much the same, covering hours, method and amount of wage payment, limitations in hiring and discharging, apprenticeship, and technical working rules arising from peculiar industrial processes. Of the agreements recently or currently operating, the printers emphasise the closed shop, price lists, and ratio of apprentices to journeymen. The moulders are especially insistent on the closed shop, restrictions on the introduction of machinery and on the use of particular machines by particular workers for certain classes of work, and an apprenticeship ratio. The miners have developed the wage scale, the checkweighman, and the check-off. The garment trades, as noted above, are unique in providing for continuous formulation of rules. And during the war the railroad shop craft agreements specified in great detail just the kind of work which journeymen and apprentices were not permitted to do.

ORGANISED LABOUR AND THE LAW

Agreements, however, are limited in scope to single industries. Courts and legislatures cover more ground at one and the same time. Whether they are to be used for or against the interests of organised labour depends on the controlling interests. The activities of labour with respect to legislatures have been in two directions: (1) the enactment of widespread reforms of general economic benefit to labour as a whole; (2) the enactment of laws specifically curbing the power of courts to restrict union activities. The first is largely offensive in character, the second is primarily defensive. The tactics of the American Federation of Labour since 1906 are essentially "collective bargaining" with the major political parties, based on the maxim "punish your enemies, and reward your friends".

The results have been more satisfactory in the first direction. Particularly in the several States have unions thrown their

influence in favour of employers' liability laws, workmen's compensation, minimum wage laws for women, prohibition of night work for women, prohibition of child labour, control of prison labour, etc. There is little doubt but that State federations have played no small part in bringing about a more enlightened public opinion regarding labour legislation. In the field of Federal action the American Federation of Labour, after fourteen years' agitation, succeeded in having established a separate Department of Labour in the Cabinet, and has also had its say in child labour, immigration, tax, tariff, and public utility legislation.

However, the legal status of unions has been the principal objective of labour's political action. Under the common law in the United States a trade union is a conspiracy when it pursues a legitimate object by unlawful means or an illegitimate object by lawful means. Therefore the two legal questions before the courts in collective bargaining cases are: (1) what are unlawful objects of trade unions; and (2) what are unlawful tactics of unions. Inasmuch as the strike, made more effective by picketing and boycotts, and the closed shop are the foremost weapons of American unionism, most decisions of the courts have defined the legality of these tactics.

The Sherman Anti-Trust law of 1890 prohibited as unlawful any acts interfering with the flow from State to State either (1) of labour, or (2) of manufactured products. The unions paid little attention to the provisions of the law even after its use in restraining the Pullman strike leaders, until the Danbury hatters' case⁽⁴⁵⁾ was decided by the Supreme Court of the United States in 1908. In this case the Danbury (Connecticut) hatters had declared a boycott against a local company and gave notice of this throughout the trade union press. Not only did the Court decide that the hatters' union had violated the Sherman Act which prohibited interfering with the inter-State flow of goods, but it also declared the boycott an unlawful act of conspiracy in that it involved coercion of a third party. What aroused the unions, however, was the award of triple damages, which the Court granted to the complaining hat manufacturer, amounting to nearly \$300,000 with unlimited liability. Following shortly after this case came the Adair case⁽⁴⁶⁾, which practically legalised employers' blacklists, and the Buck's Stove and Range case⁽⁴⁷⁾, which delivered another blow at the boycott. In this case the American Federation of Labour had published in its journal what was called its "we don't patronise" list, giving the names of employers who refused to deal with the unions, and in this list was the name of the Buck's Stove and Range Company. The

⁽⁴⁵⁾ *Loewe v. Lawlor*, 208 U. S. 274 (1908); *Lawlor v. Loewe*, 235 U. S. 522 (1915).

⁽⁴⁶⁾ *Adair v. U. S.*, 208 U. S. 161 (1908).

⁽⁴⁷⁾ *Gompers v. Buck Stove & Range Co.*, 221 U. S. 418, 439 (1911); 233 U. S. 604 (1914).

Supreme Court of the United States stated that the publication of boycott notices was not within the right of free speech and free press and that the action of the Federation was tantamount to a conspiracy to interfere with trade or commerce among the several States. The unions foresaw the possibility of all strikes being held illegal under the Sherman Act, of unions being dismembered by blacklists, and of union treasuries being made bankrupt by damage suits. In alarm, they besieged Congress for immunity from such legal restrictions and from injunctions. A little over one year after the Democrats came into power in March 1913 labour was rewarded with the Clayton Anti-Trust Act (15 October 1914) described at the time as labour's "charter of immunities". Close analysis and subsequent court interpretation does not support this view⁽⁴⁸⁾. The law simply stated in legislative form the existing status of the doctrine of conspiracy and the practices of the courts in the matter of injunctions, as applied to labour organisations.

Of the subsequent decisions, three show that the Clayton Act afforded the unions little immunity in the courts. Union attempts at protection by means of the closed shop have been

⁽⁴⁸⁾ The immunities of labour are contained in sections 6 and 20 of the Act, as follows :

"The labour of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce. Nothing contained in the anti-trust laws shall be construed to forbid the existence and operation of labour, agricultural, or horticultural organisations, instituted for the purposes of mutual help, and not having capital stock or conducted for profit, or to forbid or restrain individual members of such organisations from lawfully carrying out the legitimate objects thereof ; nor shall such organisations, or the members thereof, be held or construed to be illegal combinations or conspiracies in restraint of trade, under the anti-trust laws.

"No restraining order or injunction shall be granted by any court of the United States, or a judge or the judges thereof, in any case between an employer and employees, or between employers and employees, or between employees, or between persons employed and persons seeking employment, involving, or growing out of, a dispute concerning terms or conditions of employment, unless necessary to prevent irreparable injury to property, or to a property right, of the party making the application, for which injury there is no adequate remedy at law, and such property or property right must be described with particularity in the application, which must be in writing and sworn to by the applicant or by his agent or attorney.

"And no such restraining order or injunction shall prohibit any person or persons, whether singly or in concert, from terminating any relation of employment, or from ceasing to perform any work or labour, or from recommending, advising or persuading others by peaceful means so to do ; or from attending at any place where any such person or persons may lawfully be, for the purpose of peacefully obtaining or communicating information, or from peacefully persuading any person to work or to abstain from working ; or from ceasing to patronise or to employ any party to such dispute, or from recommending, advising, or persuading others by peaceful and lawful means so to do ; or from paying or giving to, or withholding from, any person engaged in such dispute, any strike benefits or other moneys or things of value ; or from peaceably assembling in a lawful manner, and for lawful purposes ; or from doing any act or thing which might lawfully be done in the absence of such dispute by any party thereto ; nor shall any of the acts specified in this paragraph be considered or held to be violations of any law of the United States. "

condemned as coercion of non-unionists. Yet in the *Coppage* case ⁽⁴⁹⁾ it is not coercion when an employer threatens discharge unless union membership is renounced. Similarly, it is unlawful for union agents to attempt organisation, even by peaceful persuasion, when workers have signed contracts not to join a union, as a condition of employment ⁽⁵⁰⁾. The final emasculation of the Clayton Act occurred in the recent *Duplex Printing Press Case* ⁽⁵¹⁾. In this decision the union rested its defence squarely on the immunities granted by the Clayton Act. Despite this, the injunction was confirmed and the secondary boycott again declared illegal.

The prevailing judicial interpretation of unlawful union methods is briefly as follows. Strikes are illegal when they involve defamation, fraud, actual physical violence, threats of physical violence, or inducement of breach of contract. Boycotts are illegal when they bring third parties into the dispute by threats of strikes or loss of business, publication of an "unfair list" ⁽⁵²⁾, or by interfering with inter-State commerce. Picketing is illegal when accompanied by violence, threats, intimidation, and coercion. In December 1921 the Supreme Court declared mere numbers in groups constituted intimidation, and limited peaceful picketing to one picket at each point of ingress or egress of the plant ⁽⁵³⁾. It will be seen that the courts have thus restricted the opportunities of organised labour to exert economic power. This has been accomplished in court reasoning by the extension of the notion of property rights so as to bring intangible property (goodwill or earning power) and incorporeal property (contracts) within the purview of the constitutional amendments protecting private property rights.

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL GAINS OF THE WAR

Against what labour failed to gain in legal immunity must be set the economic and social gains obtained by consent of the Wilson Administration during the war. From the outset organised labour was, temporarily at least, an accepted institution of government. President Gompers of the American Federation of Labour was appointed to the Advisory Committee of the Council of National Defence and given charge of its labour policy. Thus the council wisely announced that union standards would not be set aside during the war. After the outbreak of hostilities in

⁽⁴⁹⁾ *Coppage v. Kansas*, 236 U. S. 1. (1915).

⁽⁵⁰⁾ *Hitchman Coal and Coke Co. v. Mitchell*, 245 U. S. 229 (1917).

⁽⁵¹⁾ *Duplex Printing Press Co. v. Deering*, 41 Sup. Ct. 172 (1921).

⁽⁵²⁾ Montana allows the "unfair list" and California allows all boycotts. These exceptions indicate the confused interpretations of the different State courts and legislatures.

⁽⁵³⁾ *American Steel Foundries of Granite City, Ill., v. Tricity Trades Council*, 42 Sup. Ct. 72 (1921).

1916 organised labour was given representation on all the important boards and new agencies of government (54).

In addition to representation in the forming of general policies, the Wilson Administration through its various departments entered directly into agreements with the unions (55). The government also sponsored agreements between private concerns and the unions (56). In all these contracts full recognition was given to the right to organise without discrimination, and to the prevailing union standards. The railroads and the packing industry are conspicuous examples of the outcome of this policy (57).

The best statement of the government labour policy is that of the National War Labour Board (58). The strike and the lock-out were voluntarily relinquished upon the following conditions: first, the recognition of the equal right of employees and employers to organise into associations and trade unions and to bargain collectively; and an undertaking by the employers not to discharge workers for membership in trade unions or for legitimate trade union activities, balanced by an undertaking of the workers, "in the exercise of their right to organise", not to "use coercive measures of any kind to induce persons to join their organisations, nor to induce employers to bargain or deal therewith". Second, the observance of the pre-war status as to

(54) The American Federation of Labour was given representation on the Emergency Construction Board, the Women's Board, War Industries Board, National War Labour Board, in the Fuel Administration and the Food Administration, and on numerous other boards concerned with matters affecting labour.

(55) Such agreements were made by the War and Navy Departments, the United States Shipping Board Emergency Fleet Corporation, and the Railroad Administration.

(56) Such agreements were those between the shipping companies and the maritime unions, the leather goods manufacturers and leather workers' union, the packers and the packing house workers.

(57) After the Railroad Administration had recognised the right to organise, had increased wages, and established boards of adjustment, a wave of unionism swept into power the organisation of crafts other than the operating brotherhoods. The packing industry strike of 1918 was settled directly by the President and Secretary of Labour, who prevailed upon both sides to go to arbitration. The award of the arbitrator, Judge Alschuler, granting most of the workers' demands, opened to unionism an industry which had opposed it since the strike of 1904. At the expiration of the agreement with the government, the five big packing firms announced that the "open shop" would prevail and that they would deal collectively with their own employees through industrial representation plans. Two months later (December 1921) wages were reduced and the union called a strike.

(58) The National War Labour Board was formally set up 8 April 1918. It consisted of five representatives of the American Federation of Labour and five representatives of employers' associations, and two joint chairmen, one nominated by and for the employers and one by and for the workers. Ex-President William H. Taft, since appointed Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, and Frank P. Walsh, formerly the Chairman of the Commission on Industrial Relations of 1913-1914, were confirmed by President Wilson to be joint chairmen for the employers and the workers respectively. Arbitration before this board was voluntary.

union or open shop in a given establishment, and as to union standards of wages, hours, and other conditions of employment; except that the right to organise was not to be curtailed under any condition and that the War Labour Board might grant improvement in labour conditions as the situation warranted. Third, that if women should be brought into industry, they must be allowed equal pay for equal work. Fourth, that the basic 8-hour day should be recognised as applying in all cases in which the existing law required it; in all other cases the question of hours of labour should be settled with due regard to government necessities and the welfare, health, and proper comfort of the worker. Fifth, that restriction of output by trade unions be done away with. Sixth, that in fixing wages and other conditions regard should be had to union standards. And seventh, (1) the "right of all workers, including common labourers, to a living wage is hereby declared; (2) in fixing wages, minimum rates of pay shall be established which will insure the subsistence of the worker and his family in health and reasonable comfort" (59).

In exchange for government support the American Federation of Labour mobilised labour sentiment to support the war and foreign policy of the government. In doing so, they isolated themselves from the labour groups of allied countries. The Federation was not represented at the Inter-Allied Labour Conference in September 1917, though President Gompers did attend the following year. Irrespective of the war, the American Federation of Labour policy of national self-sufficiency and isolation, a product of local conditions and movements, was further emphasised by the withdrawal of the American Federation of Labour from the International Federation of Trade Unions (60).

In effect, organised labour during the war made the best political bargain of its career. Not only were standards safeguarded, but through government influence industry let the bars down to union organisers, and trade union membership and prestige were tremendously increased. Yet through this second "upheaval" the unions did not deviate from their proximate

(59) For the history and work of the National War Labour Board the reader is referred to a study made by the United States Bureau of Labour Statistics: *National War Labour Board; a description of its History and Activity together with its Awards and Documents of Importance in the Records of its Development*; 3¾ pp. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1922.

(60) This action was taken in 1921 for three alleged reasons: (1) the new constitution of the International Federation abrogated the principle of national autonomy for trade union federations; (2) through appeals and proclamations the International Federation had committed itself to a "revolutionary principle"; (3) the system of dues as adopted would place on the American Federation of Labour a heavy and unbearable expense. The revolutionary principles complained of were: "socialisation of industry by revolutionary action and a general strike against war". See *International Labour Review*, Vol. II, No. 1, Apr. 1921, pp. 17-18, and Vol. III, Nos. 1-2, July-Aug. 1921, pp. 110-111.

objective. Labour's reconstruction programme⁽⁶¹⁾ was concerned with such homely purposes as a rising standard of living and enlarged freedom to organise and bargain collectively. Though they gained much from government action, the unions seemed unwilling to displace trade union action as the keystone of their structure.

A seeming contradiction arose in endorsement of government ownership and democratic operation of the railroads by the 1920 and 1921 conventions of the American Federation of Labour. This programme was initiated as the Plumb Plan by the legal counsel for the railroad brotherhoods when agitation for the relinquishment of war-time control was at its height in 1919. The railroad brotherhood leaders rallied to its support and sympathetic leaders within the American Federation of Labour, notably the miners who had shortly before endorsed nationalisation of the mines, secured the endorsement of the American Federation of Labour. After the passage of the Railroad Control Act (known as the Esch-Cummins Act) on 28 February 1920, which includes significant and extended provisions for the adjustment of industrial relations in the railroad service, the brotherhood leaders did not actively press their proposals before Congress.

The so-called Plumb Plan raised the issue of guild socialism in its American form. In bare outline the Plumb Plan proposed government acquisition of the railroads at a value which excluded rights and privileges not specifically granted to the roads in their charters from the States. The government would then lease the roads to a private operating corporation governed by a tripartite board of directors equally representing the consuming public, the managerial employees, and the other employees. An automatic economy-sharing scheme was designed to assure efficient service at low rates calculated to yield a fixed return on a value shorn of inflated privileges.

The purpose of the Plumb Plan was to equalise the opportunities of labour and capital in using economic power to obtain just rewards for service rendered to the public. In this respect it resembled many of the land reforms and other panaceas which are scattered through American labour history. Wherein it differed was in making the trade unions the vital and organic representatives of producers' interest entitled to participate in the direct management of industry. An ideal of co-partnership and self-employment was thus set up, going beyond the

⁽⁶¹⁾ A conference of national and international union officials in Feb. 1921 called for public support and recognition of: (1) the right of working people of the United States to organise into trade unions for protection of their rights and interests; (2) right to, and practice of, collective bargaining by trade unions through representatives of their own choosing; (3) right to strike; (4) right to boycott; (5) no injunctions; (6) no immigration for two years; (7) initiative and referendum; (8) Congressional removal of rights of judicial review of legislation; (9) election of judges; (10) immediate restoration of exemption from, or repeal of, all anti-combination and so-called conspiracy laws; (11) repeal of all State industrial court laws and exemption of unions from liability to damages by court decisions.

boundaries of self-help to which organised labour had limited itself since the '80s.

But the Plumb Plan has not yet been made the essential part of any labour programme. President Gompers spoke against the plan in the 1920 convention of the American Federation of Labour, as he has opposed all devices contemplating labour participation in management. And in obeying instructions to co-operate with brotherhood leaders he found that they also thought it inopportune during the year to press Plumb Plan legislation actively⁽⁶²⁾. Consequently, the Plumb Plan has remained an "intellectual's" programme of industrial reorganisation along substantially guild socialistic lines. Its endorsement in principle by organised labour has not yet meant a departure from traditional behaviour, for it is still a resolution and not an integral plank in the labour platform. Whether it will drop entirely from view when the present depression gives way to a rising market is quite unpredictable.

EFFECT OF THE DEPRESSION

Now the tide of war prosperity has turned; business has fallen off, prices are falling, unemployment is estimated at from two and a half to five and a half millions of workers. As has been the case for the past hundred years, changes in the expectancies of business men have brought changes in the expectancies of the unions. The attacks on unions which recur at such times of the unions. At present a nation-wide open shop movement is in full swing, trade agreements are being broken⁽⁶³⁾ or not renewed, organised labour is on the defensive. Even before the depression began the unions had suffered two big defeats during 1919 in the steel strike and coal strike. The membership of the American Federation of Labour has fallen off. Organised labour in several localities is giving its attention more actively to political party action⁽⁶⁴⁾, to legislative reform movements⁽⁶⁵⁾, to distributive co-operation⁽⁶⁶⁾, and to co-operative banking⁽⁶⁷⁾. At the same time

⁽⁶²⁾ Report of Proceedings of American Federation of Labour Convention, 1921, p. 366.

⁽⁶³⁾ The strike in the New York cloak and suit trade is against employers' demands for piece-work and the 49-hour week, which the union claims is a violation of the agreement which was to run to June 1922. The union has obtained from the courts a temporary injunction restraining the employers' association from breaking the contract. This is the first case in which a trade union has made use of the weapon of the injunction to fight the employers.

⁽⁶⁴⁾ A Farmer-Labour party polled a relatively negligible vote in the 1920 elections, but it is a sign of the times.

⁽⁶⁵⁾ Various national unions have given their support to newly arisen and independent reform movements like the People's Reconstruction League.

⁽⁶⁶⁾ A Farmer-Labour co-operative congress met in the spring of 1920; the Second Congress was held in Cleveland early in 1921 and the third convened early this year.

⁽⁶⁷⁾ The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers established a national co-operative bank in 1920. During the first year total resources grew from \$650,000 to \$10,250,000 and net earnings were over \$125,000. Other unions are now agitating similar experiments.

the unions have presented organised opposition to wage cuts, even to the point of striking against arbitration awards⁽⁶⁸⁾. Withal it is not believed these symptoms represent more than the usual passing phase in the cycle of unionism. Labour is at the same time preparing a resumption of trade union action when business conditions become more favourable⁽⁶⁹⁾.

Appendix I

MEMBERSHIP OF AMERICAN TRADE UNIONS

The following list consists of the names and membership in 1920 of the "international" Canadian and Mexican trade union organisations in the United States. Those not affiliated with the American Federation of Labour are so designated. The membership of these unions was reported by the unions themselves to the Canadian Department of Labour in 1920. The figures for unions affiliated with the American Federation are calculated on the basis of the voting strength of the Federations in the Convention of 1920. In the case of two independent unions, as is indicated, membership figures were not obtainable, but estimates were made by the officials of these two organisations in December 1921. The total membership of the American Federation of Labour in 1921 was 3,906,528, a decrease of 172,212 from the high point of 1920. However, 54 unions recorded an increased voting strength in 1921, the largest increases being: carpenters 20,000; mine workers 32,100; railway carmen 17,900; seamen 37,400. Thirty-three unions recorded decreases in voting strength in 1921, the largest decreases being: boilermakers 18,500; garment workers 11,300; machinists 57,200; butchers 21,400; railway clerks 16,400; textile workers 22,000.

No membership figures are available for the following unions, which are not affiliated with the American Federation of Labour: Building Labourers' International Protective Union of America; Amalgamated Carders of America; National Chemical Plumbers and Lead Burners Association; American International Musical and Theatrical Union; Brotherhood of Railroad Station Employees; American Federation of Textile Operatives; Amalgamated Textile Workers of America; National Woolsorters and Graders Association of the United States.

The list of international unions is as follows:

| <i>International Unions</i> | <i>Membership 1920</i> |
|--|------------------------|
| Actors and Artists of America, Associated | 6,900 |
| Asbestos Workers, International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and | 2,200 |

⁽⁶⁸⁾ The building trades unions of Chicago and San Francisco have in some cases refused to abide by the decision of the arbitrator.

⁽⁶⁹⁾ The American Federation of Labour appointed a committee at its last convention to investigate systems of wage payment and to formulate a scientific wage programme for organised labour.

| | |
|---|---------|
| Automobile, Aircraft, and Vehicule Workers of America, United ⁽¹⁾ | 13,300 |
| Bakery and Confectionary Workers' International Union | 27,500 |
| Barbers' International Union, Journeymen | 44,200 |
| Bill Posters and Billers, International Alliance of | 1,600 |
| Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers, and Helpers, International Brotherhood of | 48,300 |
| Boilermakers, Iron Shipbuilders, and Helpers, International Brotherhood of | 103,000 |
| Bookbinders, International Brotherhood of | 20,700 |
| Boot and Shoe Workers' Union | 46,700 |
| Brewery, Flour, Cereal, and Soft Drink Workers, International Union of the United | 34,100 |
| Bricklayers, Masons, and Plasterers' International Union of America | 70,000 |
| Brick and Clay Workers of America, United | 5,200 |
| Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers, International Association of | 24,200 |
| Broom and Whisk Makers' Union, International | 1,000 |
| Carpenters and Joiners, United Brotherhood of | 331,500 |
| Carvers' Association of North America, International Wood | 1,200 |
| Cigarmakers' International Union of America, | 38,800 |
| Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North America, United ⁽¹⁾ | 15,000 |
| Clothing Workers of America, Amalgamated ⁽¹⁾ | 175,000 |
| Commercial Telegraphers' Union of America | 2,200 |
| Conductors, Order of Sleeping Car | 1,200 |
| Coopers' International Union of North America | 4,300 |
| Cutting Die and Cutter Makers, International Union of | 200 |
| Diamond Workers' Protective Union of America | 600 |
| Draftmen's Union, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects, and | 3,500 |
| Electrical Workers, International Brotherhood of | 139,200 |
| Elevator Constructors, International Union of | 3,100 |
| Engravers' League, International Steel and Copper Plate | 200 |
| Federal Employees, National Federation of | 38,500 |
| Fire Fighters, International Association of | 22,100 |
| Foundry Employees, International Brotherhood of | 9,100 |
| Fur Workers' Union, International | 12,100 |
| Garment Workers of America, United | 45,900 |
| Garment Workers' Union, International Ladies' | 105,400 |
| Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada | 10,000 |
| Glass Workers of America, National Window | 4,800 |
| Glass Workers' Union, American Flint | 9,900 |
| Glove Workers' Union of America, International | 1,000 |
| Granite Cutters' International Association of America | 10,500 |
| Hatters of North America, United | 10,500 |
| Hod Carriers, Building, and Common Labourers' Union, International | 42,000 |
| Horseshoers of United States and Canada, International Union of Journeymen | 5,400 |
| Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League | 60,400 |
| Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, Amalgamated Association of | 31,500 |

⁽¹⁾ Not affiliated with the American Federation of Labour.

| | |
|---|---------|
| Jewellery Workers' Union, International (¹) | 8,100 |
| Lace Operatives, Amalgamated (¹) | 900 |
| Lathers, International Union of Wood, Wire, and Metal | 5,900 |
| Laundry Workers' International Union | 6,700 |
| Leather Workers' International Union, United | 11,700 |
| Letter Carriers, National Association of | 32,500 |
| Letter Carriers, National Federation of Rural | 300 |
| Lithographers of America, Amalgamated | 6,100 |
| Locomotive Engineers, Brotherhood of (¹) | 86,700 |
| Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, Brotherhood of (¹) | 125,800 |
| Longshoremen's Association, International | 74,000 |
| Machinists, International Association of | 330,800 |
| Maintenance-of-Way Employees and Railway Shop Labourers, United Brotherhood of (¹) | 155,900 |
| Marble, Stone, and Slate Polishers, Rubbers, and Sawyers, International Association of | 1,200 |
| Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association of United States, National | 17,000 |
| Masters, Mates and Pilots, National Association of | 7,100 |
| Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, Amalgamated | 65,300 |
| Metal Polishers' International Union | 10,000 |
| Metal Workers' International Alliance, Amalgamated Sheet | 21,800 |
| Mine Workers of America, United | 393,600 |
| Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers, International Union of | 21,100 |
| Moulders' Union of North America, International | 57,300 |
| Musicians, American Federation of | 70,000 |
| Oil Field, Gas Well, and Refinery Workers of America, International Association of | 20,900 |
| Painters, Decorators, and Paperhangers of America, Brotherhood of | 103,100 |
| Paper Makers, United Brotherhood of | 7,400 |
| Pattern Makers' League of North America | 9,000 |
| Pavers, Rammermen, Flag Layers, Wood Block and Brick Pavers, Bridge and Stone Curb Setters, and Asphalt Workers, International Union of | 1,900 |
| Paving Cutters' Union of the United States and Canada | 2,600 |
| Piano, Organ, and Musical Instrument Workers' Inter- national Union | 3,200 |
| Photo Engravers' Union of North America, International | 5,900 |
| Plasterers and Cement Finishers' International Associa- tion, Operative | 19,400 |
| Plumbers, Gas, and Steam Fitters, United Association of | 32,000 |
| Post Office Clerks, National Federation of | 16,200 |
| Potters, National Brotherhood of Operative | 8,000 |
| Powder and High Explosive Workers of America, United | 300 |
| Print Cutters' Association of America, National | 400 |
| Printers and Colour Mixers, National Association of Machine | 500 |
| Printers and Die Stampers' Union, International Plate | 1,400 |
| Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union, International | 35,000 |
| Pulp, Sulphite, and Paper Mill Workers, International Brotherhood of | 9,500 |
| Quarry Workers' International Union of North America | 3,000 |
| Railroad Employees, Canadian Brotherhood of (¹) | 12,000 |

(¹) Not affiliated with the American Federation of Labour.

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|--|-----------------------|
| Railroad Signalmen of America, Brotherhood of | 12,300 |
| Railroad Station Agents, Order of ⁽¹⁾ | 10,000 ⁽²⁾ |
| Railroad Stationmen and Railroad Employees' Alliance, International Brotherhood of ⁽¹⁾ | 3,200 |
| Railroad Telegraphers, Order of | 48,700 |
| Railroad Trainmen, Brotherhood of ⁽¹⁾ | 184,900 |
| Railroad Patrolmen, Brotherhood of | 2,600 |
| Railroad Workers, American Federation of ⁽¹⁾ | 30,000 ⁽²⁾ |
| Railway Carmen of America, Brotherhood of | 182,100 |
| Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees, Brotherhood of | 186,000 |
| Railway Conductors, Order of ⁽¹⁾ | 56,000 |
| Railway Employees of America, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric | 98,700 |
| Railway Employees of North America, United Association of ⁽¹⁾ | 20,000 |
| Railway Mail Association | 14,400 |
| Retail Clerks' International Protective Association | 20,800 |
| Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers' Association, United Slate, Tile, and Composition | 1,800 |
| Sawsmiths' National Union | 100 |
| Seamen's Union, International | 65,900 |
| Spinners' Union, International ⁽¹⁾ | 2,200 |
| Stage Employees and Moving Picture Machine Operators of the United States and Canada, International Alliance of Theatrical | 19,600 |
| Stationary Fireman and Oilers, International Brotherhood of | 29,600 |
| Steam and Operating Engineers, International Union of | 32,000 |
| Steam Shovel and Dredgemen, International Brotherhood of ⁽¹⁾ | 11,600 |
| Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union, International | 5,900 |
| Stonecutters' Association of North America, Journeymen | 4,000 |
| Stove Mounters' International Union | 1,900 |
| Switchmen's Union of North America | 14,000 |
| Tailors' Union of America, Journeymen | 12,000 |
| Teachers, American Federation of | 9,300 |
| Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen, and Helpers, Inter- national Brotherhood of | 110,800 |
| Textile Workers of America, United | 104,900 |
| Timberworkers, International Union of | 10,100 |
| Tobacco Workers, International Union of | 15,200 |
| Transferrers' Association of America, International Steel Plate | 100 |
| Tunnel and Subway Constructors' International Union | 3,000 |
| Typographical Union, International | 70,500 |
| Upholsterers and Trimmers' International Union | 5,600 |
| Weavers' Amalgamated Association, Elastic Goring | 100 |
| Weavers', Wire, American Protective Association | 400 |
| Workers' International Industrial Union, The ⁽¹⁾ | 3,000 |

⁽¹⁾ Not affiliated with the American Federation of Labour.

⁽²⁾ Membership, December 1921, as estimated by officers of the Union.

Appendix 2

RECENT AMALGAMATIONS WITHIN THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOUR

- (1) Slate and Tile Roofers' Union merged with United Slate, Tile, and Composition Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers' Association in 1920.
 - (2) Shingle Weavers' Union merged with International Union of Timber Workers in 1918.
 - (3) Compressed Air and Foundation Workers' Union merged with Hodcarriers and Common Labourers in 1918.
 - (4) Union of Leather Workers on Horse Goods merged with Travellers Goods and Leather Novelty Workers into United Leather Workers' International Union in 1917.
 - (5) Brotherhood of Railway Postal Clerks merged with National Federation of Post Office Clerks in 1917.
 - (6) Amalgamated Glass Workers' International Association merged with Painters, Decorators, and Paperhangers in 1916.
 - (7) Cement Workers' Union merged with Operative Plasterers' International Association of the United States and Canada in 1916.
 - (8) International Protective Tin Plate Workers' Union merged with Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers in 1913.
 - (9) Amalgamated Wood Workers merged with United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners in 1912.
 - (10) Association of Allied Metal Mechanics merged with International Association of Machinists in 1905.
 - (11) International Electrotype Plate Makers' Union merged with International Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union in 1905.
 - (12) International Furniture Workers of America merged with Amalgamated Wood Workers in 1904.
 - (13) National Brotherhood of Coal Hoisting Engineers merged with United Mine Workers in 1904.
 - (14) International Watch Case Workers merged with International Jewellery Workers' Union in 1903.
 - (15) Coremakers' International Union merged with International Moulders' Union of North America in 1903.
 - (16) Potters' National Union of America merged with National Brotherhood of Operative Potters in 1903.
 - (17) Special Order Clothing Workers' Union merged with United Garment Workers in 1903.
 - (18) Brotherhoods of Painters and Decorators suspended and charters re-issued to consolidated Brotherhood in 1900.
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