

A STUDY OF  
THE INFLUENCE OF LABOR IN  
THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION  
OF 1928. EMPHASIS ON LABOR  
JOURNALS.

by

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## INTRODUCTION

The present study is an attempt at scientific investigation in the political field--a field in which the body of real objective research appears as but a tiny island in the midst of an ocean of controversial matter motivated by personal and group interest and calculated to convince, persuade, coerce or even to deceive rather than to discover, describe, interpret and inform.

As special interest and special function groups increase in numbers and strength and the functions of government and politics are increasingly assumed by unofficial agencies, it seems evident that any contribution to the body of scientific data regarding the political aims, attitudes and methods of such groups would be of value in the process of evolving a more useable political science.

The specific objectives of this project may be briefly stated as follows:

1. To make possible a better understanding of labor's political attitudes, interests and programs by a cross section study of political discussion in the organized labor press in the 1928 campaign.
2. To discover the extent and direction of distinctive labor political attitudes.
3. To compare labor press attitudes with official political pronouncements and programs in the campaign.



4. To study the effectiveness of labor's political efforts and methods in 1928 in the hope that data discovered may be of value to those dealing with the tactical side of labor politics.

It was considered advisable to narrow the scope of the study sufficiently to permit reasonably specific and intensive treatment. To this end emphasis was on national rather than state or local politics, and no attempt was made to deal with the activities and influence of legislative committees, bureaus of legal information or other official agencies except as they affected the campaign or election of 1928. The study was confined mainly to campaign attitudes and influence as expressed through the union labor press and as revealed in the election results, with essential references to official policy, historic background, etc., No attempt was made to describe in detail or estimate campaign influence exerted directly through unions or federations by political committees except as shown in official statements, in journal discussion or by election results.

The analysis of press influence and discussion was restricted to union supported journals so far as these could be determined. More than 150 non-union, farmer, radical and miscellaneous periodicals which cater to labor support and opinion were excluded. It is recognized that the labor vote and opinion is

widely affected by these journals but it seemed advisable to confine the present investigation to the union labor field. Union supported journals are included, however, which were not official organs.

It may be argued with justification that much of labor's political influence is exerted directly through the unions and therefore labor journals are not an adequate measure of labor's political strength. While the limitation is recognized, yet it should be remembered that in the long run labor's political strength as a distinctive group, depends upon: First: the extent to which labor can control and direct the labor vote in a given direction, Second; the effectiveness with which labor can exert direct influence upon party and government officials, and Third: the extent of labor's influence upon public opinion in general. There is little doubt that the labor press is at present a more potent instrument in these directions than all other instrumentalities combined which the labor movement has made available, and an analysis of labor press political discussion checked by an analysis of election results would seem to be a fairly significant index of labor's attitudes and influence.

But it is not possible to present herein a completely accurate picture of labor press attitudes. The journals studied were a fairly comprehensive sample but not a complete collection of labor periodicals. All significant

union labor journals listed by the Labor year Book for 1926 were approached for sample copies and information having an important bearing on the primaries or the election. Thirty-two responded by letter only (1). A few sent only one or two or current numbers and were apparently inactive.

Of the general A. F. of L. publications all responded.

Of the A. F. of L. National Union Organs about one-third responded.

Of State Federation and National Union Organs approximately one-half responded.

Of City, District and County Organs one-fourth responded.

Of Miscellaneous union journals approximately one-thirteenth responded.

Of Non-union publications approximately one-half responded.

The last-named group were not included in the analysis.

The sample of journals which responded is more important when circulation is taken into account. The A. F. of L. Union organs examined reach probably 45% to 50% of the total A. F. of L. membership. A large number of A. F. of L. members besides these 45% to 50% would doubtless be readers of the 22 city district and state A. F. of L. journals in the sample. Hence the total A. F. of L. membership reached by our sample of journals could not be determined but it is doubtless a substantial majority of the total membership.

.....  
(1) Tables A. and A2 of the Appendix Sec. II

The Independent Union Organs which responded probably reached more than 90% of the total membership. By a conservative estimate the sample of journal opinion obtained reaches 60% of organized labor membership in the U. S. and an undetermined state, city and local circulation in addition.(2)

The sample was not selected but was dependent entirely on the response and cooperation of the journals. It may be true of course that the group not responding were less interested, or otherwise divergent politically from those which responded.

With respect to the geographical distribution of the sample obtained, it is evident that the national union organs and general official publications circulate in most cases throughout the membership of the group or trade represented and hence both circulation and editorial influence will follow industrial and union membership distribution. In case of state, city, and miscellaneous journals this does not apply. An examination of Table A2 shows that in the distribution of wage labor the sample obtained is somewhat inadequately representative of the New England section and somewhat heavily weighted in favor of the North Central States. The State Federation organs listed in the Labor Year Book were all obtained.

.....

(2) Table B 3. Appendix Sec. II

It is obvious that the study cannot take account of differences which may exist between editorial or official opinion expressed in the journals and rank and file viewpoints. Official journals frequently function in guiding or combating rank and file opinion as well as reflecting it. It is reasonable to suppose, for instance, that the present on-slaughts in the labor press against company unions and communism may reflect a considerable opposite and favorable attitude toward these movements among the rank and file. Hence while wide deviations from the journal attitudes may be perhaps the exception rather than the rule where journal agreement is constant, nevertheless it must be recognized that numerous interests affect the worker's vote and opinion. Among these may be mentioned: Other papers and periodicals, employer's influence, political machines, friends and relatives, partisan backgrounds, campaign oratory, propaganda in general, etc.

It is also true that subscribers do not read the political matter, and of those who do many are not critical. Likewise many readers are not voters. On the other hand, it is impossible to measure the influence exerted by journals beyond their own subscription list. Obviously, the nature of the subject precludes the possibility of precise results, and presents the usual difficulties

characteristic of objective measurements of subjective variables.

Finally it is recognized that in presenting a cross section view of labor journals there is a subjective factor always present in the selection and evaluation of significant material.

The presence of such limitations in social science projects, although increasing the probable error of the results, does not decrease but rather emphasizes the importance of a scientific approach in dealing with them. The reader can best judge as to how far such an objective has been attained.

## CHAPTER I

HOW OFFICIAL POLITICAL POLICIES OF ORGANIZED  
LABOR ARE DETERMINED AND PROPAGATED (1)

As political functions are increasingly assumed by special interest group organizations or "Unofficial Agencies" the machinery and methods of their political activity grows more complex. This evolutionary process has been evident in the American Federation of Labor. Political and legislative activities originally confined to the chief officials are now performed by several permanent agencies and committees.

Theoretically, political or legislative issues of the Federation originate in Convention by resolutions and are mandates of the convention to the officials. In actual practice political and legislative policy is largely initiated, determined and controlled by permanent committees, and passes the convention as a matter of formality only. All resolutions pass through officially appointed committees for revision before coming to the convention and they are usually passed in revised form without serious dissention.

.....  
(1) A detailed treatment of the Machinery and Methods of the A. F. of L. as its influences government is being prepared for publication by Harwood Lawrence Childs under the title "Unofficial Agencies of Government". For brief treatment consult the A. F. of L. Convention Proceedings for any recent year.

The chief committees affecting political or legislative policy are: 1. The Legislative Committee which is directly in touch with congress, and assists state legislative Committees; 2. The Bureau of Legal Information (under the Education Committee) which keeps in touch with the courts and gives information regarding Court decisions and advice on legal and legislative questions, and 3. The National Non-Partisan Political Committee which assumes responsibility for campaign activity. All of these committees report and are responsible to the Executive Council.

The work and experience of the two committees first named provide a basis for the program and line of action of the National Non-Partisan Committee which is pertinent to this study. Specific activities of this committee are discussed in a later chapter.

Specific political policies and legislative proposals probably come into labor's program because of pressure from various directions; for example: (1) legal difficulties met by officials in carrying out union functions of organization and bargaining; (2) pressure from union officials and members for protection of their jobs against "unfair competition"; (3) pressure from union membership for welfare measures to improve working conditions at public expense; (4) aspirations, interests or difficulties represented by various political proposals. Political activity centers on specific and immediate objectives rather than a preconceived program, as well be seen later. The political methods of the



railroad labor organizationa are indicated in the following extract from a letter written by Edward Keating, Manager of Labor: (2)

"There are 22 standard railroad labor organizations each enjoying the most complete autonomy. Some are affiliated with the A. F. of L. and some are not. (3)

"The executives of these organizations come together occasionally to discuss matters of mutual interest. With that object in mind, they have organized the Association of Railway Labor Executives. Fifteen of these organizations own the newspaper, Labor.

"A number of the organizations maintain national legislative representatives in Washington. These gentlemen keep a record of the votes cast by senators and representatives on measures of interest to labor. In addition, the newspaper Labor records how they vote on measures of general interest.

"Just before each general election, these records are examined and the executives, who are members of the Railway Labor Executives' organization, indorse for re-election those senators and representatives who are believed to be 'progressive' and in some instances urge the defeat of senators

.....  
 (2) Labor is the political organ of the fifteen standard railway brotherhoods. It is a four page weekly, well edited and has a circulation in the United States and Canada of between 400,000 and 500,000. Labor is the most active politically of any of the large labor journals since it specializes on politics.

(3) Ten of the Fifteen owning Labor are not affiliated with the A. F. of L.

and representatives who are believed to be hostile to the public interests.

"In considering the records of members of Congress, our executives are, of course, not influenced in any way by the party considerations. We support Democrats, Republicans, and Independents with equal fervor.

"Where we feel that a member has made an unusually good record, we sometimes send special representatives into his state or district to urge his election and in some instances we prepare and distribute special editions of Labor, setting forth our reasons for supporting him.

"All this work is carried on without cost to the candidates. We never accept a penny from a politician--friendly or unfriendly."

Specific activities of these bodies relative to the 1928 campaign is discussed in later chapters.

## CHAPTER II

## ISSUES OF SPECIAL INTEREST TO LABOR

## 1. Court Injunctions and Limitations on the Freedom of Unions.

The injunction is an order, issued by a court of equity forbidding actions which will, in the judgment of the court, cause irreparable injury to the persons or property, an injury for which there is no remedy at law. (1) It is frequently referred to by labor writers as "judge made law", or the power of judges to order or restrain before law has been violated.

The first use of the injunction for interference in labor disputes appears to have been in Massachusetts in 1888.

(2) Since that date it has increased, both in frequency and breadth of application, and has remained a main issue in the political program of the American Federation of Labor since 1896, growing in importance as the organization's political activity has increased. (3) An examiner of the extension of the use of the injunction is its application, since 1917, in forbidding unionization among employees who have, upon accepting employment, signed an agreement with the Company not to affiliate with a Union. The courts in granting restraints against organizing such employees and upholding these "yellow Dog" contracts are causing much alarm to Union officials and this phase of the question was prominent in journal discussion during the campaign. (3a)

- .....
- (1) International Bookbinder October 1928 p510
  - (2) International Moulders' Journal September 1928 P 517
  - (3) A. F. of L. History Encyclopedia and Reference Book, 1919 p251  
261 also Shoe Workers' Journal October 1928 p 4-6.
  - (3a) See Labor Year Book 1928 p 151 also A. F. of L. Convention Proceedings 1928.

The application of the Sherman anti-trust law to Union activities beginning in 1908 was thought to be remedied by the exemption clause of the Clayton Act, of 1914, but court interpretation has proved otherwise so that this question presents a growing menace. (3b) These various direct limitations on union activity will be considered together in reference to labor and the campaign.

The official attitude of the A. F. of L. regarding injunctions as announced by the executive council and presented to both party conventions in 1928, is as follows:

"Injunctions in Labor Disputes--

"Because of the seriousness of this problem and the extended use of injunctions in Labor controversies which arise between employers and employees, we urge that your platform declare in favor of the enactment of legislation which will define and prevent the jurisdiction of equity courts in the issuance of injunctions against labor as a result of controversies which may arise between employers and employees. A remedy must be found for the abuse of the injunction in controversies which arise between employers and employees if labor is to be economically free and if the right of labor to use its power to serve is to be maintained.

"The extent to which injunctions have been used against labor in the past has raised a feeling of great discontent and dissatisfaction among the masses of people. They are also determined to seek and find a remedy for this growing evil."

.....  
(3b) Ibid p. 113-116.

A shorter but equally forceful representation was made concerning application of anti-trust laws to labor organization and the need for freedom to organize and bargain collectively. (3c)

Discussion of the injunction in labor journals during the campaign was voluminous, varied, and usually vehement. No other single issue drew attention from so many different periodicals or consumed so much space. The discussion was well distributed as historical matter, exposition, agitation and news.

Various long articles appeared giving the historical background of the question (4) emphasizing how the original purpose of the equity power has been gradually widened and distorted from that of the protection of persons or real property against actual injury, to its present frequent use in paralyzing even the peaceful activities of labor Unions, such as organizing, picketing, calling and financing strikes, distribution of union printed matter or even the "singing of religious hymns" on one occasion. Not only is the broadened application of the injunction treated historically but also the increased frequency of its use. Says Clion O. Swayzee: (5) "Hardly has a month passed since 1888 but what in some

- .....
- (3c) Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators July p 350.  
 (4) For Historic treatment see American Photo Engraver Nov. 1928. p 1169-79. Moulder Sept. 1928 p 524-28 Also p 517-20  
 American Flint Nov. 1928 p 12 Shoe Workers Journal Oct. 1928 p 4-6  
 Journal of the Switchmen's Union Nov. 1928 p 510-12  
 (5) Moulders Journal Sept. 1928 p 517

magazine or newspaper there has appeared an article or account of a speech in which the injunction was attacked and proclaimed to be the most vicious judicial monster from which labor had to defend itself."

He declares that injunctions "are being obtained with an ever increasing ease". Also in his oft printed labor day address, Secretary Frank Morrison of the A. F. of L. recalled Chief Justice Taft's warning in 1919 to labor injunction judges not to use their power indiscriminately, and, declared Morrison, "since that warning all records have been broken by injunction Judges". "The Supreme court of the United States itself, with Mr. Taft as Chief Justice, has ruled for the first time that labor can be held to its task by the injunction process". (6)

Thus very frequently the injunction is looked upon as a growing menace and it is usually referred to as labor's most important political problem.

Says an editorial in the journal just quoted, "The A. F. of L. has made the injunction evil the major issue in its legislative program". Another writer states that it has "progressed so far that a large part (of the people) if not a majority live under government by discretion instead of government by law".

.....  
Ibid p 525

(7) Photo Ingraver Nov. 1928 p 1169

Still another editor believes that the injunction carried to its logical conclusion would break up every safeguard which Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence has built up. (8)

There is considerable theoretical and analytical matter, particularly in the national union organs, dealing with the constitutional laws as well as the practical application of the injunction. For example, Andrew Furuneth in the Photo Engraver for November traces the origins of the equity power through English and Roman law to the Orient. Cleon O. Swayzee in the American Federationist (September) points out the need for research into the working of the injunction and suggests thirteen lines along which research might proceed. These and other articles appear in various journals as reprints. There is evidence of thoughtful study as well as strong feeling on the question.

Injunction news is prominent especially throughout the state and City federation and district organs, and likewise in the independent and miscellaneous weeklies. The official papers are perhaps as much given to propaganda and invective attitudes as are the free lance journals.

.....  
 (8) Painter and Decoration March 1928 p 21, for other examples of this and the following points see International Book Binders September p 472 and October p 510. Upholsters Journal September 1928 p 134. Editorial United Mine Workers Journal October 1928. American Flint November 1928 p 12. Boiler Makers Journal July 1928 p 314. Textile Worker September 1928 p 332. Railroad Trainman October 1928 p 735. American Federation September 1928. Amalgamated Journal November 1, 1928 page 3 also October 4 and 18.

Some of the prominent news played up during the campaign was in connection with the Coal strike, the Seattle teachers' "Yellowdog" case, and various local strike situations. (9)

"Public Feeling Running High on Injunction Case", "Injunction Judge aids Employer who Broke Pledge with Drivers", "Equity Judge Arouses Ire of Citizens", are typical front page headlines.

The injunction was considered by labor officials and most journals as the most important issue in the campaign from the labor viewpoint. William Green, President of the A. F. of L., in his labor day address which was reported in numerous journals stated it was labor's "chief concern in the present political campaign". A similar statement was made the same day by Frank Morrison, Secretary of the A. F. of L. and in the various articles and editorials. With some it was the campaign cry; "Remember the injunction on election day. Vote against every friend of Judge made law", says an editorial in the Amalgamated Journal (November p 3.). Another editor writes "Workers should not permit the injunction evil to be engulfed in a discussion of personalities in this campaign". (10)

.....  
 (9) Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators August p 420 and 446. Gives complete review of the Seattle case.

United Mine Workers Journal in every issue deals with coal cases. Injunction news appears profusely in many journals.

(10) See Journal of the Switchmens Union September 1928 p 463. Seamen's Journal, November 1928, p330



And another, "Whenever a pro-injunction candidate bobs his head, soak him with a ballot, " (11) Again quoting from Frank Morrison's Labor Day address: "Labor will carry its opposition to the injunction misuse into this fall's campaign. Candidates for both branches of Congress will be asked to state their position..." Governor Smith was even warmly complimented by William Green for his stand on the question in spite of an official declaration of neutrality toward the presidential candidates.

(12)

In Labor periodical discussion of Congressional candidates, frequent references were made to attitudes and record on the injunction, and in a less degree to Anti-trust law application to labor.

Union officials seemed to be pinning their faith to the Shipstead Bill (16) to remedy the abuse, and Congressional candidates were judged by attitudes shown toward this measure as well as the issue in general. An article by Senator Wagner was published in several journals, and also statements by Senator Brookheart and others. (14)

.....  
 (11) Journal of the Switchmens' Union Nov. 1928, p 556

(12) Advance , August 31 pl.

(13) Senate Bill S. 1482 introduced by Shipstead Dec. 1927 and expected to be considered in Dec. 1928. (See Boiler Makers' Journal, July 1928. p 31) There is no record of the bill reappearing in the 70th Congress.

(14) American Flint, Nov. p 12. Boiler Makers' Journal Oct. p 407., Amalgamated Journal September 27, p 22 Textile Worker for November p 492, Shoe Workers Journal, Oct. p 4-6

Several journals paralleled in three columns, labor's official policy on the various issues and the stand taken by each of the two major parties in their platforms. (15)

On the injunction issue and the freedom of labor union activity labor asked: "Amendment of the Sherman anti-trust and that labor, industry and agriculture may develop along normal, constructive lines.

Legislation to define the jurisdiction of equity courts and prevent the issuance of injunctions against labor in industrial disputes."

Reply of Democrats:

"Labor is not a commodity. Human rights must be safeguarded. Labor should be exempt from the operation of anti-trust laws. "We recognize that legislative and other investigations have shown the existence of grave abuse in the issuance of injunctions in labor disputes. No injunction should be granted in labor disputes except upon proof of threatened irreparable injury and after notice and hearing, and the injunction should be confined to those acts which do directly threaten irreparable injury. The express purpose of representative capital, labor and the bar to devise a plan for the elimination of the present evils with respect to injunctions must be supported and legislation designed to accomplish these ends formulated and passed.

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 (15) For example See Journal of Electrical Workers and

Operators August p. 406-7. This summary was distributed among the unions in pamphlet form as through the journals.

"We favor the principle of collective bargaining and the Democratic principle that organized labor should choose its own representative without coercion or interference."

Reply of Republicans:

"We believe that injunctions in labor disputes have in some instances been abused and have given rise to a serious question for legislation.

"The party favors freedom in wage contracts, the right of collective bargaining by free and responsible agents of their own choosing, which develops and maintains that purposeful cooperation which gains its chief incentive through voluntary agreement."

Both party platforms and both presidential candidates received both criticisms and compliments for their policy and records on the injunction and anti-trust laws. Apparently Smith fared better than Hoover, taking the journals as a whole. Some were frankly partial to one or the other, some complimentary to both, some criticized both while others attempted to strike an impartial balance without comment. There was no one attitude perhaps which embraced a good majority of the periodicals, many were noncommittal, but of the opinions expressed, Smith was favored more than Hoover by a considerable margin as regards this question. (16)

.....  
(16) For various attitudes toward Smith and Hoover with reference to the injunction issue see: Railway Clerk, Oct. p 460 and 470, Locomotive Engineers' Journal, Sept., Journal of Switchmen's Union, Nov. p 565, Advance, August 10, Upholsters' Journal, Sept. p 134 and 139, Life and Lab. Bul. Dec. 1928, p 1.

Owing to the seriousness with which labor views the restriction of its activities by the courts through the application of the injunction and anti-trust laws to labor activities, one must conclude that attitudes of candidates and parties on these questions, where stated, strongly influenced the vote of union-conscious workers.

## 2 Unemployment and Immigration

In 1889 the A. F. of L. began agitation for political action on unemployment by asking that unemployment data be included in the census report. In 1893 a bill in Congress to appropriate a half billion dollars to build roads to provide work was endorsed; the public works program was again endorsed in 1894, and appeared again in labor's program in 1913, and frequently thereafter, and aid for the unemployed was asked in 1915. The long fight, only in a minor degree political, for the shorter work day in the 80's and since, has been aimed partly at unemployment, while unemployment and low wages have inspired labor's fight for immigration restriction reaching back into the 60's. (1)

Unlike the injunction, unemployment has been usually treated by labor as primarily not a political but an economic problem, and many labor writers and journals seem averse to considering it as anything else. (2) So while the question

.....  
 (1) A. F. of L. History, Encyclopedia and Reference Book 1919 see Unemployment. Also Commons, John R., History of Labor in the U. S. Vol. II p 324 and following.

(2) For example: American Photo Engraver Nov. 1928 p 1154

ranks in importance next to the injunction, there is a wide difference in the emphasis placed on political action on the problem. Officially the A. F. of L. recognize it as a political as well as an economic problem, and calls for a timing of public construction projects to meet employment depressions, and a thorough investigation of the whole question by Congress.

(3) There is evidence of a growing official emphasis on the need for political action. (4)

Among the national Union journals, emphasis on the problem varies somewhat with the conditions of the industry, and the degree of mechanization. Organs like the United Mine Workers' Journal, Shoe Workers' Journal and the Textile Worker reflect industrial depression, while the Journal of Electrical Workers, the American Flint (Glass) and others see more vividly the problem of mechanization, some journals reflect both phases of the problem. There is much emphasis on analysis and statistical treatment in presenting the nature and urgency of the problem but little clear agreement on its solution.

The editor of the Journal of Electrical Workers sees the problem as larger than political: "Now it is our position that unemployment is the most important question---the central problem---of our common society. It is not an ephemereal issue.

.....  
 (3) Labor's platform Journal of Electrical Workers July 1928 p 350. quoted from later in this section.

(4) In reports of Political committees.

Proceedings of the A. F. of L. Conventions 1920 to 1928.

It is not a political issue, it is a test---the acid test of our civilization. An industrial civilization that is not prepared to find work for those who want work is doomed". And again later, "In the next four years we shall see the need for intelligent action to correct the lag that bankrupt farmers display before they become farm wage earners, and the lag that millions of displaced industrial workers display before they get readjusted to new industries." (5) He presents no solution.

President Green's widely quoted labor address sets forth labor's official position on the question. Also Secretary Frank Morrison mentions the mechanization of industry, and the injunction as "two questions of major interest to trade unions." (6) Railroad Union periodicals treated the question largely from the economic angle but their political paper, Labor, gives publicity to the A. F. of L. policies.

Among the remedies suggested are: timing of public works, shorter work day and week, extension of immigration quota law to Mexico and Latin America, abolition of child labor, high wage policy, limit on speculation, a federal labor bureau and investigation by the government through the census and otherwise. Hope was expressed for the passage of the Jones bill (7) providing for a public works reserve fund for use in employment depression and two bills by Senator Wagner (8)

.....  
 (5) Aug. 1928 p 411 and Oct. p 574

(6) Kansas Federationist 1928 Aug. p 1. For the following discussion see Labor Oct. 23. Locomotive Firemens and Engineers Journal September p 200, R. R. Trainman October p 744-6, Also Sept. p 688-9, Nov. p 854 Journal of Electrical Workers Oct. p 524 and American Flint August p 38

(7) Senate Bill S 2475 Reported favorably but not passed in 70th Congress. See Railroad Trainman 1928 p 644

(8) S. 4158 and S. 4157 Neither were passed in the 70th Congress.

providing for investigation of the question, and for a national employment bureau. Interest was also shown in New York's \$37,000,000 appropriation for relief through public works.

Referring again to the widely published comparison of labor's platform with those of the two major parties, labor asked on Immigration:

"Continuation of present restrictive immigration policy and its progressive application as further needs develop."

Reply of the Democrats on Immigration:

"Laws which limit immigration must be preserved in full force and effect."

Reply of Republicans on Immigration:

"Republican party believes that in the interest of both native and foreign-born wage earners it is necessary to restrict immigration. Unrestricted immigration would result in widespread unemployment and in the breakdown of the American standard of living."

What labor asked on unemployment.

"Advance planning of public works to provide authorization and finances so that work may be initiated promptly as unemployment increases and thus not compete with demands for workers in private employment."

Reply of Democrats on unemployment:

"Unemployment is present, widespread and increasing. We favor the adoption by the government, after a study of this subject, of a scientific plan whereby during periods of unemployment, appropriations shall be made available for the construction of necessary public works and the lessening, as far

as is consistent with public interests of government construction work when labor is generally and satisfactorily employed in private enterprise. Study should also be made of modern methods in industry and a constructive solution found to absorb and utilize the surplus human labor released by the increased use of machinery."

The Republicans promised prosperity as a solution.

As has been indicated, unemployment is not considered by many labor journals as primarily a political question, and it did not play nearly so great a part in the labor news and discussion relative to the campaign as did injunctions. Some reference was made to attitudes of congressional candidates in their published records, as well as those of the presidential candidates. The acceptance speeches on the question also drew comment. The absence of specific unemployment policy in the Republican platform was perhaps offset by Hoover's promise to abolish poverty by "seeing that everyman has a job". (10) Smith's record and his New York program elicited favorable comment. Both candidates were severely criticized on this issue in some periodicals. It would be difficult to weigh the influence of this question on the labor vote judged by labor journal comment.

.....  
 (10) Irwin in the Advance Sept. 7. p 6 commenting on this statement said, "I think it will be one of the most effective statements he has made in the campaign". Irwin and the Advance supported Norman Thomas.



### 3. Old Age Pensions

Old age pensions is considered by labor as largely a phase of the unemployment problem. Previous to 1925 it was treated as an industrial insurance problem (1). In 1909 appears the first record of endorsement of a government old age pension scheme (2). The attitude has frequently been reaffirmed since that date. Also several states have passed legislation granting pensions on a limited scale.

Sentiment on the question differs widely with the various unions, some treating it as a union matter, and providing their own system of benefits, others as an economic question for solution by capital and labor. The recent trend toward lower age limits for employees in many industries has apparently intensified the problem and brought it more into the arena as a major political question (3). The A. F. of L. has asked for a thoroughgoing investigation of the question by congress. No definite action was asked in the official political program submitted to the party conventions except liberalization of the retirement law for federal employees which was accepted by both parties. (4)

The question was however discussed politically perhaps more than unemployment during the campaign among the Union Organs which were examined, especially those of the independent

(1) Labor year book 1927

(2) A. F. of L. History Encyclopedia and Reference Book 1919 p 303

(3) See Proceedings, A. F. of L. Conventions 1927-1928.

(4) Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators August p 406.

unions indicating that perhaps, agitation by the rank and file members or writers or by officials of particular unions is running ahead of the A. F. of L. official policy, which is also ahead of political party action. So far, labor's official action is limited to the work of legislative committees.

While directly influencing platforms or the Campaign probably very little a few samples of the discussion will be cited to indicate attitudes expressed. Quoting from the Union Clay Workers editorially: "Old age pensions are right from every standpoint. Let us give our legislative committee all possible help. Write your senators and representatives." (5) The United Mine Workers Journal for October emphasized the seriousness of old age situation and the necessity for a thorough-going solution. In the Railway Clerk, Abraham Epstein under the heading "Prosperity of Security", (6), shows by facts and statistics that "The U. S. today is the only industrial nation which has made no social provision against the various emergencies confronting the wage earners under the high pressure of industrial life". No outright opposition was noted but a few organs of the highly skilled trades (7) considered it a union problem. The independent Unions and Miscellaneous journals were the most frequent supporters of political action

.....  
 (5) February 1929 p 15 Quotations are from Affiliated Unions

(6) October p 473 and 482

(7) e.g. The American Photo Engraver

#### 4. Protective Labor Legislation for Women and Children.

Prohibition of the gainful employment of children under 14 years of age and apprenticeship regulations were main policies in the political program adopted at the original Federation convention in 1881. During the history of the organization the former demand has been regularly reaffirmed, two years have been added to the age limit proposed and compulsory education has been included in the demand. (1) By 1916, most states had passed legislation limiting factory employment to ages ranging from 10 to 16 years, but evasions were frequent. The same year a federal act was passed which was declared unconstitutional by the U. S. Supreme court in 1918, another act aimed at taxation of employers of children was declared unconstitutional in 1922 and a constitutional amendment passed by congress in 1924 was submitted to the states for ratification but apparently a three-fourths majority for ratification cannot be secured. (2)

The present program of labor is for pressure upon the states for ratification and also for strengthening and enforcing of the present laws. While strongly emphasized as an issue in "Labor's platform" (3) the question seemed to receive political attention during the campaign from a smaller number of journals than any of the specifically labor issues, except political action on unemployment.

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 (1) A. F. of L. History Encyclopedia and Reference Book 1919.

(2) Labor Year Books for 1925, 1926, and 1928. Up to 1926 4 states had ratified and 21 had refused.

(3) Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators July p 350

Like the child labor laws, minimum wage legislation for women has been obstructed by the Supreme Court but state limitations on hours and night work have fared better (4). The struggle for labor legislation for women has not been so long or so important in labor's program as the child labor question and aside from the issue of "equal pay for equal work" seems to be either receding or in the hands of womens organizations. "Labor's platform" contained no reference to the question and it received little attention from the journals as a political issue.

The international book Binder criticizes the wages and working conditions of both women and children in that industry (5) but looks to organization rather than politics for a solution. A similar attitude is shown by the Upholsters Journal (6).

The official position of the 1927 A. F. of L. convention on child labor is set forth in the Locomotive Firemen and Engineers Journal (7) while statements from officials in Labor Day addresses on the question are printed in several journals. (8)

The records of candidates published in labor journals or distributed to unions by the Nonpartisan Political Committee, called attention to their attitudes on the question of child labor. There were complimentary

(4) Labor year Book 1928 p 167 and 208.

(5) October 1928 p 493.

(6) August Editorial P 103

(7) September p 206.

(8) See Textile Worker Sept. p 335 and Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators for October p 517 and Nov. editorial page.

references to Smith's record with respect to child labor because of several important measures which he had sponsored and which were enacted into law in New York state. (9)

In answer to labors' demand for ratification of the child Labor amendment, the Democratic platform replied: "Children are the chief asset of the nation, therefore their protection through infancy and childhood against exploitation is an important national duty." It also declared for continued opposition to exploitation of Women in industry, declared in favor of an equal wage for equal service, and adequate appropriation for Women's and Children's bureau.

The Republican platform was silent on these questions. And labor journal summaries of Hoover's acceptance speech made no reference to protective legislation for women and children. Smith, in his acceptance speech, as summarized in the journals, recalled his record in New York as a friend of such measures. There is little doubt that his attitude on the issue was more attractive to labor than was that of Hoover and the Republican Party.

.....  
 (9) Oklahoma Federationist July p 3. See also reference on campaign material.

(10) Locomotive Engineers Journal September for extracts of interest to labor.

## 5. Convict Labor Exploitation

Opposition to the contract prison labor system and the sale of prison made goods by the A. F. of L. began with its organization in 1881. (1) The fight was continued unabated for both state and federal legislation. Since 1925 the object has been for federal legislation enabling states to pass legislation protecting them against prison made goods from other states. It was so stated in the A. F. of L. platform for 1928 (2) and labor legislation committees were backing the Hawes-Cooper convict labor bill before and during the campaign. The bill had passed the house and was prevented by filibuster from coming to a vote in the senate during the first session. (3) Records of congressional candidates were perhaps checked closely on this measure. Several Journals called attention to the long half century fight on the issue and while passage was hoped for in the winter session of 1928 the issue was a live one in some unions. (4)

The question received no mention by either candidate in the acceptance speeches as reported in journals examined, and no past record on the question was claimed for either candidate.

- .....
- (1) Organized as the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada. See Commons History of Labor Vol. II.
  - (2) Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators July p 387.
  - (3) See Railroad Trainman August 1928 p 589, also March 1928 p 267. The bill passed the Senate in the second session and was signed by the President Jan. 19.
  - (4) Ibid. Reference cited. Also Textile Worker Nov. p 501-4 Painter and Decorator July 1928 p 30.

"Labor's Platform" demanded "Federal legislation to enable states to prohibit within their jurisdictions the sale of goods manufactured by convict labor in other states."

The Democrats replied: "We favor legislation providing that products of convict labor shipped from one state to another shall be subject to laws of the latter state as though they had been produced therein".

The Republican platform made no statement on the question. (5). It is somewhat doubtful as to just what bearing the condition of the Hawes-Cooper bill in congress at the time of the election may have had on Labor's vote. The journals did not make the question a major issue.

#### Miscellaneous Labor Proposals:

Several questions of particular interest to labor and calling for political action, received less attention from the labor press than those heretofore discussed; and while they may have had little direct bearing upon the election of candidates, they indicate political attitudes of labor and hence require brief treatment here.

"Labor's Platform", as presented by the A. F. of L. National Non-partisan Committee to the party conventions, called for: (a) Rehabilitation of the bituminous coal industry by legislative action; (b) More adequate accident compensation for government workers. (c) Support from the administration for the policy of high wages and prosperity; (d) Inauguration of the five day work week as rapidly as .....

(5) Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators July p 406.

economic and industrial conditions permit with the government taking the lead; (e) Adequate pay and classification for federal employees; (f) Liberalization of the retirement law for Federal employees; (g) Prevailing wage rates on government contracts and the work to be performed by citizens in the state where the work is done. (1)

Of these policies those dealing with the coal industry, the five day work week, and high wages and prosperity, were discussed occasionally at some length while these and others named were mentioned by several journals containing articles dealing with labor's political program. (2) Other minor labor issues regarding inspection, health, etc., were also noted. Relatively they received little emphasis in connection with the campaign.

Of the policies listed above those relating to the coal industry; high wages and prosperity; and increased pay and liberalization of the retirement law for federal employees, received general promises of fulfillment in both party platforms; those relating to government contracts and the five day week received no attention from either platform; while the matter of more adequate accident compensation for government workers was adequately recognized by the Democratic Party but not mentioned by the Republican Party. (1)

- .....
- (1) Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators July p 350 and 387 and August p 406-7.
- (2) e.g. Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators Nov. p 561-3. Moulders' Journal Sept. p 541. Railroad Trainman August p 588. Sept. p 643. Textile Worker Sept. p 332.



## Chapter III

GENERAL POLITICAL QUESTIONS1 Tariff

While the American Federation has at times officially endorsed candidates or platforms which have made rather definite pronouncements on the tariff, the organization has endeavored to evade the issue in its own councils, except in a few minor cases. The original platform of 1881 favored "full protection" to every American industry from the cheap labor of foreign countries". This policy proved to be a controversial one, however, and was repealed in 1882.

Specific cases of needed protection have received the attention of the national convention at various times, for example: harness and saddles in 1904, books in 1906, wool in 1906 and shoes and printed matter in 1928. Resolutions favoring either higher or lower tariffs in general have not been carried however. This statement takes no account of action which may have been taken by particular affiliated unions, but it is reasonable to suppose that any such action was largely limited by each to its own industry. The Federation endorsed the idea of a non-partisan tariff commission in 1915. (1)

Action by the A. F. of L. for more protection in specific cases has been noted but the organization has not followed any general, consistent tariff policy.

.....  
 (1) A. F. of L. History Encyclopedia and Year Book p 371-72

In the labor periodicals examined the tariff issue was treated variously during the campaign where it was treated at all. No concerted opinion was indicated on the issue nor on the attitudes of candidates with regard to it. Definite attitudes expressed were usually specific rather than general---they dealt with protection for specific industries, usually those vital to the unions concerned.

The most ardent advocate of more protection was the Shoe Workers Journal, which discussed the need for protection against shoes made by low paid workers in Europe, (particularly in the Bata factories in Zechoslovakia) as a main question in its September, October and November issues. The September number (p3) gives an extended description of the Bata boot and shoe industry "built on the living flesh and blood of its workers", and points out that in 1927 the British trade unions pressed their government into action to prevent the dumping of Bata products. The October number (p13-14) quotes the N. Y. Times showing increasing importations of shoes, sandals and slippers from Zechoslovakia, from 361,370 pairs in 1926 to 679,392 in 1927 and 1,165,618 during the first five months of 1928. The shoes were made by workers getting about 50 cents per day.

The International Book Binder citing this discussion, sees the need of protection against such situations. The protection issue is compared with the immigration situation. "Where", it is asked, "is the difference between low wage

workers and low price commodities in competition with us?"

(2) But the same Journal in an earlier issue (3) prints a long article from the Labor Bureau Inc. which attempts to analyze the tariff question exposing fallacies on both sides. It leaves the question open as to benefits gained by labor from particular tariffs but closes with the statement that "this much may be put down as certain: the claim that American 'prosperity' and 'high wages' are chiefly due to protective tariffs is buncombe. The workers have gained little in the past from protection and make a grave mistake if they place emphasis on it." The article in general condemned high tariffs.

The American Flint for August contains the report of the American Flint Glass Workers' Convention. Prominent in the report is a request by the Resolutions Committee for increased protection on glass ware. The national officers of this organization are affiliated with the American Tariff League.(4)

The Textile Worker printed the union president's convention address in which he stated that "Tariff and Textiles are inseparable questions." He believed in protecting American workers' standards and that we should apply higher tariff schedules to countries having low wage rates, and lower ones to countries like England where standards are higher. He shows that protection doesn't necessarily protect the worker.

- .....
- (2) October p 529
  - (3) September p 462
  - (4) August p 38-39

For example, "In cotton, worsted and silk mills the workers are receiving less per yard, or per lb. on what they produce today than before the war in spite of high tariffs." (5)

None of the A. F. of L. national union organs examined definitely advocated a lower tariff. The Journal of Electrical Workers in an editorial quotes Philip Snowden of England predicting a lower tariff for the United States in the future as a result of mechanization. (6) Other papers questioned the validity of the doctrine that high tariffs cause high real wages. But a few city and independent union journals mildly advocated a lower tariff in general. (7)

Altogether the issue was apparently little discussed and not greatly emphasized except in one or two cases mentioned above. Scarcely any mention of the question in connection with candidates was noted.

Labor's platform did not mention the tariff, and from the labor viewpoint there was no essential difference between the two major party platforms on the question. Both very generally promised to maintain a tariff that would safeguard the interests of workers and consumers as well as industry. It is difficult to see how the issue could have affected the labor vote materially. Labor showed no unified attitude on the question while the platforms were fairly well agreed from the labor viewpoint.

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 (5) September p 333      (7) Union Labor Bulletin (Hot Springs

(6) July number p 357      Ark.) are examples

(7) Advance, Railroad Trainman, History Labor Journal,

## 2. Foreign Loans

Another question closely related to the question of tariff protection for American industry is that of the stimulation of foreign competition through the export of American capital as loans to industries in other countries. This was apparently a growing issue and was discussed in some of the leading labor journals in connection with the campaign, although it had not crystalized as a plank in labor's platform. For the first time in its history the American Federation convention in November 1928 in connection with the question of unemployment endorsed a convention resolution asking for an investigation by the Executive Council of the effect of these loans on American industry. (1) The question may be potentially important in labor's political program although it probably played no important part in the 1928 election.

The trend of opinion on the question may be indicated by a few abstracts from the articles mentioned. An article in the American Federationist, for July by Jno. P. Frey entitled "Foreign Loans and National Prosperity" was quoted and discussed favorably by several journals. The article contrasted post war economic conditions in Europe and America and criticized the bankers for spreading propaganda for cancellation of allied debts to our government while they were actively engaged in making private loans to European nations and industries. It was claimed that only ten of the twenty-four billion dollars of Americas' wealth in foreign countries was government loans and it was urged that the logic of cancellation should apply with equal force to private loans. Pointing out that repayment

depends upon the borrowers export capacity, it continues:  
 "There are reasons for believing that it may be possible for the influence of foreign loans to completely overthrow the assistance to American industry which has followed from a protective policy and restrictive immigration." (2) It is also pointed out that these same creditor bankerx are favoring a lower tariff to insure their payments at the expense of American industry.

Since no statement on the question was made by either party and perhaps no definite expression by presidential candidates it is not probable that the labor journal discussion affected the election except perhaps indirectly, by encouraging a protest attitude toward the administration. Opinions expressed on the question seemed to be united.

- .....
- (1) A. F. of L. Convention report for 1928 p 248
- (2) Shoe Workers' Journal September p 10-13 . Also Moulder August p 455, American Photo Engraver October an editorial p 1079, Journal of Electrical Workers July p 356

### 3. War, Peace and Imperialism

In the late war as in the Spanish American War of 1898 the A. F. of L. officially gave loyal support to the administration's war program. In fact the loyal service and cooperation of the affiliated unions in the Great War has been a point of pride with the Federation. But on the other hand it has consistently evinced an enthusiasm for world peace and an opposition to aggressive imperialism. The Convention in 1887 declared for international arbitration, and it opposed the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands ten years later. In 1899 a convention resolution urged more labor unionization in civilized countries as a war preventative. In 1904 the Hague Court was welcomed by the convention in a long statement on peace and labor's relation to it. Again in 1905 the peace prospects were reviewed in a convention report. Congressmen were urged by the convention to join the arbitration group in 1906 and various long anti-war statements and resolutions appeared in the convention of 1907, 1908, 1909, 1912, 1913, and 1914. Recommendations in 1917 dealt with supporting the war and those in 1918 with the labor peace convention, peace terms, etc. (1). No further convention action is noted on the question until 1928 when a resolution was passed requesting the A. F. of L. to

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 .....  
 (1) A. F. of L. History, Encyclopedia and Reference Book  
 1919 p 104.

assist in securing the ratification of the Kellogg Treaty. (2)

In general, the journals examined showed a rather cool attitude toward the Kellogg pact as a preventative of war if they discussed it at all and the sincerity of the administration in that regard was frequently questioned. One journal for instance clipped a caustic editorial from The Peoples Business in which he stated, "We confess, without a blush, we are entirely unimpressed by Mr Kellogg as a peace maker," and after citing his diplomatic record with Mexico and Latin America, and the big navy program of the administration, he refers again to the treaty as "the pretty peace stunt Mr Kellogg dashed over to Paris to pull off at a psychological moment" for election purposes. (3)

The Railway Clerk in an article reprinted from the Nation questions the soundness of the treaty and after an analysis of the two sections declares: "We want more light on this Kellogg Pact. We want to know precisely what it does outlaw. Perhaps it would be better to have no peace pact than one of so dubious a character. There is further suggestion that it may be an election gesture. (4) The treaty is treated by other journals with a similar distrust. (5)

In a different mood the Railroad Trainman in an editorial recounted the efforts toward world peace as steps to

.....  
 (2) A. F. of L. Convention Report 1928 p 140, 273-4

(3) Paper Makers Journal October p 5

(4) Railway Clerk, September p 430

(5) International Book Binder, Oct. Also A. F. of L. Weekly News Service, September 1, p 1.



progress but questioned the entire success of the Kellogg Pact owing to the largeness of the problem. Without challenging the sincerity of the administration the editor believes "the American public should support officials in their efforts toward peace." (6)

The Life and Labor Bulletin, a woman's union organ agitated during the campaign for the ratification of the Paris Peace Pact, outlawing war. Readers were urged to write both governmental officials and candidates. Several journals directed criticism at the administration for its aggressive policy toward Caribbean countries. (7) Says one editor: "Taking recognition of the disgraceful private warfare that the Coolidge administration has been carrying on in Central America, Smith with Genuine American Spirit is in favor of the 'abolition of the practice of the President of entering into agreements for the settlement of internal disputes in Latin American countries unless the agreements have been consented to by the Senate as provided for in the Constitution of the U. S. Interference in purely internal affairs must cease'". Another journal under the caption "Mr Mellon as a Diplomat", describes trouble with the Colombian government over oil concessions owned by the Mellon companies. (7)

The International Book Binder quoted Butler's attack on Hoover's claim that "adequate preparedness for defense makes for world peace" and cites post war history to

.....  
 (6) Railroad Trainman, November p 855

(7) See (3) above, also Upholsterers Journal Sept. p 234,  
Amalgamated October 11, p 2 Amalgamated Journal

the contrary. He hopes that Butler will "tear the hide from militants who hand out the Kaiser Bill stuff that death dealing machinery is intended for peace." (8)

While there is no uniform attitude toward the war and peace question among labor journals and while it was not made a specific political issue in labor's platform, still considerable strong sentiment was shown which would have reacted against the Republican administration in almost every case. The issue probably drew a protest vote from certain labor groups but not a great percentage of the labor vote.

#### Extension of Public Ownership & Socialization:

Throughout the history of organized labor in the U. S. labor has dealt in various ways with the issue of socialization both as a general policy and in reference to specific services or industries. Since the organization of the A. F. of L., certain of its affiliated unions and large sections of its membership have at times declared themselves in favor of a cooperative commonwealth or of cooperation with the Socialist party to that end, (1) but officially the Federation has never endorsed the socialist viewpoint. In fact, it has repeatedly declined to do so in its conventions. There has, in specific instances, however, been official endorsement of state or local socialist candidates as well as approval of certain projects of socialization, particularly of telephone, telegraph, and certain

(8) International Book Binder. September p 474

(1) For a historical treatment of this question see: Nathan Fine-Labor & Farmer Parties in the U. S. (1928 Rand School of Social Science), or Selig Perlman--A History of Trade Unionism in the U. S. See also A. F. of L. History Encyclopedia and Reference Book, 1919, - 339-340 and 352-9

other utilities.

Officially the present trend seems to be away from interest in the extension of public ownership, although there is apparently no official statement on the question in "Labor's Platform or the convention proceedings.

In the journals examined some interest was evinced in the extension or protection of public ownership, especially with respect to public utilities, and socialized medicine, while one or two journals openly supported the Socialist Party. These latter will be treated in another section;

To cite a few typical articles: The editor of the Upholsterers' Journal commended strongly Smith's stand on water power, stating: "He has made a thrilling fight to prevent private interests from gobbling the water power of the state, and we can feel sure that the same policy of conservation and public protection will be carried out by him as chief executive."

(2)

The same editor, discussing "Socialization of Medicine", argues the futility of the Physicians Progressive League's fight against the "intrusion of socialized medicine". He believes it is as inevitable as the centralization of industry, and thinks the physicians' opposition anti-social. He points out the benefits from socialization of medicine thus far.

Labor, voicing opinion for fifteen railway brotherhoods, while making no wholesale commitments to public ownership,

.....  
 (2) September number editorial p 134

(3) November issue of the 10th editorial p 2

exhibited a favorable and friendly attitude in specific instances (particularly in Ontario) where the issue was being fought out on the question of governmental development of electrical power. (3)

The Railway Clerk lent strong editorial support to Homer T. Bone, Congressional candidate from the 3rd Dist., Washington, because of his record in extending publicly owned power developments in the state. (4)

On the other hand, opposition to the public subsidization of highways and waterways in competition with the railways was strongly urged by the Railroad Trainman. (5)

Such matter as appeared was usually anti-administration or pro-Smith in tone, where it touched the campaign at all, but such questions were not a major issue of discussion. Some criticism not directly affecting the election was heaped upon the Public Utilities Corporations. Aside from a few localities where the socialist Vote was a factor or where local issues turned upon the public or private ownership of specific utilities the question of socialization cut a small figure in the election so far as labor was concerned. It should be remembered in this connection that our analysis here does not include some sixty socialist and communist publications not classed as being primarily labor union periodicals.

#### Prohibition:

The prohibition question was not an issue in the 1928

.....  
 (4) September p 410

(5) November p 826

campaign so far as party platform announcements were concerned, but the divergent attitudes on the question expressed by the presidential candidates injected it into the campaign as a live issue which doubtless affected greatly the size and direction of the vote; and since the question had been an issue in the political program of the A. F. of L. since the 1919 National Convention Act, it remained in "Labor's Platform" during the campaign. (1) Owing to the controversial nature of the question and also to the fact that prohibition is not generally considered as being primarily a labor question, its inclusion in the Federation's political demands in the 1928 campaign constituted a rather sharp departure from the otherwise neutral official policy of the organization.

In its platform presented to the party conventions, the Federation asked an "amendment to the Volstead Act to permit the manufacture and sale of beer containing not more than 2.75 per cent alcohol". (2) Such comment as appeared in the labor journals examined were in line with this request. There were occasional criticisms directed at prohibition in general and also at methods of enforcement. Official action by unions having special interest in the question was reflected in their journals. For example, the American Flint in its convention number printed an extended report on the question. (3) The report argued that enforcement had been a failure, as

- .....
- (1) American Labor Year Book. 1919-20 p 151-2 and A. F. of L. Convention Report 1923 p 323
- (2) Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators Aug. p 407
- (3) Aug. number p 36-37. The Brewery, Flour, Cereal, and Soft Drink Workers also took action on the question according to a letter received from their editor, Joseph Abergfell.

indicated by various conventions having gone to Canadian and border cities to insure a liquor supply, also indicated by the substitution of strong intoxicants for beer which is shown by enormous increases in whiskey glass manufacture in U. S. and in increased whisky shipments from Canada to the U. S. (Figures are given in each case.) The evils of inferior bootleg liquor and the crime increase were pointed out as well as the wetness of "dry" judges, political conventions, etc. It closed with an urgent appeal and a resolution for modifying the Volstead Law. The resolution passed by a 98.2% vote. It was submitted by the Union President, William P. Clarke, who was Democratic Candidate for Congress from the ninth Ohio district.

An extensive analysis of "What Prohibition Has Done" in industries was given by John Sullivan, President of New York State Federation of Labor. (4) He treated descriptively and statistically the economic results of prohibition on mining, transport, building trades, metal, printing glass, coopers, brewery workers, farmers. He showed also losses in taxes and changes in grape culture. The study is evidently made from the anti-prohibition viewpoint.

One editor considered that prohibition introduces the confiscation principle and is too important to be made merely a party issue. (5)

A note of invective or caustic sarcasm, not so evident in the discussion of other issues, was introduced by

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 (4) Upholsterers' Journal, August p 111

(5) Paper Makers' Journal, September p 10

several journals. The Journal of Switchmens' Union in an editorial challenged Mrs Clem L Shaver, wife of a democratic National Committeeman, for calling Smith a charlatan and fakir for not resigning or else supporting the eighteenth amendment instead of promising to seek modification of the Volstead Act while running on a dry Democratic platform. (6) "What in the name of Bacchus," asks the editor, "has the sought modification of the Volstead Act to do with the enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment? The issue has been beclouded by Mrs Shaver. She has indulged in some dry rot. The only thing she has proved is that she is all wet."

Adam Coaldigger, in another number of the same journal, under the caption, "Pink Piffle and Puritanism" wrote for the switchmen a long satire on Puritanism" in general and prohibition in particular. (7)

Again, in the International Book Binder, James P. Egan in his "Comment on the National Show" ( a regular feature) noted Nicholas Murray Butler's repudiation of Hoover's prohibition attitude and agrees with him that "anyone who is opposed to the repeal of the 18th Amendment must then be in favor of the only alternative which is the continuance of the present reign of lawlessness, debauchery and government-made-crime." Says Egan, "There is more than a glass of beer behind this wet-dry hullabaloo. Prohibition is but one phase of the struggle against Puritanism---against

.....  
 (6) September Issue p 460

(7) Ibid. November p 551

the theory that government shall control the individual and pass on his morality.....That the individual cannot be trusted and that government shall be used to yank sinners from the jaws of hell.....From a philosophical standpoint, the prohibition theory has no place in individualistic America." He believed it had weakened government. "Today, he continues, "the average citizen has no more respect for law than a trust magnate." "Political strategy has thrown Herbert Hoover into the quick sands of Puritanism, but this is temporary." He then refers to Hoover's Quaker background of great, liberal men. (8)

The Union Advocate, an Iowa labor-agricultural Journal, published a long editorial running through two issues with the purpose of demonstrating that both the Volstead Act and the Eighteenth Amendment are unenforceable by their very nature. (9) Other journals in news sketches criticized the present enforcement as disgraceful or futile. (10)

, The journals discussing the issue were few in number and limited in circulation, but they expressed a unified opinion, in line with the Federation's official policy, and the articles were usually of some length and of considerable vehemence. Such influence as was exerted was clearly to Smith's advantage.

.....  
 (8) International Book Binder, September p 474

(9) Issues of August 9, and 16 pl

(10) See Terre Haute Advocate September 28, p 1  
The Labor Clarion, September 14, p 9 as examples



Owing to the nature of the question and the limited number of journals dealing with it, it would not be reasonable to suppose that labor periodical comment could be taken as an adequate index of the influence which the prohibition issue exerted on the labor vote in the election. The question involves many factors and is beyond the limits of this study. The issue was not primarily a labor question except with certain groups and perhaps labor periodicals acted as a minor influence among the various factors affecting the workers opinion. Again, doubtless the controversial nature of the question caused many labor editors and officials to avoid its discussion.

#### Political Corruption:

Owing to numerous revelations of corruption among government officials and the part played by these exposures in the campaign, the labor journals were examined for attitudes on the matter. Apparently the matter did not get much attention from the labor periodicals either from the standpoint of number and circulation of the journals mentioning the subject or of the interest and emphasis indicated by the discussions. Most of the comments noted appeared as incidental to discussions or news of platforms or candidates. The question commanded little important attention on its own account.

Again most of the journals mentioning the subject were city or local journals rather than National Union Organs, and in most cases they were journals with a Democrat or pro-

Smith Complexion. Exceptions were "labor" which touched on the question in connection with records of Congressional Candidates (1) and the Advance, organ of the unaffiliated Amalgamated Clothing Workers, (the only large National Union official organ which supported the Socialist Party.) Most of the other papers merely mentioned Hoover's silence on the exposures while a member of the Cabinet as a blot on his record, or pointed to the oil deals or election scandals as evidence of Republican Party decadence. (2)

While it may be presumed that the exposure exerted a considerable influence on voters generally, it was not apparent that labor journals played strongly upon the issue as a means of influencing labor votes. In fact one prominent journal reprinted, without comment, an article from Forbes Magazine complaining of too much political probing. (3)

- .....
- (1) Issue November 3, p 2-4
  - (2) See Union Labor Record October 26 p 12  
Dubuque Leader October 26 p 1 and the  
Upholsterers' Journal July p 78  
These all supported Smith.
  - (3) Railroad Trainman August p 567

Miscellaneous Political Questions:

In addition to the above mentioned issues four other general questions were included in the list of proposals presented to the two parties, namely: (a) reaffirmation of the preservation and protection of the exercise of the rights of free speech, press and assemblage; (b) opposition to compulsory labor or services (conscription) except in defence of the nation, its territory and its sovereignty; (c) favoring the graduated income tax, estate and inheritance taxes, and vigorous opposition to sales and other taxes placing the burden on those least able to bear it; (d) more adequate rehabilitation of injured service men. No definite reference was made in the two major party platforms, to any of these proposals except the last named, on which both parties made similar promises. (1) Each of the questions received notice in articles enumerating labor's political demands. (2)

Political discussion in labor periodicals was somewhat wider than the particular issues emphasized in "Labor's Platform". For instance several journals published frequent political articles of an educational nature. The International Moulder's Journal and the Journal of Switchmen's Union published from July to January, inclusive, a series of seven articles from a book by Wm. English Walling entitled "American Labor and American Democracy" dealing with the basis principles

- .....
- (1) Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators August p 406-7  
 (2) Railroad Trainman August p 558; September p 643  
Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators November p 561-3  
Moulders Journal September p 541  
Textile Workers September p 332

and practices of labor politics and covering such topics as taxation, credit control, corporation publicity, government by commissions, etc.

The Advance carried numerous discussion articles on various questions including a controversy in two issues on Nathan Fine's "Labor and Farmer Parties in the U. S.", also numerous editorials dealing with labor and politics and weekly running comments on political news under the captions "So This is the Week" and "What's Happening in the World", the latter including foreign political developments. This was the only journal noted which printed in parallel columns all seven party platform pronouncements on labor issues. (3) Others printed but two.

The Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators carried extensive reviews of Selig Perlman's new book, "A Theory of the Labor Movement", and of F. R. Kent's, "Political Behavior". (4) The same journal carried frequent articles analyzing labor's political program historically and theoretically dealing with questions like credit, control, speculation, banking, the conservation of man power, etc. (5) The Railroad Trainman reviewed historically the accomplishments of labor's legislative efforts and the record of Congress and the courts relative to labor's interests. (6)

- .....
- (3) October 26, See also post-election numbers Nov. 20 to Dec. 7. General political discussion may be found in most any issue. The viewpoint is socialistic.
- (4) August Number p 397; October number p 510
- (5) e.g. October p 524 and November p 563
- (6) October p 740 and 767; August p 588; September p 643

A very few journals, the most active being the Advance, urged more vigorous political action by labor while others expressed little confidence in political action.

(7) In general it may be stated that the journals examined, as a rule are disinclined to stress or depend upon political action. Only in cases where direct union influence does not apply, or as a last resort, are political means adopted to accomplish labor's purposes. (8)

Characteristics and General Tone of the Political Attitude of Labor:

Any attempt to generalize on the equality and general character of labor's political attitudes as expressed in the journals examined is subject to severe limitations. The subjective factor is so prominent and definite standards as well as effective methods of objective measurement so utterly lacking for such interpretations that the observations immediately following must be set down, merely as impressions, systematically noted, while examining each periodical, and finally summarized as general impressions.

It was somewhat difficult to draw a line between political matter that was broad, and constructive, and that which was merely negative and critical. A glance at the list of issues in which interest was exhibited (Table B 4) gives one the impression that labor is politically more inclined to be opposed to something than in favor of something, which is perhaps

.....  
 (7) eg Journal of Switchmen's Union Nov. p 562  
 Locomotive Engineers Journal September p 668; American Federationist Sept. p 1049, Also post-election issue Dec. 1928 pl436

characteristic of voters in general. (1)

It does not necessarily follow that attitudes on particular issues were always predominantly negative and critical. In fact, injunctions, unemployment, child labor, and the tariff were the issues upon which most of the seemingly analytical and constructive matter appeared and three of these are protest issues. (2) A considerable amount of invective and sarcasm was also exhibited on injunctions, and less on the other three issues named, and purely negative attitudes seemed frequent, but not without exception, in city trades and miscellaneous journals on these and other issues. On War and Peace, "Yellow Dog" Contracts (included with Injunctions in the tables), and Prohibition, negative or critical attitudes seemed to predominate as a general rule. Taken as a whole, political attitudes seem somewhat more negative than constructive, and more defensive than aggressive. It was pointed out elsewhere that little confidence is expressed in political, as compared with direct union methods.

The critical attitude was also prevalent toward "Capitalists" and Politicians, but rarely did it extend to "Capitalism," the Integrity of the Government, the Constitution, Democratic Government, or the U. S. as a nation. (3) On the other hand, Communism called out an attitude of pure criticism, sarcasm and invective from more journals than any

(8) For an extended discussion reflecting this view-point see Mathew Woll in the American Photo Engraver Nov. p 1147 to 1158

other topic with the possible exception of Injunctions. In nearly all cases Socialism and distinctly Socialist Party Proposals were met with a "barrage of silence". (4) There was no indication that union journals are politically radical in the sense of opposing our political or economic system. On the contrary, as a recent writer puts it, "There can be no doubt, indeed, that the American Federation of Labor is striving desperately to prove its devotion to the capitalistic system, and to gain in that way whatever prestige and influence may be possible along such a line." (5) This statement would apply as well to most of the Independent Unions as judged by the journals. (6)

- .....
- (1) Cf. F. R. Kent--Political Behavior---on this point
- (2) eg. International Book Binder, Journal of Electrical Workers, and Shoe Workers' Journal on the tariff;  
Journal of Electrical Workers, Advance and Locomotive Firemen's and Engineers' Magazine on Child Labor;  
American Photo Engraver, International Moulders' Journal  
Journal of Electrical Workers, and Advance on Unemployment;  
and American Photo Engraver, Boiler Makers' Journal,  
International Book Binder, Journal of Electrical Workers, and  
and Shoe Workers' Journal on Injunctions.
- (3) For exceptions see American Photo Engraver 6 and The Plasterer 17 for "Capitalists"  
 See The Plasterer and Railroad Trainman for "Politicians"  
 See Paper Makers Journal, Painter and Decorator and  
Upholsterers' Journal for Government Integrity  
 See Paper Makers' Journal for Democratic Government
- (4) Exceptions: Railway Clerk, Advance, Baltimore Federationist,  
and the Cleveland Federationist.
- (5) Arthur W. Calhoun in American Labor Dynamics p 325. See Bibliography.
- (6) The study here is restricted to strictly union supported or owned periodicals.

A majority of the journals saw conditions as prosperous and the prevailing tone was optimistic although exceptions were noted in both cases. (7) Little doubt was evident that the labor movement is progressing, and where comparisons were intimated American labor was considered more fortunate than that of other countries and it was frequently credited with being wiser and more progressive though the opposite was considered true in some cases. (8) In general, relatively little attention was given to labor movements in other countries. The journals may be set down as national rather than international in outlook, Canada is frequently discussed since it embraces a substantial percentage of the membership of most unions.

There seemed to be, among the journals examined, a lack of any cohesive philosophy or general orientation toward a goal. Ultimate aims play a small part in the discussion. (9) The policy adhered to by Samuel Compers of striving for labor's betterment piecemeal by meeting particular situations as they arise, seems to be quite generally accepted. Judged by these journals, labor is "job conscious" rather than "class conscious". (10) There is little devotion to a group ideal and relatively small emphasis is placed on a "united front". With regard to specific political issues, interest and emphasis is often divided and scattered, But on the other hand there are comparatively

.....  
 (7) The Paper Makers' Journal, Shoe Workers' Journal, Textile Worker, United Mine Workers' Journal, and the Upholsterers' Journal may be mentioned as exceptions here.

(8) Advance is an outstanding example.

(9) Cf. American Labor Dynamics Part IV.

(10) The question is elaborated in A Theory of The Labor Movement by Selig Perlman.



few cases of conflicting attitudes. Interests appear divergent but not often conflicting on political questions.

First place was clearly given to those issues affecting the rights and powers and prosperity of unions. Perhaps second place belongs to protection of the workers job, (Unemployment, Immigration, Prison, and Child Labor, etc.), although such questions are being rivalled by welfare questions (Pensions, etc) General questions received less emphasis. The distinction between these classes of questions is not always clear.

## CHAPTER IV

QUANTITATIVE APPROACH TO THE STUDY  
OF LABOR'S POLITICAL ATTITUDES.

In the foregoing chapters an attempt has been made to present, against brief historical backgrounds, a description and analysis of the emphasis and direction of labor's political attitudes during the 1928 campaign, as revealed by official objectives and labor journal discussion. In the present chapter the author has attempted a quantitative approach to these attitudes followed by an estimate of the extent, emphasis and direction of labor's influence relative to issues in the campaign, and, conversely, the effect of campaign issues on labor's vote. The last named topic will be considered further in Part Two.

**Purposes and Limitations of the Frequency Distributions:**

The tables given in the appendix will summarize the frequencies with which various attitudes were expressed toward political issues, parties and presidential candidates during the campaign, in the journals examined. As stated before, the difficulties involved in any attempt at the objective measurement of a subjective variable are recognized here. Mathematical accuracy is not pretended. The tables presented purport to be nothing more than a tool to be used corroboratively with the foregoing analysis in our attempt to gain a bird's eye view of labor's political attitudes and its influence in the election. The frequency distributions take no

account of the difference in length or force of discussions either as between the questions discussed or the journals discussing them, and hence cannot stand alone.

In Table B. 1., Section V, it is intended to show the number of labor periodicals, of those examined, which, expressed attitudes on issues as listed in the table. Section VI indicates the number of periodicals exerting influence directly in the campaign relative to parties, or candidates named, by either partisan or non-partisan methods.

In Table B. 2 are tabulated the same frequencies as those in Table B 1 (With preliminary items I to III omitted) weighted by the circulation of the journals; but with the exception that this table covers only national union organs. (See Table A 2, journals numbered 4 to 37 inclusive) (1)

Table B 3 presents a summation of Table B 2.

Table C I (in three sections) consists of an index from which the particular periodicals which expressed various attitudes can be identified. Periodicals are listed by number (see Table A 2) in columns, each representing a political attitude and headed according to the notation in Table B I.

.....  
 (1) This was to eliminate duplications in circulation. Where the circulation did not seem to coincide with union membership, the actual circulation of the journal was obtained if possible, otherwise the journal was excluded. The frequencies are divided into two columns, the membership of the independent unions being separated from those affiliated with the A. F. of L.

The main purpose of Table B I is to indicate the extent to which the expression of each particular political attitude, as compared with others, is distributed among the labor journals examined.

Table B 2 proposes to show the approximate number of union members who are potentially influenced by each important political attitude expressed in the National Union Organs examined.

Table C I is designed to show the specific sources of the various expressed attitudes.

The term attitude is used in the tables as representing matter that would show a tendency, or furnish a motive for political action. Strictly political news published without comment or bias is not included unless a viewpoint is in some manner indicated. On the other hand, all expressions discovered which clearly indicates an attitude, as defined, are included regardless of length, importance or emphasis. It must be understood that a precise distinction between news and expression of attitudes was sometimes difficult to make. In Section B issues included in a given category are confined to those treated by at least three or four journals or closely related issues treated by that number of journals.

The categories were not chosen on the basis of issues contained in party platforms, or in the Federation's official political demands, and the journal material fitted into it. The journals were examined and the material analyzed and

grouped into categories designed to describe the material found as nearly as possible.

Only one or two numbers of some of the journals were obtained (As indicated in table A 2). This would seem to be an inadequate basis from which to judge a journal's attitude in the campaign; but, in view of the request in the letters sent out, it was assumed that, where the publisher cooperated, the numbers received contained all significant matter published relative to the campaign. This may not have been true in all cases, particularly regarding specific campaign issues.

Other general limitations affecting the frequency distribution tables were mentioned in the introduction and minor limitations have been indicated in footnotes to the tables.

#### Interpretation of the Frequency Distributions Relative to Political Issues:

Owing to limitations which are, as suggested above, already set by the material at hand, the nature of the problem, and inevitable inaccuracies of judgment, a detailed analysis of the tables would serve no useful purpose and will not be attempted. Only the more obvious and significant facts revealed will be indicated.

In tables B I, Sections IV and V, we note that 67 out of 102 periodicals examined, or about two-thirds, expressed political attitudes of some sort. The other third seem to

have confined discussion to "strictly union affairs", as one letter put it. Table C 2 shows that of those expressing political attitudes about two-thirds expressed themselves on less than half the number discussed by the journals most active politically (2). The most active journal politically appears in the whole table (C I) 15 times while the average for all journals expressing political attitudes is about five and one half. Seven of the 67 expressed only a single attitude, and ten expressed but two. (3) When the issues, only, are considered, we find that on the twelve distinct questions listed, thirteen out of 58 journals discussed but one, twenty discussed but two, and less than 7% discussed more than five. About 57% confined their attention to one or two questions.

Again referring to table B I, Sec. IV, we find that 58 out of the 67 periodicals expressing political attitudes were interested in Issues Affecting Unions Directly, and only forty of these dealt with General Political Questions. (4) Comparing with Section VI, there were 55 journals which expressed attitudes Regarding Parties or Candidates. Examination shows, however, that 23 of these confined their campaign comment to Hostility to Communism. Only 37 were actually active in the campaign properly speaking as against forty interested in general, and 58 in labor issues.

- .....
- (2) The Advance appears fifteen times in the table and the Upholsterers' Journal fourteen. Labor, and the Baltimore Federalist reached twelve, while six reached eleven.
- (3) The number of attitudes in Section VI on campaign activity signifies little regarding the variety of political interest shown, owing to the nature of the categories.
- (4) All of the forty were included in the 58 mentioned.

Fifty-one of these 58 were interested in Injunction Reform and rights of unions. This was more than three times the number of journals dealing with any other political issue. Each of the others drew the attention of less than one-fourth of the 67 politically active journals, with two or three exceptions. Interest seemed fairly evenly divided among the remaining issues, including general political questions, so far as the number of journals may indicate.

In table C I, Section I, which deals with issues, a few comparisons of activities of different types of journals may be noted. Judged by the number of entries in the table the distribution of interest of the different classes of labor journals in political issues in general would appear about the same, with an average of from two to two and one-half entries per journal. The independent Union organs run somewhat ahead with an average of three and one-fourth. On certain issues, however, a wide difference is noted. Injunctions ( V A I ) drew attention from 23 of the 29 national A. F. of L. organization journals, and all of the state and district Federation of Labor organs, but only from three out of eight independent organs listed. City and miscellaneous journals were mostly interested in the issue.

By contrast, Old Age Pensions ( V A 3 ) seemed to interest only five out the 35 district, state, and national Federation papers, and six out of the 27 city and miscellaneous papers. while five of the eight independent organs favored the

the proposal. Looking further through the list we note that peace questions and lower tariff interested a somewhat larger proportion of independent union papers, while on higher tariffs and prohibition, the opposite seemed to be true. Relatively few of the miscellaneous, city or state papers showed interest in higher tariff or political action on unemployment.

Explanation might be ventured for these group differences regarding political issues, but the purpose here is to indicate sources rather than explanations of labor's political influence. The study suggests: (1) That there is no great unity of political interest among the several types of journals as classified in the table. (2) That more journals indicated interest in issues than in the campaign as such. (3) That political interest and activity is not evenly distributed among the journals. (4) That issues relative to limitations on union activity (Injunctions, etc.) out-distanced by far all others in attracting journals' attention, and that aside from such issues, no other appeared to be outstanding in attracting attention.

Table B 2 is, as stated, confined to national union organs (numbers 4 to 37) and the number of journals expressing each attitude is weighted by summing up their circulations, in the United States, as near as these could be determined. On that basis it may be found from this table that about 70% of all journals examined expressed political attitudes of some kind;



92% of these exhibited interest in labor issues (V A), 58% of them in general issues, and about 79% in the campaign. Eliminating from the 79% those in which interest was confined to hostility to Communism, there remains 43% of those manifesting political interest, which actually were active in the campaign. The average circulation reached per political issue was about 475,000. On issues exclusive of Injunctions and Old Age Pensions the average is about 300,000.

When we consider the federated union organs separate from the independent, the difference is significant. About 58% of the federated union organs examined gave space to political matter, practically all of the Federation journals dealt with labor issues (V A ) and less than 38% with General Questions (V B) while about 87% of the independent journals dealt with both labor and general issues. Again eliminating exclusively anti-communist matter, about 14% of the federated journals and practically 100% of the independent ones expressed direct interest in the campaign.

Considered on the weighted scale the two issues which were outstanding in labor journal circulation, were Injunction Reform and Old Age Pensions, while Child Labor, Peace and Unemployment were important. (5) (6) Of the twelve distinct issues listed, one was presented to about two-thirds of the total circulation of journals expressing political attitudes, two issues were presented to more than one-half, and five to about

(5) The A. F. of L. official letter sent out to the Unions named Injunctions and Child Labor as the outstanding issues. See Convention Proceedings for 1928 p 76

(6) Further summary is given in Table B 3 Appendix.

forty percent of this total. Seven of the issues were presented to less than one-fourth of the politically active journal circulation.

The seven most discussed issues did not change noticeably in order of emphasis by weighting Table B I except in the case of Prohibition, which dropped from fourth to ninth place, and Unemployment which went up from ninth to fifth place.  
(7)

On the basis of the circulation of the national union organs which were examined, the federated union journals gave proportionally wider attention than the independent union journals to Injunction Reform, Prohibition Change, Higher Tariffs Foreign Loan, Restriction, and Socialization of Medicine. The independent union organs led on Old Age Pensions, Action toward Peace and against Imperialism, Child Labor, Unemployment, Public Ownership of Utilities, Political Corruption and Lower Tariff. On all issues except Injunctions which were widely discussed by the journals examined, the independent journals were more widely active judged by both number of journals and their circulation. However, in table B 2, as in table B I, they fall far short on the Injunction question---labor's great issue,

The average circulation of the independent union journals listed is about 100,000, while that of the Federation journals is about 42,000, hence, when the tables are weighted, the political weight of the former increases on the average, relative to the latter. For example on the Injunction issue

the ratio changes for national union organs from 20 (A. F. of L.) 3 (Ind. ) to ten and one-half and Child Labor becomes about 3:5 instead of 7:3. There are one or two exceptions, e. g., Old Age Pensions.

Upon the basis of the facts indicated by tables B 2 and B 3, brief observations may be added to the inferences drawn from the previous tables:

I. The previous indication of a divergence in political interests between federated union journals and independent union journals is corroborated and the extent of the divergence seems to be widened by the weighted tables.

II. The previous slight indication that the independent union journals are on the average more active, politically, than the federated union journals is magnified by the weighted table.

III. The former apparent excess of interest in specific issues over that in the campaign generally is reversed in part for the independent, and greatly increased for the federated journals in the weighted tables.

IV. Issues dealing with limitations on union Activity (Injunctions, etc. ) on the whole appear most prominent but are more closely rivalled by welfare and peace issues in the weighted tables than in the unweighted ones.

.....

(7) In the weighted table the order is : 1, Injunctions  
2, Old Age Pensions 3, Peace 4, Child Labor 5,  
Unemployment 6, Public Ownership 7, Political Corruption.

CHAPTER VSUMMARY OF PART ONE

Before entering upon a consideration of labor's direct influence in the campaign, an attempt will be made to assemble in review the more significant facts regarding labor attitudes on political issues as revealed by the journals examined, and to consider them in relation to the election.

The question arises: How and to what extent did labor journal discussion on political issues influence labor's vote? Final inference on the problem must be reserved for Part II but some preliminary observations are in order at this point. The answer is conditioned and determined by a number of factors. Those which may be considered here are: (1) the circulation of the journal discussion on issues; (2) the unity of attitudes regarding issues, (a) between the journals, and (b) between the official program and the journals; and (3) attitudes of the two major parties. The latter factor will test the extent to which labor's attitudes were recognized in the platforms and at the same time allow a comparison of the inducements offered to the labor vote by the two parties.

We note that according to the preceding analysis seven of the twelve distinct issues were probably each presented by national union organs to a fraction of the total union membership ranging from one-fortieth to one-sixth. (1)

From the circulation viewpoint, these issues were of no great significance to labor in the election. The conclusion is reinforced if we consider that the two of these seven issues getting the widest circulation (Political Corruption and Public Ownership of Utilities) were not mentioned in "Labor's Platform" officially, and not definitely mentioned in the two party platforms. And even the small amount of journal discussion given to these two issues was not forceful or entirely unified.

Interest in issue 7, Prohibition modification, was doubtless widespread among workers but it was a minor issue in "Labor's Platform". Sentiment expressed was strong and unified but it was apparently confined by the national union organs to perhaps 6% of the total union membership. The issue was rejected by the party platforms and probably did not figure strongly in most Congressional contests. Interest in the question seemed to center largely on Smith who was defeated. Apparently labor officials and journals in general did not actively generate modification sentiment, but catered to the discontent, on the issue, among workers generally and a few specially interested unions. Judged by the journals, labor as such could hardly be considered an important factor in creating the widespread interest in prohibition in the campaign. Doubtless the issue itself deflected a large section of the labor vote to the defeated presidential candidate,

.....  
 (1) The Labor Year Book for 1928 estimates the total union membership of the U. S. in 1927 at 3,500,000 or about one-ninth of the wage earners. The issues were each treated in five or six city and miscellaneous journals but this would not vitally affect their influence relatively

and where it figured in Congressional contests, perhaps as often as not it prevented the concentration of the labor vote on "labor's friends."

Considered then from all points it seems necessary to eliminate these seven issues as being probably insignificant in the election from labor's viewpoint.

Of the other five issues, the Injunction and related issues were presented by national union organs to perhaps 40 to 45% of the total union membership, and presented strongly. (20 Labor journal attitudes expressed seemed united on it and in line with the official labor program. Its inclusion in both party platforms would tend to divide labor's vote as between the parties except perhaps in the case of Congressional candidates particularly friendly to the Measure. It is probable that the defeated party made the stronger bid for the labor vote on this issue. Its inclusion in the platform, however constitutes at least an apparent victory for labor. But eliminating the influence of non-labor forces (which may have been considerable) in popularizing the issue, its recognition is the result of a forty year old battle by the unions and is hardly an index of labor's present influence on party programs. The question was in both platforms as early as 1908, it has been recognized in Federal statutes since 1914 and is still a Congressional issue. (2) Perhaps the most that can be inferred with reference to labor's influence on the issue is that labor journals by unified concentration on the issue, held the gains

(2) It should be remembered that there was an additional undetermined circulation of discussion on all these issues by city, local and other union journals. The

that have been made and doubtless affected the attitudes, selection and election of Congressional candidates somewhat through its discussion.

On the basis of journal circulation, Old Age Pensions was second in importance among labor issues. A resolution calling for a Congressional investigation of the question was passed in the A. F. of L. convention in Nov. 1928 after the election. Certain union legislative committees had been active on the issue in Congress previous to the election, but the proposal had not been officially endorsed by the A. F. of L., nor was it included in labor's platform presented to the party conventions. The proposal was not mentioned in either major party platform and it could not have vitally affected the election.

Three other issues remain--Action Toward Peace, Child Labor, and Unemployment--which were each presented by national union organs to perhaps about one-fourth the total union membership. The first of these was not treated officially as a campaign issue by the Federation nor was emphasis on it essentially different as between the two parties. It was not strongly urged nor were attitudes on the question positive or unified in the journals as a whole. Organized labor would not appear to be a main source of pressure for party or political action on the question nor could it have greatly affected labor's vote as such.

The Child Labor issue had the support of a strong and unified opinion within the limits of the journal discussion. Also ratification of the Child Labor Amendment was one of the two chief issues in "Labor's Platform". Protection of women and children in industry was stressed by Smith and the Democratic platform while the Republican platform disregarded it, so that it apparently may have helped somewhat in drawing union conscious voters to the defeated presidential candidate. On the other hand, Child Labor was not a National issue in 1928, strictly speaking. Congress, by submitting the Constitutional amendment of the states for ratification in 1924 had satisfied labor's demands in the National arena. Doubtless the issue considerably affected labor attitudes in state politics, but an analysis of that problem is beyond the scope of this study. (4)

Doubtless also, the 1924 fight over the question in Congress helped in determining "labor's friends" and "enemies" in the 1928 campaign. But Child Labor was not considered by labor as a National campaign issue and its influence in 1928 Congressional contests was largely indirect--an echo from past struggles.

There remains the unemployment issue. It was included in "Labor's Platform" and the Democratic Platform and was stressed but somewhat differently by both presidential candidates. (5) It was about fifth among the issues in

.....  
 (4) This study is confined to national politics as explained in the introduction.

(5) Hoover looked to prosperity for a solution, while the Democratic Party proposed a solution on labor lines.



importance as judged by circulation, reaching, through all national union organs, possibly 900,000 union members. Discussion was mostly emphatic but as a whole it was not well concentrated on the platform proposals and a frequent "coolness" toward political action of any kind was manifest. Unity and determination on political action did not appear sufficient to make the issue decisive in Congressional contests, and its influence relative to the presidential candidates was manifestly divided. Doubtless promises to solve this problem attracted many labor votes, but not in any definable direction.

If, then, we may take the foregoing analysis of labor journal discussion as a substantially correct one, there were, in 1928, perhaps five issues upon which the expression of labor's attitudes was sufficiently wide to be significant; two of these were of little importance in the campaign; a third was on some importance as a state issue, but not as a national issue; and a fourth was in some respects an issue but journal attitudes on it were not well concentrated or very widely circulated. There was one issue upon which both journal and official opinion were unified, determined, and fairly widely expressed. It was accepted by both parties but more emphatically by the defeated one. It was evidently not accepted by all Congressional candidates.

Of these five issues, three, Injunctions, Unemployment, and Child Labor, are in the official "Labor's Platform" of the A. F. of L. Of these three, two are in the Democratic Party platform and not in the Republican platform; (6) one,

the injunction issue is in both platforms. None of the three issues is a new contribution to either party platform.

Of the two party platforms, the Democratic platform was somewhat better received by the journals, in general, than the Republican, and as to the attitudes of the Presidential Candidates toward issues, the margin of choice was easily in favor of Smith. The matter of labor's influence on the nomination and election of Congressional candidates remains for consideration in part two.

.....

(6) Child Labor Amendment.

P A R T II

CAMPAIGN ATTITUDES AND INFLUENCE.

## Chapter I

Official Methods and Activity of Labor in the Campaign.

Section 8 of Article III of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor reads as follows: "Party politics whether they be Democratic, Republican, Socialistic, Populistic, prohibition or any other, shall have no place in the conventions of the American Federation of Labor."

This section does not mean that the Federation may not officially endorse party platforms or candidates in practice, but it means that such endorsements shall be matters for Executive Council action, rather than for convention action and discussion. The action of the Executive Council is merely endorsed by the Convention. The latter does however deal with resolutions on political issues as previously noted. (1)

The Executive Council carries on most of its direct campaign activity through the National Non-Partisan Committee. The following extracts from the 1928 Convention Proceedings will indicate the type and extent of the official direct campaign activities and general attitude:

"A circular was mailed Feb. 11 to all national and international unions, state federations of labor, city central bodies, and 350,000 local unions, urging

.....  
 (1) Consult A. F. of L. Convention Proceedings for any recent year.

them to prepare for an active campaign. The circular contained the report of the Executive Council (1927) ...and urged the appointment of non-partisan political committees by all state federations, city central bodies, and local unions to work together for the election of progressive members of Congress."

During the primary campaigns the records of many candidates for Congress were sent to the local unions in the respective districts. We urged all members of organized labor to 'Stand Faithfully By Our Friends and Elect Them, Oppose Our Enemies And Defeat Them.'

"Members of the ... National Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee attended both political party conventions. The committee appeared before the resolution committee of the Republican and Democratic Parties, and submitted suggestions for planks to be incorporated in their platforms. When the executive council met, July 31 to Aug. 7.....it was decided to follow our well-established non-partisan political policy in the 1928 campaign..... During the entire campaign we carefully followed this partisan political policy and August 31 another circular was sent to all free-state federations of labor and city central bodies urging greatest activity in having members of organized labor and their friends register."

"Fifty thousand copies of a pamphlet containing the planks of the platforms of the two political parties, the statements regarding Labor in the acceptance speeches of the candidates for President and Vice-President and the legislative records or measures of interest to labor of the candidates for Vice-President were printed. From 200 to 500 copies of this pamphlet were sent to the larger central bodies and ten copies each to every other central body affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. Copies also were sent to the 35,000 local unions affiliated directly or indirectly with the American Federation of Labor.

"We began sending out after the middle of September the legislative records on measures of interest to labor of all members of Congress or former members of Congress who had been nominated. There was great difficulty in obtaining the names of the nominees which delayed matters somewhat, but by October 3 all of the legislative records had been sent. The New York State convention of the two parties met October 1 and 3. That was the last state sent out.

"The records were sent to every union in the respective congressional districts. Accompanying the records was a circular requesting that the records be read at each meeting of the local unions and containing the following slogans." (The slogans

emphasized the injunction issues; Child Labor, remedial labor legislation in general and devotion of candidates to the general interests instead of the interests of the few.)

"Hundreds of individual letters were answered and there appears to be a most intense interest in the campaign. A number of letters pointing out the favorable attitude of progressive members of Congress were sent to the local unions affected. This began in March before the primaries when letters were sent in the interest of progressive representatives, in Wisconsin, Illinois, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, North Carolina, Ohio, Arkansas, Tennessee, Montana, and other states....October 9 a circular letter was sent to the officers of all state federations of labor and city central bodies, requesting information as to the political situation in their respective states and districts."

As the report indicates, the official attitude of the Federation of Labor was non-partisan toward the Presidential candidates as well as Congressmen. "The Executive Council seemed well disposed toward both the presidential candidates." "The A. F. of L. ---declared that neither Hoover nor Smith were antagonistic to labor", writes the editor of the Cedar Rapids Tribune. Apparently Smith received higher compliments

in the official speeches during the campaign than did Hoover. (2)

The official political policy and activity of the railroad brotherhoods carried on independently of the American Federation of Labor is in the hands of the Association of Railway Labor Executives of 22 standard railway organizations and of the weekly paper, Labor, owned by fifteen of these brotherhoods. (3) During the 1928 campaign the executives "endorsed 22 candidates for the senate. Every candidate thus endorsed ran ahead of his ticket and 18 of the 22 were elected." They also "sent special editions of Labor into 10 states to support Senatorial candidates --four in the primaries and six in the general election. Every one of these ten candidates was nominated and elected." (4) The Association of Executives also assisted in the organized campaign to defeat Senator Barret in the Tennessee primaries. (5)

A good deal of campaign activity was evidently carried on officially by various state federations, trades councils, national or international unions and even large local unions, in connection with local, state and Congressional Candidates. Details of this activity are beyond the scope of our study and only a few of the significant facts will be

- .....
- (2) e.g. The Labor Day Address of President Green. See Textile Worker September\* p 353
- (3) Information from a letter from Edward Keating, Manager of Labor.
- (4) Quoted from an editorial in Labor Nov. 17. The question of how far the successes mentioned were due to these activities will be treated in a later chapter.
- (5) See Oklahoma Defederationist August p 31.



mentioned. One union president, William P. Clark of the American Flint Workers' Union, was Democratic candidate from the Ninth Ohio Congressional district but was defeated.

(6). Several labor officials were appointed on state and national Committees of both parties. Smith was officially endorsed by the state federations of New York, Oklahoma, Colorado, Massachusetts, and Nebraska. (7)

To what extent the various organization units cooperated with the Federation, or the Union membership with the officials, cannot be adjudged from this investigation. An attempt will be made to describe briefly the responses made by the journals, and to tabulate the Congressional election results with reference to labor's attitudes toward candidates.

.....  
 (6) American Flint August p 52-53

(7) Oklahoma Federationist October. Houston Labor Journal  
 November 2. Information by letter from Massachusetts and  
 Colorado.

## CHAPTER II

Campaign Activity--Historical Sketch. (1)

Any Comprehensive Historical treatment of the Campaign activity of organized labor in the United States would involve data and space far beyond the scope of this study, since such activity would need to be described in reference to numerous individual candidates rather than parties or groups. For our purpose only general reference to marked deviations in policy, or the amount or success of activity will be noted.

From its beginning in 1881 the American Federation of Labor has been avowedly non-partisan. The questions of socialistic cooperation, third party movements or independent political action have frequently arisen in its councils, and on two occasions 1886, and 1893, its conventions voted favorably to independent political action, but in both cases the officials were opposed to the move, and by the year following the nonpartisan principle was reaffirmed. Several affiliated unions from 1919 to 1923 declared for an independent labor party, but action was not taken by the officials and interest apparently subsided. (2) The Farmer Labor Party movement from 1919 to 1923 attracted the official support of the

.....  
 (1) The facts here noted are mainly from the A. F. of L. History, Encyclopedia and Reference Book, 1919, and the convention Proceedings since 1919 (unless otherwise noted.)

(2) Nathan Fine, Labor & Farmer Parties in the U. S. p 135, 141, and 398-7.

Washington State Federation and the larger City Central Bodies in Minnesota, Illinois and New York (3) and "Stepping for the only time out of its traditional non-partisan attitude the executive council of the American Federation of Labor specifically approved La Follette and Senator Burton K. Wheeler of Montana, ---on the ground that both 'have throughout their whole political careers, stood steadfast in the defense of the rights and interests of wage earners and farmers.'" (4)

The railway brotherhoods have been really active in politics only since the armistice, and their partisan activity has also been confined to the support of the La Follette-Wheeler movement.

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers, organized in 1914, have officially favored a labor party and supported the La Follette movement and the Socialist Party.

As regards non-partisan activity, the first important revival in political activity by the American Federation after the early 90's was in 1906 when the officials submitted labor's "Bill of Grievances" to President Roosevelt and the Congressional Leaders. The rebuff which they met at the hands of Congress inspired an active campaign in 1906 and the election years following, for the revival of non-partisan action, the election of "progressive" and pro-labor senators and Congressmen. "Stand .....

Ibid p 396 (3)

(4) Ibid p 421

by your friends and elect them! Oppose your enemies and defeat them!" That has since been the slogan of the movement.

Considerable success in the election of labor's "friends" was claimed in 1910 and 1912 and 1916 by the officials. How many of the progressive victories were due even mainly to the non-partisan activity of labor is an open question. That labor was a factor cannot be doubted. "Sixteen trade union members were elected to the Senate and one to the House of Representatives" in 1913. (5)

By far the most important campaign activity by organized labor in the U. S. in recent years was through the Conference for Progressive Political Action, organized under the leadership of the standard railroad brotherhoods (part of them affiliated) in 1922. Union membership was at its peak and the membership was in a mood to follow the brotherhoods' lead. In cooperation with other progressive bodies, labor contributed to the success of numerous representatives and a majority of Senators who were approved by labor in the 1922 campaign.

Under the leadership of labor, the political organ of the railway brotherhoods, the latter have attempted to maintain or increase their influence in Congress through the subsequent campaign, in spite of the dissolution of the Conference for Progressive Political Action and also the collapse of the

.....  
 (5) A. F. of L. History, Encyclopedia and Year Book 1919 p 327

(6) Nathan Fine - Labor and Farmer Parties in the U. S. Ch 13.

La Follette-Wheeler movement, both in 1925. It is a purpose of this study to examine the facts which may help to indicate to what extent the attempt of the brotherhoods (which is mainly in agreement with A. F. of L. policy) has been a success. (6)

.....  
(6) Nathan Fine - Labor and Farmer Parties in the United States,  
Chapter 13.

## CHAPTER III

## Journal Attitudes and Propaganda. 1928

1. Partisan Political Activity.

In keeping with the A. F. of L. tradition there was among the journals examined no great deviation from the non-partisan policy in 1928. Only six were outright partisan, (1) Several others were strongly Democratic in state and local politics, but adhered to the non-partisan policy for Congressmen in general. (2) Two of the partisan journals (the Fur Workers' Journal and the Advance) were national union organs, the others were city or miscellaneous labor journals. The two mentioned supported the Socialists. The Union Labor Advocate (Chicago) and the Labor World (Pittsburgh) were Republican, and the Houston Labor Journal was Democratic and the Peoples Press (Minnesota) was Farmer-Labor.

The Advocate took pride in its conservatism, worked strongly for the Republican ticket, both state and national, and urged labor for the sake of prosperity and Americanism to "vote it straight." It gave more space by far to political than labor union news during the campaign. The World, while less emphatic was also largely devoted to the support of Republican policies.

The Houston Labor Journal warned the South against deserting Democracy, labor's friend, on account of religious and prohibition bias. "Sees Republic's First Holy War." "Betrayers .....

(1) eg. Nos. 61, 41, 42, 69, and 50.

(2) Numbers 30, 49, 63, 65, 67, and 73 in Table A. Appendix.

of South Will Rue Act." runs a front page headline for Oct. 26. This paper's news is predominantly of union affairs, however.

The Peoples' Press was largely devoted to Minnesota and particularly local politics and Shipstead's campaign as the Farmer-Labor Party Activity was largely confined to Minnesota.

The Fur Workers' Journal and the Advance emphasized the devotion of both the major parties to big business interests, and emphasized their hypocritical evasions as contrasted with the straight forward pro-labor attitude of Thomas and the Socialist Party. They showed little faith in nonpartisanship.

## 2. Non partisan Political Activity.

### (A) Journal Discussion of the Non-partisan Method.

A good deal of space in the journals examined was devoted to defending and explaining the non-partisan political policy of organized labor. Very often matter was reprinted from official Federation journals, or statements of the National Non-partisan Political Committee or else from the Labor Day addresses of Labor officials.

The peculiar historical background and the nature of the population of the U. S. are frequently pointed to in support of non-party methods. Secretary Morrison's Labor Day Address, appearing in several journals, pointed out differences between Europe and America and contended that the A. F. of L. policy is misunderstood (1) There is, he maintains, "No similarity between the social and political philosophies of the old and the new world." Old world politics he sees as the natural result of social

cleavages between workers and other classes based on birth. The state rather than the individual is supreme. "Work standards and wage rates are functions of the state." The government is the people's guardian. "The theory of self-help, of individual effort, is unknown as is Jefferson's dictum that the least governed people are the best governed." Strong parties, he believes, are necessary in Europe to protect people against the government. Parties in the U. S. were early looked upon suspiciously. Washington warned against them, but they developed to maturity about 1825. "Since then party loyalty has swung the other way. Today party spirit has disappeared as far as the great mass of workers are concerned." The A. F. of L. led the way in this regard. "Today", he says, "Non-partisanship is general.....It is but necessary to point out the growing independence of voters to answer the claim that labor should join a class party".....Another periodical under the caption, "Can Bananas Grow In Greenland?" also elaborates at length the point that labor party methods would not apply to America! (2)

President Green's short article in the American Federationist on "Labor's Non-Partisan Political Policy" was reprinted or quoted by several periodicals. (3) This emphasized voluntarism and freedom of expression as the A. F. of L. Policy and set forth the practical necessity of avoiding splits within

.....  
 (2) Shoe Workers' Journal September p 22

(3) Journal of Switchmen's Union October p 509. Shoe Workers' Journal October p 1.



the labor movement which result from seeking to control member's personal affairs.

"Non-Partisanship Grows in America" was another article reprinted from the Federationist in several journals. (4) The breakdown of party lines is a feature of this campaign" it begins"..... This collapse is not discussed by party workers and privileged seekers who long for the old days of party hate, mob-caucus rule, and convention slates. The change is of especial interest to organized workers, who for years stood alone in urging a policy that is now unchallenged by thinking citizens. Campaigns today revolve around individuals. Party enthusiasm, party discipline, and party faith are at their lowest ebb. This changed sentiment is noted in the trade unions where the labor party issue is no longer discussed----The Non-partisan theory stoutly urged by the A. F. of L. is distinctly American,".. ..There follows various crisp arguments intended to show the fallacy of the idea of labor parties in the U. S.

Another journal quotes Senator Shipstead to the effect that people are losing faith in parties and relying on their judgment and government by public opinion; also Senator Morris' statement that a political partisan is a greater menace to the American system of government than all the bootleggers and dive keepers in the country.(5)

- .....
- (2) Journal of Switchmens' Union Oct. p 509.
- (4) Painter and Decorator, Oct. p 6 Journal of Switchmens' Union, Nov. p 579 Amalgamated Journal Sept 27 p 2 and others.
- (5) Amalgamated Journal Oct. 25 p 2

No periodical was a stronger champion of the non-partisan policy than was Labor throughout the campaign. The importance of electing "Labor's friends" and the nonpartisan success of 1922 was continually emphasized. The magazine of the locomotive firemen and engineers refers enthusiastically to 1922 when the Senate was changed "overnight" to the "most progressive body in the world" by non-partisan vote. (6)

The Railroad Trainman in a less enthusiastic editorial urges a proper blending of "party obligations" and loyalty with independence in voting to safeguard labor's interests. (7)

Some dissent from the non-partisan policy was noted. The Railway Clerk (October p 10) in a contributed article entitled "Norman Thomas for President" presented considerable argument as to the futility of depending on the old parties and Labor's present methods. In the same issue, however, the Journal asked for labor's non-partisan support of progressive senators.

The opposition to the non-partisan policy came mainly from the Advance which ran numerous, pointed articles, favoring independent or Socialist party action by labor and criticizing the inefficiency of present methods. One of these articles entitled "Labor's Political Position" contrasted the British situation where the "Trades Union Congress and the Labor Party are preparing to capture the government" with the U. S. labor policy

.....  
 (6) Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen's Magazine  
 Nov. p 377. Another in p 380 also October p 325  
 (7) November p 854

of "doing nothing specific, politically." The article was reprinted by the Lithographer's Journal (8)

Some state and city papers while supporting the non-partisan policy for Congressmen in general were partisan in their own state or locality, as has already been noted. On the whole the majority of politically active journals, particularly national union organs, supported the non-partisan plan and followed closely the lead of the A. F. of L. officials.

(B) Non\*Partisan Influence in the Primaries and Conventions, 1928

As pointed out by a recent writer, the matter of "selecting" candidates is of more vital importance to labor than "electing" them. (9) It is claimed that in the absence of a labor party, Labor's choice is limited first to a narrow circle of primary or convention aspirants, for nomination, and second to two or possibly three party candidates. The question arises as to what influence was exerted by labor in determining who should be the candidates in the campaign.

The journals examined did not indicate a great amount of activity relative to the primary elections or nominations. A few exceptions were noted, however. The Union Advocate reported on July 5th that William B. Wilson, Neal J. Ferry, and Van A. Bittner, all outstanding labor leaders were touring

.....  
 (8) October p 337. For other articles in the Advance see October 5, 12, and 26. August 10 and 31 (p 6). November 2 and 19 and December 7.

(9) Charles W. Irwin in the Advance for August 10... "What's Happening in the World?"

Montana for the renomination of Senator Burton K. Wheeler. He was successful both in the primaries and the election. (He was also supported in both Campaigns by the Railway Brotherhoods) (10) His initiation of the coal probe had won labor's support.

The defeat of Finis J. Garrat for Senator in Tennessee primaries was discussed by several journals as an outstanding victory for labor. (11) According to the American Federationist labor's campaign was planned in the "largest labor conference ever held in Tennessee State Federation of Labor." The united action of all progressive groups succeeded in nominating Senator Keller by a majority of 50,000 against the anti-labor Garret who had "opposed every measure ever proposed by organized labor."

Somewhat less spectacular was the defeat of former Congressman "Bleating" Blanton of Texas in his fight for the Democratic Senatorial nomination. (12) He had been a post war enemy of labor and was opposed by labor in the primaries.

The Advance while agreeing that labor was a factor in these two defeats does not give it full credit for them. There were a few indirect indications of labor support of tried and true friends of labor in Congress in the primary elections but the above described instances seemed to be the only cases discussed in the journals examined to any appreciable extent. (13)

- .....
- (10) Recorded in Houston Labor Journal for May 25.
- (11) eg. American Federationist Sept p 1045. Advance August 10 "What's Happening in the World". Houston Labor Journal August 17 p 5 and others.
- (12) Houston Labor Journal August 10 p 4
- (13) Although all numbers of journals containing news of labor activity in the primaries were asked for, very few spring and summer issues were obtained. It is quite possible that

Labor activities in the National Conventions were apparently confined to issues in the platforms. These have been noted in former chapters. Aside from those journals giving partisan support, no news appeared regarding labor activity in state conventions.

(C) Activity in the Election Campaign.

There was clearly evident in the politically active journals a desire to increase labor's participation in elections. "Don't forget to register!" and "Go to the polls and vote!" were frequent exhortations. Insisting that the influence of the masses should be the determining factor in the election, President William Green in his widely published Labor Day address strongly urged all workers to cast their ballot. (1) "A. F. of L. Calls on Unions to Reach Polls", runs another headline. Two or three journals published a full page cartoon contrasting the voter who sits as "judge" between the progressive and the reactionary candidate, with the fellow who says "they're all crooks" and doesn't vote. Other similar cartoons were published urging voters to act. It was urged by one writer that "The breakdown of party lines should be taken advantage of by workers and other liberal minded citizens to elect a progressive House and Senate". (2) Most of these journals saw the presidential choice as very important (although often expressing no preference) and the

.....  
 (13) some matter was published but was not contained in the magazines examined.

(1) eg. See Journal of Switchmen's Union October p 517

(2) Journal of Electrical Workers October and July.  
Boilermakers Journal October p 406, March p 20  
Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen's Magazine October p 308-15.

(3) See footnote (1) Nov. Number p 570.

Congressional elections still more so. As an exception C. W. Erwin in the Advance remarks: "It doesn't seem to me that winning....by either Smith or Hoover is of the least importance to labor." (4)

Various general comments and news items appeared relative to the campaign some of the more important of which may be noted.

Frequently the excessive cost of the campaign was criticized. The Advance estimated in August that the expenditure would be \$10,000,000. Erwin in the same journal November 9th quoted the Democratic Party treasurer's report giving \$5,300,000 as the (published) expenditure for that party. Two or three prominent journals published an article entitled "Money Elects Presidents" which estimated the election cost at from ten to twenty million dollars and maintaining that "almost without exception, the presidential candidate who has had the largest campaign fund has been elected." Tabulations follow to prove the assertion and to indicate the increasing campaign expenditures from 1886 to the present. (4) One journal in a cartoon entitled "political education" showed the voter's head being crushed between two huge boxing gloves marked "Slush Fund". (5) Another cartoon pictured the fiddler "crooked politics" having a pocket of bills slipped into his pocket by "special privilege" while the lone voter viewing the operation is doubtful about dancing to the music (6).

.....  
 (4) Journal of Switchmen's Union Nov. p 579 and Locomotive Engineers' Journal Sept. p 668 are examples.

(5) Amalgamated Journal October 4.

(6) Blacksmiths Drop Forgers and Helpers Journal August p 5

The point here emphasized of independence in voting was frequently urged. One editor warned against "spread eagle orators and tin horn patriots" and against intimidation by employers and urged that organized labor "show some backbone and vote for its interests." (7) The Journal of Electrical Workers published in October a long and pointed review of F. R. Kent's book, Political Behavior. The article was entitled "Boob Voting" and contained comments relative to the approaching election.

The Advance considered radio campaigning to be distinct disadvantage to labor and minority groups in the campaign. However, the Chicago Federation of Labor operated during the campaign its own broadcasting station, W. C. F. L., but the programs as published in the Federation News (Chicago Federation Organ) indicated no campaign activity except some reference to city candidates and one fifteen minute program by the Smith for President Union Labor League. (8) Apparently labor was a small factor in radio campaigning.

In general the labor journals considered the election of a pro-labor Congress of more importance than the choice between the presidential candidates. The official attitudes of the Federation and the Railroad Brotherhoods in this regard were often reflected in the journals, particularly in the editorial columns.

- .....
- (7) Journal of Switchmens' Union Editorial Nov p 553
- (8) Federation News Nov 3 p 2 and 5.
- '9) Editorial August p 476. Similar articles appeared in Boilermaker's Journal Oct p 407. American Flint Oct p 19-20 Blacksmith's Journal July August p. 8. Painter and Decorator Oct. p 19 Railway Clerk Sept. and Oct several articles.

A paragraph from the Moulder's Journal will illustrate: "But in the heat of a presidential campaign the voters are very apt to overlook a matter of more importance to their future welfare from a political standpoint than the election of a President. There are a large number of Senators and Congressmen to be elected this fall. Labor must be on the alert and see to it that the right men are elected to these offices. Many of those who have shown by their records in Congress that they are friendly towards us, are up for re-election. It is our duty to do everything we possibly can to make their campaigns a success. On the other hand some of these gentlemen have shown by their records that they are extremely antagonistic towards labor's interests. We should do all within our power to see that these men are not re-elected" (9) Says the editor of the Railway Clerk (Sept.). "A Progressive Congress is of tremendously more importance to Labor than the question of who should be President.....The railroad labor organizations through our paper, Labor, are waging a vigorous campaign for the re-election of progressive Senators and Representatives, those progressive Senators and Representatives who have proved their friendship for the working people. It is not necessary to burden the record with details of how they voted on specific measures to prove the friendship of such Senators as La Follette, Shipstead, Wheeler and Dill."

As this quotation indicates, comment was not confined to general exhortations. Several journals published lists, pictures, or records of "Congressmen Who Have Kept Faith with Labor". Some papers, recommended only a few progressive senators, while others, particularly Labor, catalogued



some twenty-two senatorial and scores of Congressional Candidates. (10) It was mainly the larger railway journals and state federation journals which endorsed a considerable number of Candidates for Congress. (11) The smaller national union organs, city and miscellaneous journals dealt usually (if at all) with odd Congressional candidates or with state and local tickets and the Presidential candidates.

Labor, political organ of the fifteen standard railway brotherhoods, (12) was politically the most active, by far, of any Union organ examined. Several of the other most active international union organs were also among the fifteen standard brotherhoods. During the campaign Labor kept up a continuous stream of labor news regarding leading labor issues and the campaign. It specialized on Congressional Candidates with special emphasis on publishing records and boasting for "progressives" for the Senate and House from all states. Labor was looked upon by other labor editors as a dependable source of such records and information. A non-partisan attitude was maintained throughout. Neither nor Smith was endorsed but much news and discussion was printed concerning both. Minor parties were ignored by this journal except that the Communists were scored, and Farmer-Labor candidates were supported in Minnesota.

.....  
 (9) con't. Journal of Switchmen's Union Sept. p 479 and Oct. p 509 and Nov. p 570. Amalgamated Journal Oct. 18 p 14. Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen's Magazine Nov. p 308. Also a few city and State Federation Journals

(10) List of these endorsements are tabulated in the appendix and will be considered in a following section.

(11) Table A 2 Numbers: 14, 18, 31, 32, 37, 38 and 39.

(12) Including the "Big Four" which are not affiliated with the A. F. of L. Five of the other nine smaller unions are affiliated.

Photos, with complimentary records of perhaps a dozen progressive senators, were published by this journal, also by the Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators, while a smaller number were published by the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, and Enginemens' Magazine. More emphasis and agreement were evident concerning progressive senators than concerning representatives.

But interest was by no means confined to Congressional and lesser candidates. While perhaps all of those journals expressing an opinion as to the relative importance of Presidential and Congressional candidates were agreed that the latter mattered most to labor, still a considerably larger number of journals expressed attitudes regarding Hoover and Smith than expressed attitudes regarding Congressmen in particular.

A good many of the journals, however, which discussed the two candidates were apparently impartial toward them. (14) Some seemed to admire both, some saw little political virtue in either while others tried to find good and bad points in each. An outstanding example of the first type is the Railroad Trainman which reviewed in five large, closely printed pages the records and achievements of both candidates without criticism or unfavorable comment. (15) In the same issue an editorial remarks: "The membership need have no fears as to either of these men on problems of labor and the general welfare of the masses. Both have come up from a very humble home and achieved success by hard work and application. Both deserve great credit for their achievements and the examples they have set demonstrate there is nothing beyond the grasp of our young

men if they will only apply themselves. The only remaining duty devolving upon our membership is to go to the polls and cast their ballots on election day, thereby proving the soundness of our system of government as well as demonstrating that those who are elected to serve, as our representatives are indeed the choice of the great masses of the people instead of the representatives of the privileged few."

The Journal of Electrical Workers in a short editorial takes a similar favorable attitude toward both Candidates. (16)

The Advance, as previously noted, supported Thomas and indicated little faith in either of the two leading presidential candidates. The Lithographer's Journal and the Paper Maker's Journal also appeared skeptical toward both.

A third and larger group of journals discussed both candidates both favorably and unfavorably. The Locomotive Engineers' Journal gave an impartial digest of the acceptance speeches without partial comment. (17) The Railway Clerk, under the caption "Why I Should Vote for--" allowed Norman Hapgood a page and a half to champion the cause of Smith, and W. N. Doak an equal amount for Hoover while still more space was allowed Samuel I Beardsley for Norman Thomas. (18) A good sized photo of each candidate was thrown in. While these articles were

- .....
- (13) Information by letter from the publisher.
- (14) eg. The McQuillens' Journal Aug. p 476 Papers Makers' Journal Sept. p 4-5 and Oct. p 8 Journal of Electrical Workers July p 356 and Oct. p 510. Railway Clerk Sept. p 410.
- (15) October issue p 716-20. Also editorial p 763.

confined to the good points only of the candidates, elsewhere in the issue Smith and Hoover are treated critically, neutrally and humourously. Thomas, with the exception of the article mentioned, was practically disregarded by this journal during the campaign.

The Journal of Switchmen's Union also took a similar non-committal attitude toward Hoover and Smith. An extensive article clipped by this journal from the Teamsters' Journal and written by their president, Daniel Toban, attempts an impartial analysis of the two candidates records' from a labor viewpoint. He closes: "Again I repeat as above, vote as you please I have no axe to grind." (19)

But not all journals attempted impartiality regarding the Presidential Candidates. The candidacy of Smith was frequently supported by journals that were non-partisan regarding Congressional candidates and by one partisan journal. On the other hand, excepting the two journals previously noted as being Republican, none of those examined supported the candidacy of Hoover as against Smith, and both the journals which supported Hoover were classed as miscellaneous rather than official journals. (20)

- .....
- (16) July p 356, In the Aug. issue the editor criticizes ex-governor Allen as director of publicity for the Republican Campaign. Other journals uncritical toward both candidates were the Springfield Tribune(Ohio) and the Life and Labor Bulletin.
- (17) September issue.
- (18) October p 462-6. Other articles p 459 and 470.
- (19) November p 565.
- (20) Union Labor Advocate (Chicago) and the Labor World (Pittsburg)

The various attitudes expressed toward the two candidates were discussed somewhat in Part I in connection with issues and hardly require treatment here at length. Partial discussion usually dealt with the candidates records'. The few discussions of personalities which appeared were of the non-partisan type dealt with elsewhere.

An outstanding pro-Smith official organ was the Upholsterers' Journal. In an editorial in the September issue entitled "Smith Toes the Mark" Smith's frank facing of every labor issue is greatly admired, while in another editorial in the same issue the editor says: "If the American people will Herbert a thorough once over ... then we are certain the next president will be Al Smith". Hoover, he thinks, pats labor on the back with workers' prosperity and anti-injunction promises but the recent administration didn't line up. "From the point of view of organized labor Herbert Hokum Hoover, his Republican party and their platform with its meaningless planks are unacceptable----we want no part of him." Numerous articles in a similar vein appeared in this journal throughout the campaign. (21) The American Flint and the International Book Binder were more mild in support of Smith, being attracted chiefly, it seemed, by his stand on the prohibition issue.

Various city and state labor journals, mostly weeklies, ran regular news style articles favoring Smith or criticizing Hoover during the contest. (22) Here are a few

.....  
 (21) Upholsterers' Journal Sept. p 134-139. August and October Numbers containing other articles.

(22) e.g. Labor News (Mass), Federation News, Houston Labor Journal, Labor Advocate, and Okla. Federationist are samples

headlines: "Growing Sentiment for Al Smith Seen"; "Smith Answers Country's Call for Leadership"; "Labor Backs Smith with Active Work to Insure Success, List of Forty-seven Union Chiefs Announced for Service"; "Colorado Labor Movement Endorses Smith for President"; "Herbert Hoover is No Friend of the Organized Workers" "Hoover Favors the Open Shop". The two headlines last quoted introduced a news article which appeared in eight or ten of the journals, in which Senator Walsh quoted Hoover from 1920 stating that "The Principle of Individual Freedom Requires the Open Shop".

The Oklahoma Federationist for July decorated its cover page with large photos of Smith and Joe Robinson. "The Champions of Human Rights" The official Federation News of Chicago was a champion of Smith while the Union Labor Advocate of the same city, as noted above, urged labor to "Vote it straight" Republican. The New York State Federation of Labor enthusiastically endorsed Smith with but six dissenting votes and news of the event appeared in several journals. (23)

Taking the journals as a whole, their influence was fairly weighted on the side of Smith.

Campaign comment among labor publications was by no means all serious or argumentative. Comic cartoons occasionally appeared, and such humorous writers as Jas. P. Egan contributed

.....  
 (23) Including the American Photo Engraver (Oct.) edited by Matthew Woll.

a good deal of pointed, humorous, material. (24) An outstanding example of humor and satire appeared in the Railway Clerk entitled "Slush! Slush! Slush! The Boys are Marching". by "Prof. J. Goofus Mc Gander" (25) It is a comic satire decorated with cartoons on the two "big business" candidates. Extracts run thus: "I have never seen finer, fatter, nor slicker issues involved in our leap year ballot seeking activities... Al and Herb each has his minor faults but they are negligible and we must remember that both of them are family men and need work. Herb and Al are both good boys and have pleasing radio personalities. They are sincere in their convictions and courteous to the ladies. They each represent wonderful parties on staunch platforms supported by sturdy campaign funds. They probably mean all the world to the dyed in the wool Republicans, of Vermont, and the lifelong Democrats, of Georgia, but --they are just Tweedledee and Tweedledum to me." The same number contains a similar satire on Congressional politics in "A speech by Givem Boloney, Candidate for Congress."

Considerable degrees of contrast were evident in the reactions to the campaign as a whole. "This campaign has been vicious and contemptible," remarks one writer. The editor had previously deplored the whispering scandal and the injecting of the religious issue into the campaign. "The campaign shows that we haven't made the first step in developing an intellect upon

- .....
- (24) e.g. "Comment on the National Show"--Jas. P. Egan. in the International Book Binder. September and October
- (25) October p 470. See p 476 for the following reference.
- (26) International Book Binder November p 560

which real democracy must rest. We are still swayed by war whoops and red herrings that those in power swing across our path to detract from major issues". (26)

And in contrast we have in an editorial from another journal: "Another Presidential Campaign passes, an interesting one, with two formidable candidates aspiring for office of President of the U. S. A. ---an honor---the greatest honors mortal can win. A campaign almost devoid of personal slander, Even the press, while partisan, were very fair to each candidate and while they contended and differed on issues, it was, taking the whole campaign into consideration, clean, wholesome and interesting and educating." (27)

Contrasts also appeared in reactions to the elections results. "The president elect is with us" reads the caption of an article complimentary to the new president elect. (28) The editor feels confident that "Labor legislation....(for women)... will have the support of the next President of the United States." (28) In a like vein another non-partisan editor wrote: "President elect Hoover and Vice-President-elect Curtis having received the greatest popular vote of any men who have lived are to be congratulated for their wonderful victory. They are both men of vast experience in public affairs, of mature judgment and splendid ability. Their election should inspire national and international

- .....
- (27) The Plasterer November p 20  
 (28) Life and Labor Bulletin December p 1  
 (29) Railroad Trainman December p 961



confidence." (29) The Journal of Electrical Workers also expressed faith in the New President. (30)

Labor on November 17 featured an article under the caption, "Now He Belongs to the Nation", in which much hope and confidence was expressed in the President-elect. Other editor were inspired differently on "the morning after". "Four More Years of Reaction" was the opening shot of one journal which recounted the past wrongdoings of Hoover. "Organized labor can draw little consolation from the election out-come", the writer believes. "We come to the conclusion that for the next four years Big Business will sit in the saddle more firmly and that Hoover will serve it willingly." (31)

Most of the National union Organs made little post-election comment.

Taking a general view of campaign discussion among the journals examined it is possible to observe:

1. That a few well edited and important journals, mainly railway union organs and state federation organs, followed the non-partisan program of "Labor" as regards Congressional candidates with considerable unity and consistency but with equal emphasis.

2. That other National union organs or other journals as a whole evinced little coherence or emphasis as regards Congressional Candidates, but were loyal to the principle of non-partisanship.

.....  
 (30) December editorial p 636

(31) Upholsterers' Journal November p 1.

3. That there was among city and miscellaneous journals, with a few notable exceptions, a tendency to either "follow the band wagon" of their own state or city, to remain neutral, or to confine their support to Smith.

4. That discussion regarding presidential Candidates appeared to be divided mainly between impartiality, and partiality to Smith.

CHAPTER IV  
QUANTITATIVE APPROACH TO CAMPAIGN  
ATTITUDES AND ACTIVITY.

1. Frequency Distribution of Journal Attitudes.

Section VI of Table B 1 (See Appendix) represents an attempt to make a frequency distribution of attitudes toward candidates and parties as they were expressed in the journals examined. Limitations of the tabulated material have previously been mentioned.

An explanation regarding section C on Attitudes Toward Hoover and Smith should be noted. "Supported" in this table indicates discussion encouraging the reader to vote for the candidate in preference to any other. Journals merely making favorable comments regarding both candidates were not listed as supporting. "Criticized" indicates unfavorable comment of any sort. The purpose was to isolate as far as possible those attitudes which would affect the Presidential Congressional vote.

In the same table item VI A 1 "Endorsed List of Candidates" indicates the number of journals which endorsed more than four or five candidates including local candidates. But those endorsing only local candidates were not counted in this category regardless of the number endorsed. The purpose here was to roughly indicate wide or narrow political activity on the part of journals which were active to some extent in national politics.

Item VI A 2 those "Endorsing Odd Candidates Only" denotes journals endorsing say less than five candidates but including one or more Congressional or Presidential Candidates in the number. It does not include those endorsing a presidential candidate only.

It was previously noted that of the 55 journals listed in section VI as expressing attitudes toward candidates or parties, 23 confined the discussion to communism and only 37 were active in the campaign proper or about 36% of the journals examined. Twenty-six of these showed a non-partisan attitude compared with 6 partisan journals while 5 journals endorsed only Hoover or Smith and could not be classed as either partisan or non-partisan. (1) Of the 36 Non-partisan journals, 11 endorsed a few odd candidates only, and 9 of the fifteen endorsed a Presidential Candidate. Of the 6 partisan journals 2 endorsed Hoover and one Smith.

In point of numbers of journals, support favored Smith in preference to Hoover by 14 to 2 and criticism was in the opposite direction by 17 to 4.

Some difference in campaign activity may be noted between the types of journals as classified in Table A 2 and C 1 (Appendix). A brief examination of Table C 1 Section VI (Sheets 2 and 3 dealing with Attitudes Re Candidates and parties) of the Appendix will indicate that proportionately, non-partisan activity was fairly well distributed among the five  
 .....  
 (1) Numbers (Table A 2) : 13, 57, 58, 62, 70.

main classes of journals. But the independent national organs and the State Federation journals were apparently predominant in endorsing a list of candidates (VI A 1. a,b,c,d) while the opposite was true in regard to endorsing odd candidates only (VI A 2. a,b,c,d,e) but one journal from these groups appearing in this case. Again in regard to attitudes toward Smith and Hoover, Independent National Union Organs with the exception of the Advance, were absent while city, state and miscellaneous journals predominated. (C) It would appear that campaign interest was somewhat scattered as between different journals considered either in groups or separately. Of the several types of journals, the independent national union organs were apparently the most unified and consistent, particularly the railway journals.

With reference to the weighted table (Table B 2) it should again be noted that only national union organs are included here. In this table it would appear that journal influence on the basis of circulation was insignificant as regards the support of Hoover or Smith, radical parties or of odd candidates. However, these particular attitudes were expressed mainly by city and miscellaneous labor journals which are not represented in Table B 2 and their influence may have been considerable, although as indicated in the previous chapter, they did not evince in general any orientation or coherent viewpoint but reflected mainly local conditions.

"A list of candidates," as defined, (Table B 2 Section VI A 1) was endorsed by journals having an aggregate circulation which, making a small allowance for duplication, will reach 25% of the National Union Membership, assuming that our sample is representative. Since the majority of this activity seemed to be confined to the National and state federation organs, the figure is perhaps significant.

On the basis of the foregoing interpretation, the frequency distribution of campaign attitudes would seem to support observations previously noted regarding campaign activity among the journals. Their definable and significant national campaign influence seems to have been exerted: first, in support of the progressive or pro-labor Congressional candidates in line with the endorsements of the Standard Railway Brotherhood executives and the American Federation of Labor, with the chief emphasis on progressive senators; second, to a somewhat less degree, in support of Smith for president.

In attempting to check up on labor's success in attaining its election objectives, the election results left no doubt concerning the presidential candidates. The following chapter represents an effort to analyze in a general way the results with reference to Congress from the labor view point.

2. Analysis of Election Results with Reference to Labor's influence.

The 1928 election results are compiled in tables D 1, D 2, and D 3, of the Appendix. The tabulation includes only candidates listed as favorable or unfavorable to labor according to journals cited in this study.

Obviously the tables represent general rather than specific results of the vote. A division of candidates into "elected" and "defeated" takes no account of the differences between wide and narrow margins of success or defeat. Likewise, the tabulation of election results for purposes of estimating the political influence of a non-party group, takes no account of one of the most vital processes in popular government, namely, the selection of candidates for the party tickets. This matter is treated briefly in another chapter.

The facts set forth speak for themselves. Our purpose here will be to indicate inferences from the figures which seem most significant and point out a few possible misinterpretations.

From the view point of party platforms and campaign speeches, Smith probably made a stronger bid for what is known as the progressive vote than did Hoover, and as previously noted, the same seems true of labor support. (1)

The Hoover landslide, with victory and (in most cases) strong

.....  
 (1) The "Progressive" and Labor forces merged somewhat in the Conference for Progressive Political Action in 1922 as previously noted.

majorities, in forty states, might give a first impression that labor and progressivism were hopelessly defeated in the election. William English Walling in an article in the Journal of Switchmens Union for March 1929, entitled, "The Truth About the Election", quoted Walter Lippman in the New York World to the effect that "the old La Follette progressivism is not only decadent but dissolved." But Mr. Walling proceeds to analyze the Senatorial election results further and to show such is not the case. The leading facts set forth are quoted below and the tables supporting the facts are reproduced in Table D 4 of the Appendix:

1. Of 22 Progressive candidates for the Senate 18 were elected. (2)
2. The four Progressives defeated all gained substantially on Hoover and were defeated by narrow margins.
3. Nine States carried by Hoover elected Progressive Democrats and one Farmer-Laborite (Shipstead)
4. Progressive candidates in nine leading States (four Republicans, four Democrats and one Farmer-Labor) led Hoover by 2,068,000 votes.
5. Progressive candidates in five smaller States led Hoover by 19% of the total vote cast!

Our table D 3 is in agreement with Walling's findings that the progressive-labor block of Senators was not heavily

.....  
 (2) Table D 3 shows 23 with 19 elected.



reduced in the 1928 election, and his analysis clearly shows that in face of the Hoover landslide, these Senators as a rule attracted high or spectacular votes as compared to Hoover, and that "progressivism" as regards Senators, appeared, to be in favor rather than "dissolved" as Mr Lippmann contended.

It is easy however to overestimate this viewpoint and attempt to make the facts mean too much. Certain other observations should be considered in gauging their significance:

1. The wet-dry and religious questions cut across the progressive-conservative alignment in the 1928 election, and since these issues centered largely around the presidential candidates it is quite possible that the leads of progressive Senators over Hoover, shown in Walling's tables, were in some cases due to an abnormal Presidential vote. For instance, where progressive Republicans ran ahead of Hoover, it may have been due to a strong pro-Smith vote in a wet Republican state. And where progressive Democratic Senators ran ahead of Hoover in a pro-Hoover state, it may signify a strong anti-Smith vote in a Democratic or anti-administration state. A case of reactionary Republican Senators falling behind Hoover might be similarly explained. The religious factor was doubtless present as a cause of the results cited by Walling. In other words, election results cannot be explained on a single theory basis, as Mr Walling evidently would agree. Each contest must be explained in the light of the specific situation affecting it.

Tables published by Mr Walling cited twenty-one Senatorial contests (out of the total 34) apparently indicating that progressivism rather than reactionism was in favor with the electorate. (3) Even if an analysis of the remaining 13 contests would show in every case an opposite tendency, which is hardly probable, his majority of cases would still justify the conclusion that Mr Lippman's theory that Progressivism is "dissolved" can hardly be substantiated.

2. Again in spite of heavy progressive leads indicated above, the Senatorial progressive bloc elected in 1922, was not increased or even maintained. It was reduced by at least two. Furthermore, labor progressive victories of 1928 were in every case re-elections of Senators who had won their seats in 1922 or earlier. (4) In other words, labor-progressive winnings in 1928 were defensive rather than aggressive. Perhaps the most that they may be said is that the labor-progressive forces which took shape in the Senate in the post-war situation succeeded fairly well in entrenching themselves against the reactionary onslaught of 1928. To isolate the causal factors of this success is a more difficult problem.

3. In considering the extent of labor's influence in the 1928 election, the question arises as to just how much credit can be given organized labor for Senatorial successes. Certainly the progressive bloc has been and is now probably to a far greater extent a "farm bloc" than a labor bloc. Of

.....  
 (3) Senator King of Utah, one of the 21 was listed Anti-labor by LABOR

(4) Neely of West Virginia and Gerry of R. I. See Table D

the 18 states furnishing pro-labor Senatorial victories in 1928, seven are western states, namely : California, Washington, Montana, Wyoming, Nevada, Arizona and New Mexico. The first three named are probably fairly well organized by labor. Campaign support from outside as well as intra-state labor sources probably influenced Senatorial election results considerably in Montana and Washington in case of Senators Wheeler and Dill. The large California vote would preclude the probability that labor was the dominant influence in the re-election of Senator Johnson, since even his majority would far outnumber union membership in that state. That labor was a factor cannot be doubted. Of the eleven remaining states, New York and Massachusetts have a strong labor vote. Massachusetts labor was probably a significant factor in the re-election of Senator Walsh. New York on the other hand seems to be dominated politically by much stronger forces than organized labor can muster. The remaining nine states, Wisconsin, Minnesota, North Dakota, Nebraska, Texas, Tennessee, Mississippi, Florida and Virginia are all predominantly agricultural. With the exception of Wisconsin, organized labor could scarcely be considered as even an important factor in election results. Labor was active in Senator Shipstead's support in Minnesota, but the American Federation membership in the state totals but 35,000, whereas Senator Shipstead outstripped his opponent by about 300,000. (5)

.....  
 (5) According to Labor Nov. 17, p 3, the party votes by states, are given by Simon Michelette in Current History for Feb. 1929. Unfortunately, A. F. of L. membership figures by state could not be made available for this study. The analysis given here is believed to be easily within bounds of fact.

Tennessee perhaps presents an exception to the rule. There outside labor speakers and influence were joined with other groups in the Nomination and Election of McKeller against Garrett as noted elsewhere.

Thus it seems that organized labor was probably an important factor in four or five Senatorial victories. In all five cases, however, except Wisconsin Democratic Congressmen were elected against a Hoover majority. Hence, insofar as labor was favorable to Smith, it met defeat in these four states on the Presidential ticket. But the sector of organized labor supporting Senators was probably larger and more unified than that supporting Smith. The facts mentioned, however, emphasize the point that Labor's election influences cannot be definitely estimated even in these four or five states.

Labor then must be viewed in proper relation to other factors. When Labor states that 18 of the 22 Senatorial candidates endorsed by the railway executives were elected or that all of the ten supported by distribution of copies of Labor were elected, (6) there is no basis for the conclusion that Labor railway unions are dictating the Senatorial elections. It implies rather that the political alliances made by labor organizations following the war with other interests, especially agriculture, representing voters far more numerous than labor unions have brought at least moderate success in the Senate.

.....  
 (6) Editorial Nov. 17, 1928. The editor attributes the success mentioned to the primary system of nomination and to organized labor.

It is also probable that organized labor's influence is larger than its own numbers; and, aside from the political strength of labor in 1928, the railway unions were the leading factor in forming the Conference for Progressive Political Action in 1922 which contributed to the successes since achieved.

Progressivism was not in evidence in the election of Representatives. Neither Walling nor the labor journals pointed to the 1928 election as a victory. Out of the total of contestants for seats in the House, the journals examined listed 222 which could be considered favorable to the policies of labor organizations. (Table D 3). This does not mean that they were constant or dependable in labor's support. Records of candidates by which "labor's friends" are determined show that very often candidates marked favorable vote against labor in Congress from 25% to 40% of the time.(7) Even a majority of such Representatives might not accomplish much for labor owing to lack of agreement in viewpoint.

Table D 3, shows 222 candidates listed by one or more journals as favorable to labor within the limits above described. Of these 222, 168 were elected, or something like 39% of the House membership. Of the 25 special "enemies" of labor that were listed, only 3 were defeated. Of the 222 marked favorable, 20 were listed as having good or 100% pro-labor records. Ten of these were elected. Eighteen of the 25

(7) Records of Candidates could not be obtained except from Pennsylvania State F. of L. and summaries of records from Texas F. of L. A few summaries were published in journals, as mentioned elsewhere.

"enemies" of labor were 100% unfavorable; 2 of these were defeated. The journal, Labor, reported the defeat of about twenty progressives mostly by narrow margins. A few cases of strong (proportionally) progressive votes were reported in agricultural districts. The editor of Labor conceded that with a Republican majority of more than 100, labor had but little to expect from the new Congress.

Owing to the intermixture of urban and rural Congressional Districts, any attempt to analyze the vote by districts would be a task beyond the scope of this study. It seems to be significant that in Congressional district elections there has been far less indication of labor influence than in state contests. It would seem reasonable to suppose that the successful election of out and out pro-labor Representatives should occur more frequently in industrial states than elsewhere. (Table d 3). Of the 10 successful candidates favorable to labor one was from New Hampshire, four from Indiana, three from Kentucky, and one each from Oklahoma and Wisconsin. On the other hand, of the 16 successful 100% unfavorable candidates, eight were from New York, five from Connecticut, one from Massachusetts, and but two from Idaho, an agricultural state.

Nor were the "favorable" candidates as a whole predominantly from industrial states. For example, nine of the industrial states, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Hampshire, Vermont, New Jersey, Delaware, West Virginia,

Pennsylvania, and Michigan furnished but 18 of the 222 or about 8% while Missouri, Wisconsin, Alabama, Kentucky and South Carolina furnished some of the longer lists, proportional to voting strength. These facts lend support to the notion that pro-labor political strength is equally if not largely present in the agricultural areas.

As in the case of Senators, the list of successful "favorable" candidates shows a small percentage of new candidates. Eight out of 168 elected or less than 5% were new candidates, while of the 54 defeated, one third were new candidates. Approximately 75% of the favorable candidates elected and 40% of those defeated had served three or more prior terms in the House. As would be expected, the anti-labor candidates show still higher percentages of "old" candidates. (Table D 3)

The high percentage of "old" candidates going to make up the total 247 listed (8) is no doubt largely accounted for by "unfavorable" and "favorable" records which are established mainly by votes on labor measures in Congress or state legislatures. Comparatively few new Congressional candidates could have "labor records" except those who had come up through state legislatures. This is true in less measure in the case of Senatorial candidates for many of them

.....  
 (8) Summation of totals: favorable 222 and unfavorable 25.

have served previously in the House. Again we find that labor's present political influence is expressed chiefly in passing judgment upon established politicians selected in the first instance by a party machine. (9) There is little evidence on the other hand that labor is an important influence on the machine either with respect to the selection or election of labor candidates as such.

In attempting a brief summary of the more significant findings as to labor's political influence on the 1928 campaign we may perhaps reasonably infer that:

1. Labor's somewhat uncrystallized preference for Smith met decisive defeat in the Hoover landslide.

2. In the House of Representatives labor's small group of constant supporters were apparently reduced by one-half, and its minority group of partial supporters was reduced perhaps about 15% in numbers. Twelve per-cent of labor's "enemies" in the House were defeated.

3. In the Senate approximately 90% of labor's friends (mostly constant) were retained and at least one of its enemies defeated. In spite of the Hoover landslide there is evidence that progressive Senators were popular, but mainly in agricultural or Western states.

4. The distribution of successful pro-labor candidates indicates that the political influence of labor probably lies in its alliance with agricultural and progressive groups in general, rather than in its own voting power or propaganda.

.....  
 (9) Cf. F. R. Kent The Great Game of Politics.



5. The successes favorable to labor in 1928 consisted almost wholly in maintaining political gains previously made, mostly as far back as 1922. (10)

.....  
(10) In the course of this study a number of letters were received from various labor officials and editors who were approached for information, and in some cases, for opinions regarding labor's influence in the election. Extracts from these letters are quoted in the first section of the appendix for comparison with the conclusions from the study. While an effort was made to include a representative selection of the opinions expressed, the letters themselves may not be representative of the labor movement.

## CONCLUSION

The chief inferences which it seemed reasonable to deduce from this investigation and which have been summarized at the close of each section may now be briefly reviewed.

The findings of the study indicate that organized labor in the United States is reasonably well satisfied with its own progress and is more interested in security of position than in rapid political gains. It seems devoted to the capitalistic system and established institutions, and suspicious of socialism and idealistic programs. The outlook is national rather than international. Direct bargaining and industrial action are preferred to political action, and labor doesn't seem to be committed to any unified philosophy or orientated toward an ultimate goal. Political expressions and activity seem to be predominantly defensive and negative rather than aggressive.

There was, however, in 1928 a considerable volume of political discussion in labor journals and of officially organized political activity. It was mostly non-partisan in method and directed mainly toward curbing injunctions and securing or defending the rights and principles of unionism, and to a less degree it was aimed at the protection of the worker's job and pay standard, and at welfare legislation. A minor interest in certain general political issues was exhibited by labor editors and officials.

Interest in issues was apparently more widespread than than in the campaign as such. There was no great unity of political interest among the several types of labor journals nor was political interest and activity evenly distributed among the journals. Independent union journals were found to be more active politically than those of the American Federation of Labor, especially in connection with candidates and the election campaign.

With respect to the issues of the 1928 election, the study indicates that labors interests and viewpoints were not well unified, nor was political discussion on the whole forceful or extensive. Organized labor could scarcely have exerted a dominant influence in the election so far as political issues were concerned. Aside from injunctions and related questions labor's influence on platforms was probably not significant. Labors previous gains on the injunction question were maintained.

The Democratic party platform and presidential candidate were more in favor with labor than were those of the Republican party. Unified support of either party or Presidential candidate was lacking.

Labor interest centered more on Congressional than Presidential candidates and more on Senators than Representatives. With a few exceptions labor's campaign activity was apparently confined to the election and neglected the primaries.

Concerning campaign discussion by journals examined it was noted that a few well edited and important journals, mainly railway union organs and state federation organs, followed the non-partisan program of Labor in behalf of Congressional candidates, with considerable unity and consistency but with unequal emphasis. Others national union organs or other labor journals as a whole evinced little coherence or emphasis as regards the support of Congressional candidates but were loyal to the principle of non-partisanship.

There was among city and miscellaneous journals, with a few notable exceptions, a tendency to "follow the bandwagon" of their own state or city, to remain neutral, or to confine their support to Smith.

Discussion regarding Presidential candidates appeared to be divided mainly between impartiality, and partiality to Smith.

The 1928 election results with respect to labor's influence and interests are summarized at the close of the chapter immediately preceding and need not be repeated here.

Any suggestions looking to the practical application, if such be possible, of the inferences to the political program, of labor or to political functions in general will be left to those engaged in the intimately acquainted with political affairs.

In view of the necessary brevity of the reference to historical backgrounds throughout the study, any discussion of political trends in the labor movement, in closing the study would be somewhat presumptuous. Such hints as seemed justified have been offered in their proper connection. But it should be recognized that the history of labor's program reveals changes in emphasis and direction as well as in the extent of political activity. All of these fluctuations have been determined by a complex of historical factors, the analysis of which lies beyond the scope of this paper. But the full significance of labor's political activities and attitudes in 1928 can only be understood when seen in their relation to historical tendencies. As raw material for interpretation on this basis, the foregoing material may (it is hoped) be of value.

Therefore it seems inappropriate to enter into any theoretical discussion of why the labor-political situation in the U. S. is as it is, by the formulation of any particularistic causal theory evolved from the biological or psychological nature of the "worker", from fatalistic tendencies in the universe or from a critique of labor's tactics and philosophy. That certain orderly sequences of events exist in the situation is undeniable; and that they are in some measure discoverable and controllable is the belief of the author. But the point that it seems well to emphasize in conclusion is, that in any discussion of political questions, as in few other fields, the

tendency to over-emphasize some factors (or even to omit obvious factors or tend to see apparent ones not actually present), to interpret facts and conditions by over-simplified assumptions of cause and effect inspired by particular interests, has been the bane of political discussion.

Any adequate understanding of the present labor-political situation in the U. S. will give due consideration to geographic and ecological conditions as well as economic political and other cultural facts as backgrounds. It will recognize the essential limitations of human nature as determined by the processes of social and organic evolution, and at the same time the possibilities of change and adjustment through intelligent action. Finally the importance and effect of consciously organized institutions, programs and plans of action, formed in the interplay of individual and group interests both within and without the labor movement, will not be neglected. (1)

.....  
(1) Cf Labor and Independent Politics. By Seba Eldridge in American Labor Dynamics p 255-8

## APPENDIX - Section I

Miscellaneous Extracts from letters received from various labor officials and editors, expressing facts or opinions regarding labor's attitude and influence in the election of 1928.

Wm. F. Yates

National Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association

Washington, D. C.

"Our membership is a fairly representative cross section of the voting population and we entertain all shades of political opinion; hence, we, as an organization, take no part in National politics.

"My own experience in life and politics has been that if I were a candidate for public office I would like to have the support of working people, and there is a vast difference between this support and "official indorsement." I feel that I would like to have the first, but would be better off without the second."

Joseph Obergfell, General Secretary-Treasurer

Int'l Union of United Brewery, Flour, Cereal, and Soft

Drink Workers

Cincinnati, Ohio

"There was no alternative for our organization but to support the candidate who openly and courageously advocated relief from the Volstead Law, which law has worked hardships on thousands of our members who were made idle by the closing of brewery plants as a result of prohibition and the Volstead Enforcement Law."



C O P Y

PENNSYLVANIA FEDERATION OF LABOR

Federation of Labor Building

430 North Street

Harrisburg, Pennsylvania

May 5, 1929

Mr. R. W. Nininger,  
University of Kansas,  
Lawrence, Kansas

Dear Sir:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 5th, requesting a list of the Congressional candidates endorsed by the State Federation of Labor in the campaign of 1920, 1922, 1924, 1926 and 1928. In reply thereto, I wish to state that the only candidate for Congress that received the endorsement of the State Federation of Labor in 1928 was Congressman Casey, President of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor. During the time from 1920 to 1928 very few endorsements were made by the State Federation of Labor in reference to candidates to Congress. In the majority of cases the Congressmen from this State were re-elected with very little opposition. While many of them were opposed to Organized Labor, we were unable to secure real opposition to their candidacy.

In the majority of cases, most of our opponents were men who were not willing to put up a fight to try and be elected. In this great rock ribbed Republican State of ours, there are only a few districts that a Democrat has a chance to succeed - those are the districts of the hard coal fields. Therefore, it was useless for the State Federation of Labor to make any endorsements.

I am sending you a record of the Congressmen from this State on labor legislation as furnished by the officers of the American Federation of Labor.

Trusting this will be of some value, I remain

Fraternally yours,

Frank E. Kelley  
Secretary

JK:W

C. W. Woodman, Editor

Union Banner

Fort Worth, Texas

"Because of the peculiar political conditions prevailing in Texas during the last campaign, and because there were no enemies of labor in the field as candidates, I refrained from discussing politics in my paper.

"Since Texas has for the second time in its history voted Republican, you know that by far a majority of organized labor's members voted for President Hoover."

Woodruff Randolf, Sec.-Treas.

International Typographical Union

Indianapolis, Indiana

"Doubtless the members of the International Typographical Union were divided between the contending candidates of last year in much the same proportion as other classes of citizens were divided."

Robert Fechner, General Vice-President

International Association of Machinists

Boston, Massachusetts

"It does not appear to me the last election should be taken as an example of the influence of Organized Labor in its political activity because, as you know, there were two

vital problems involved which so aroused the prejudice of individuals that other fundamentals, and far more important matters, were lost sight of. I refer, of course, to the prohibition and the religious issue. Under any normal circumstances there is no doubt in my mind, but an overwhelming majority of Trade Union Leaders would have supported the candidacy of Alfred E. Smith. His whole record both as a member of the New York State Legislature and as Governor of the State was consistently friendly to many of the vital things Organized Labor has struggled for and is still trying to achieve.

"After Mr. Smith was actually nominated you know the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor had a very heated session, devoted almost exclusively to considering the attitude or the position that the Council should take in the approaching campaign. Finally, after days of discussion, it was voted to remain neutral. This decision resulted in the resignation of Mr. Daniel J. Tobin who for many years had been Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor."

James E. Kelley, Sec'y-Treas.

Pennsylvania Federation of Labor

Harrisburg, Penna.

"During the time from 1920 to 1928 very few endorsements were made by the State Federation of Labor in reference to candidates to Congress. In the majority of cases the Congressmen from this State were re-elected with very little opposition. While many of them were opposed to Organized Labor, we were unable to secure real opposition to their

candidacy.

"In the majority of cases, most of our opponents were men who were not willing to put up a fight to try and be elected. In this great rock ribbed Republican State of ours, there are only a few districts that a Democrat has a chance to succeed - those are the districts of the hard coal fields. Therefore, it was useless for the State Federation of Labor to make any endorsements."

John J. Egan, Sec.-Treasurer  
Connecticut Federation of Labor  
Bridgeport, Connecticut

"As Connecticut is an Industrial State and overwhelmingly Republican, the Congressmen generally selected from here are more favorable toward the manufacturing interests than the laboring interests.

"There was a time when such men as P. B. O'Sullivan, Congressman T. Reilly, and J. Donavan held office and Labor got real consideration.

"At the present time there are two or three important issues as far as Labor is concerned, that some of the Congressmen in some of the districts in Connecticut are right on."

P. J. Coulor, General Vice-President  
International Association of Machinists  
Washington, D. C.

"So far as the Presidential campaign of 1928 was

concerned, Labor, as such, did not make any particular choice of candidate, and therefore, did not influence the election results by any collective campaign or influence in the way of newspapers or circulars.

"We did, however, engage in a campaign for the defeat of certain congressmen and the election of others, and this influence was exerted through our weekly paper known as "Labor", which has a circulation of a half million copies per week."

Victor S. Purdy, Sec. - Treas.  
Okla. State Federation of Labor  
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

"Never in the history of this state has an unfriendly representative or senator been elected."

Timothy Healy, President  
Firemen and Oilers Local Union 56 Greater New York  
New York, New York

"I would say in a general way that labor did not cut much of a figure at the election. It was about equally divided between the two presidential candidates."

John F. Welch, Assistant Editor  
Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers Journal  
Cleveland, Ohio

"Unemployment was an important consideration in the fanks of labor during our recent Presidential election, with the resultant largest "labor vote" ever cast in the history of these United States. But, there was no apparent concerted

movement in behalf of either candidate, labor having acted more or less subconsciously. Reflecting thus, there was probably a psychological effect as the result of President Hoover being outstanding engineer and thus commonly accepted as an employer of large groups of men which attracted the vote of labor.

"President Hoover also has the undisputed record of never having had any labor trouble on jobs which he handled. Moreover, it is quite a well known fact that he took into his counsel, both as Secretary of Commerce and as candidate for the office to which he was elected, many prominent and outstanding labor leaders. Whereas, his opponent, Mr Smith's campaign was sponsored in the opinion of many labor leaders, by the General Motors Corporation, who may not be considered too fair toward labor.

"There were undoubtedly numerous "trades" on the recent election which labor believes of benefit. Labor, as you probably know, is given to doing things and may be likened in that respect to "the barking dog seldom bites".

"Labor ordinarily acts with determination and most effectively when calm, that which in my opinion was the case during our recent Presidential election."

Frank Rosenblum

Amalgamated Clothing Workers

Chicago, Illinois

"In my opinion, labor as a class did not influence the last presidential election in the slightest degree. The religious and prohibition elements were the dominating issues

in the labor vote. Of this issue, religion was, perhaps, the greatest factor. Although there is no immediate concrete example of labor participation in politics on a labor program, there is no question that parts of this country are showing definite signs of labor becoming politically conscious."

William L. Goefgen, Editor and Publisher  
The Weekly Dispatch  
San Diego, Texas

"In the last national conflict labor had very little to expect from either of the major parties. The prosperity of the American worker is making him delinquent as to questions of legislation and procedure, feeling too well with his lot to inform himself as to the present or future course of this government or the welfare of its people.

"It may sound rather harsh to make this statement, but my remarks are based upon the attitude assumed by sterling members of labor unions refusing to consider Al Smith as a proper representative of the people because he was of the Catholic faith."

APPENDIX SECTION II

TABLE A 1

LIST OF PERIODICALS CATERING TO LABOR 1926.

A few new ones added from 1928. (1)

	Heard from by letter	Examined and Tabulated	Total Numbers published in United States
<b>Union Periodicals --Official (2)</b>			
A. F. of L. General-----	1	3	4
A. F. of L. National Union Organs--29		26	82
Independent Union Organs-----	4	8	14
State Federation Organs-----		5	9
City and County Trades Council Organs--4		16	71
District and State Conference-----		1	5
Miscellaneous Labor Periodicals-----		14	213
	29	73	398(3)

**Non-Union Periodicals**

	Examined not tabulated	
Communist (5 English)	3	29
Socialist (6 " )	4	26
Farmer-Labor	1	19
Cooperative and Farmer's Union	3	19
Industrial Workers of the World	2	177
Government Bulletins of Publications of Department of Labor-----	0	12
Educational Journals (catering to labor interests or viewpoints)	2	11
Socialist Labor Party	1	6
Miscellaneous	5	19
	21	158 (4)
<b>Grand Total-----</b>	<b>94</b>	<b>556</b>



APPENDIX SECTION II

TABLE A 1

Total Issues Examined 541

Total Issues Examined and tabulated 406

\*\*\*\*\*

- (1) Selection and classification based mainly on the List in Labor Year Book for 1926.
- (2) Figures enumerate separate publications not issues.
- (3) Only 361 of these were approached for sample copies.
- (4) Others were considered small or insignificant for study. 42 of these were approached.
- (5) Number of issues sent by publishers ranged from 1 to 28.

(See Table A 2)

LABOR JOURNALS EXAMINED AND TABULATED.

<u>A. F. of L. GENERAL PUBLICATIONS:</u>	Issues Examined	Union Membership 1926 (in thousands) (1)
1. <u>A.F.ofL. Weekly News Service</u>	5	
2. <u>Workers' Federation News (WEL)</u>	6	
3. <u>American Federationist</u>	12	

A. F. of L. NATIONAL UNION ORGANS

4. <u>Amalgamated Journal (AAISTW)</u>	13	12.5
5. <u>American Flint (AFGWONA)</u>	4	7
6. <u>American Photo Engraver (IPEUNA)</u>	2	7
7. <u>American Pressman (IPPAUNA)</u>	2	45
8. <u>Boiler Makers' Journal (IBBMISBH)</u>	2	23
9. <u>Blacksmiths' Journal (IBBSDFHJ)</u>	1	15
10. <u>International Book Binder (IBBB)</u>	6	14
11. <u>International Moulders' J. (IMU)</u>	2	30
12. <u>Justice (ILGWU)</u>	3	87
13. <u>J. of Switchmen's Union (SUNA)</u>	7	9
14. <u>J. of Electrical Workers and Op. (IBEW)</u>	5	100 (3)
15. <u>Lithographers' Journal (ALA)</u>	1	5
16. <u>Potters' Heralds (NBOP)</u>	2	8
17. <u>Plasterer (OPCF)</u>	2	32
18. <u>Paper Makers' Journal (PML)</u>	3	7
19. <u>Painter and Decorator (BPDPHA)</u>	15	125
20. <u>Pattern Makers Journal (PML)</u>	1	9
21. <u>Ry. Maintenance of Way Empl. J.</u>	1	37
22. <u>Railway Clerk (BRSC)</u>	4	135 (3)
23. <u>Seamen's Journal (ISUA)</u>	5	18
24. <u>Shoe Workers' Journal (BSWU)</u>	6	36
25. <u>Stone Cutters' Journal (JSA)</u>	1	5
26. <u>Textile Worker (UTWA)</u>	3	30
27. <u>Union Clay Worker (UBCW)</u>	4	5
28. <u>United Mine Workers' J. (UMWA)</u>	9	500 (2)
29. <u>Upholsterers' Journal (UIUNA)</u>	7	212
		<u>1313.5</u>

INDEPENDENT NATIONAL UNION ORGANS:

30. <u>Advance (ACW)</u>	10	45 (3)
31. <u>Br. of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen's Magazine</u>	6	107
32. <u>Labor (ARSRRLO)</u>	4	400 (3)
33. <u>Locomotive Engineers J. (BLE)</u>	11	88
34. <u>Life and Labor Bulletin (NWTOLA)</u>	1	5
35. <u>New Era (Big 4 TB)</u>	8	.5 (3)
36. <u>R. R. Brotherhoods' J. (L5srrb)</u>	1	
37. <u>R. R. Trainman</u>	7	180
		<u>1005.5</u>

(1) Figures from Hand Book of American Trade Unions Bulletin 420 Bureau of Labor Statistics, U. S. Department of Labor.

Footnotes Continued to page 1 Appendix

Canadian Membership included about 5% of total.

(2) No 28 Membership was probably greatly reduced in summer and fall of 1928 through the strike.

(3) Actual circulation as reported by publishers. In the case of the other journals, circulation probably coincides closely with the Union Membership.

(4) Circulation is duplicated by Labor and other journals, hence its circulation was omitted.

(5) Independent Union Membership is probably less than 800,000. Elimination of all duplication among railway journal circulations was impossible.

LABOR JOURNALS EXAMINED. Cont.

<u>STATE FEDERATION ORGANS</u>	<u>ISSUES</u>
38. <u>Baltimore Federationist.</u> (Md. & Wash. D. C.)	7
39. <u>Illinois Tradesman</u>	5
40. <u>Kansas Federationist</u>	12
41. <u>Union Lab. Record. (N.C.)</u>	5
42. <u>Okla. Federationist (3)</u>	
<u>DISTRICT UNION ORGANS:</u>	
43. <u>Illinois Miner. (UMWA)</u>	4
<u>CITY TRADES COUNCIL ORGANS</u>	
44. <u>Chronicle (Cinc.)</u>	3
45. <u>Cleveland Federationist</u>	6
46. <u>Dallas Craftsman</u>	6
47. <u>Federation News (Chic)</u>	4
48. <u>Dubuque Leader</u>	3
49. <u>Huston Labor Journal</u>	28
50. <u>Industrial News (Lansing)</u>	5
51. <u>Labor Heralds (K. C. Mo.)</u>	4
52. <u>Labor Clarion (San Fran)</u>	9
53. <u>Labor Advocate (Birmingham)</u>	3
54. <u>Labor Forum. (Evansville, Ind.)</u>	1
55. <u>Louisville American (Ky)</u>	16
56. <u>San Diego Lab. Leader</u>	1
57. <u>Springfield Tribune (Ohio)</u>	6
58. <u>Terrehaut Advocate (Ind.)</u>	21
59. <u>Tr. Counc. Union News. (St. Louis)</u>	1
<u>MISCELLANEOUS LABOR JOURNALS</u>	
60. <u>Labor Age (N. Y. )</u>	7
61. <u>Labor News (Mass)</u>	7
62. <u>Labor's News (Fed Pr. N. Y.)</u>	1
63. <u>Labor World (Pittsburgh)</u>	7
64. <u>Peoples' Press (Ohio)</u>	2
65. <u>Peoples' Press (Minn.)</u>	1
66. <u>Southwestern Ry. J. (Ft. Worth)</u>	3
67. <u>Union Lab Advocate (Chic.)</u>	18
68. <u>Union Labor Bulletin (Hot Springs)</u>	7
69. <u>Union Advocate (Iowa)</u>	16
70. <u>Unionist (Omaha)</u>	3
<u>ATTITUDE BY LETTER ONLY</u>	
71. <u>Union Advocate (St. Paul)</u>	
72. <u>Weekly Dispatch ( San Ant)</u>	
73. <u>Fur Workers' J. (FWU)</u>	

TABLE A 3

LABOR ORGANIZATIONS WHICH ISSUE PUBLICATIONS NOT  
DEALING WITH POLITICAL ELECTIONS.

As stated by letter.

Membership in  
Thousands (1)

<u>A. F. of L. General Organizations issuing publication</u>	
1. Metal Trades Department Washington, D. C.	
A. F. of L. National Unions which issue Publications	
2. Journeymen Tailors' Union of America, Chicago, Ill.	8
3. Hotel Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America, Cincinnati, Ohio	39
4. American Federation of Teachers Chicago, Illinois	4
5. Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers International Union of America Washington, D. C.	70
6. United Leather Workers International Union Kansas City, Mo.	1
7. The Granite Cutters' International Association of America Quincy, Mass.	9
8. International Association of Fire Fighters Washington, D. C.	16
9. International Association of Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers of America, Long Beach, Calif.	1
10. Order of Sleeping Car Conductors, Kansas City, Mo.	2
11. Journeymen Barbers International Union of America Indianapolis, Indiana	51
12. United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners Indianapolis, Indiana	320
13. International Stereotypers and Electrotypers Union Journal Denver, Colorado	7
14. Machinists Monthly Journal Washington, D. C.	71
15. Union Leader (A. St. & El. Ry. E. ) Chicago	101
16. International Wood Carvers' Association Jamaica, N.Y	0
17. International Typographical Union Indianapolis, Ind.	73
18. National Federation of Federal Employees Washington, D. C.	18
19. Railway Post Office Washington, D. C.	20
20. National Association of Letter Carriers, Washington, D. C.	40
21. National Federation of Post Office Clerks Washington, D. C.	28
Total	879

.....  
(1) Figures from the Convention Proceedings A. F. of L. 1926  
Independent Union figures were not obtained but are apparently  
small unions

TABLE A 3 Cont.

LABOR ORGANIZATIONS WHICH ISSUE PUBLICATIONS NOT  
DEALING WITH POLITICAL ELECTIONS.

As stated by letter

INDEPENDENT UNION ISSUING PUBLICATIONS.

- 22. American Train Dispatcher's Association Chicago, Ill.
- 23. Texas State Council of Carpenters Dallas, Texas
- 24. National Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association  
Washington, D. C.
- 25. American Marine Engineer

CITY CENTRAL ORGANIZATION ISSUING PUBLICATION

- 26. Ft Worth, Texas (Union Banner)
- 27. Cincinnati, Ohio (Trades Union)
- 28. Cedar Rapids, Iowa (Cedar Rapids Tribune)
- 29. North Carolina, Raleigh ( Union Herald)

TABLE B 1

## DIGEST OF LABOR JOURNAL POLITICAL ATTITUDES - 1928

		No. of Periodicals
I.	Labor Periodicals Written (in library).....	360
II	Out of Print or Letters Returned.....	45
III	Made No Response or Did Not Cooperate.....	214
IV	Expressed Political or Election Attitudes..	57
IV	Expressed No Political or Election Attitude	35
V	Political Questions Affecting Unions Directly	56
1	Favored Injunction Reform, Right to Organ...	51
2	Favored Political Action on Unemployment...	8
3	Favored Old Age Pensions.....	16
4	Favored Further Regulation of Child Labor...	12
B	General Political Questions.....	40
1	Favored Action Toward Peace.....	16
a	Criticized Imperialism.....	11
2	Favored Public Ownership of Utilities.....	12
3	Favored Socialized Medicine.....	2
4	Criticized or mentioned Political Corruption	11
a	Opposed to Senate "probing" Business.....	1
5	Favored Amending Prohibition Laws.....	13
6	Higher Tariff (Usually for their own Industry	6
7	Favored downward Tariff Revision.....	5
8	Favored Restriction on Foreign Loans.....	4
VI	Expressed Attitudes Re Candidates and Parties	55
A	Non-partisan Political Support.....	26
1	Endorsed List of Candidates.....	11
a	Supporting Republicans.....	10
b	Supporting Democrats.....	11
c	Supporting Farmer-Labor.....	7
d	Supporting Socialists.....	1
2	Endorsed Odd Candidates Only.....	15
a	Supporting Republicans.....	4
b	Supporting Democrats.....	14
c	Supporting Farmer-Labor.....	5
d	Supporting Socialists.....	1
e	Supporting Independent.....	1
B	Partisan Political Activity.....	6
1	Supported Republicans.....	2
2	Supported Democrats.....	1
3	Supported Socialists.....	2
4	Supported Farmer-Labor Party.....	1
C	Expressed Attitude Toward Hoover & Smith...	23
1	Supported Smith.....	14
2	Supported Hoover.....	2
3	Criticized Smith.....	5
4	Criticized Hoover.....	18
D	Expressed Attitude Toward Radical Parties..	44
1	Supported Socialist Party.....	2
a	Friendly but not Supporting.....	2
b	Criticized Socialism.....	1
2	Favored a Labor Party.....	3
3	Friendly to or Supported Communist Party...	0

TABLE B 1 Cont.

DIGEST OF LABOR JOURNAL POLITICAL ATTITUDES - 1928  
Continued

	No. of Persons
a Hostile to Communism.....	40

- .....
- (1) Twenty-nine answered by letter that they were not particularly active in the campaign. Some of these might have published matter relative to political issues.
  - (2) Seventeen of these were active only in regard to hostility to Communism.



SUMMARY TABLE DIGESTING THE POLITICAL COMMENT OF NATIONAL UNION ORGANS, 1928 CAMPAIGN.  
Weighted by union membership or journal circulation, in thousands (1)

I		A. F. of L.	Indepen-	Total
II			dent (3)	in hundred
III				thousands
IV(2)	Expressed no Political or Election attitude.....	917	10	9
V	Expressed Political Attitudes -----	1168	820	20
A	Political Questions Affecting Unions Directly --	1152	713	18
1	Favored Injunction Reform, Right to Organize, etc. -----	1052	298	13.5
2	Favored Political Action on Unemployment -----	282	423	7
3	Favored Old Age Pensions -----	487	658 (3)	11 (a)
4	Right to Child Labor -----	283	506	8
B	General Political Questions -----	441	713	12
1	Favored Action Toward Peace -----	146	678	8
a	Criticized Imperialism -----	25	127	2
2	Favored Extension of Pub. Ownership of Pub. Util. -----	55	420	5
3	Favored Extension of Socialized Medicine -----	11	0	0
4	Criticized or Mentioned Political Corruption ---	18	420	4
a	Opposed to Senate "probing" Business -----	0	171	2
5	Favored Amending Prohibition Laws -----	169	0	2
6	Favored Higher Tariff (Usually for their own industry) -----	95	0	1
7	Favored Downward Revision -----	29	215	2
8	Favored Restriction on Foreign Loans -----	53	0	1

- (1) About 5% was deducted as the estimated membership for Canada based on figures from the Canada Year Book for 1927-28.
- (2) Periodicals listed in groups I to III inclusive as given in Table B are not included in this table.
- (3) Duplications in these numbers which could not be eliminated might reach 20% in certain cases.
- (4) Omitting circulation of No. 36 which is duplicated by other journals.

WEIGHTED DIGEST Continued --

		A. F. of L.	Independ- dent	Total in Hundred Thou- sands
VI	Attitudes Re Candidates and Parties-----	966	602	16
A	Non-Partisan Political Support -----	297	551	8
1	Endorsed List of Candidates -----	102	653	8
a	Supporting Republicans-----	102	653	8
b	Supporting Democrats -----	102	653	8
c	Supporting Farmer-Labor -----	102	653	8
d	Supporting Socialists -----	0	0	0
A2	Endorsed Odd Candidates Only -----	176	0	2
a	Supporting Republicans -----	128	0	1
b	Supporting Democrats -----	163	0	2
c	Supporting Farmer-Labor -----	146	0	1
d	Supporting Socialists -----	0	0	0
e	Supporting Independent -----	17	0	0
B	Partisan Political Activity -----	0	43	0
1	Supported Republicans -----	0	0	0
2	Supported Democrats -----	0	0	0
3	Supported Socialists -----	0	43	0
4	Supported Farmer-Labor -----	0	0	0
C	Attitude Toward Hoover and Smith -----	47	43	1
1	Supported Smith -----	32	0	0
2	Supported Hoover -----	0	0	0
3	Criticized Smith -----	16	43	1
4	Criticized Hoover -----	33	43	1
D	Attitude Toward Radical Parties -----			
1	Supported Socialist Party -----	0	43	0
a	Friendly but not Supporting -----	135	0	1
b	Criticized Socialism -----	0	0	0
2	Favored a Labor Party -----	5	43	0
3	Friendly to or Sup. Communist P. -----	0	0	0
a	Hostile to Communism -----	731	572	13

SUMMARY OF WEIGHTED OPINION OF NATIONAL UNION ORGANS.

Journals having an aggregate circulation or membership of:

1,000,000 to 2,000,000 favored:	Injunction Reform, etc. Old Age Pensions Opposed Communists
500,000 to 1,000,000 favored:	Child Labor Restriction Unemployment relief (Gov't) More Public Ownership etc. Action toward Peace Were Non-partisan politically
Supported:	List of Democratic Candidates
Supported:	List of Republican Candidates
Supported:	List of Farmer-Labor Candidates.
100,000 to 500,000 opposed:	Political Corruption Imperialism Senate Probes of Political Corruption Prohibition as at present Lower Tariff
Favored:	Odd Democratic Candidates
Supported:	Odd Republican Candidates
Supported:	Odd Farmer-Labor Candidates
Favored:	The Socialists
Less than 100,000 Favored:	Higher Tariffs in some cases Restriction on Foreign Loans Were Non-partisan to Socialists Partisan support to Socialists Partisan support to Republicans Partisan support to Democrats
Supported:	Smith
Supported:	Hoover
Opposed:	Smith
Opposed:	Hoover
Favored:	A labor party.

Table B. 4

Comparison of Table B. 1 (Showing number of Journals expressing given attitudes with relative emphasis) with Weighted Table (B. 2 showing Circulation in 100,000s given each issue by national union organs.)

Issues	No. of Periodicals	Weighted by Circulation(100,000s)
Injunctions in Labor Disputes.....	51	13.5
Communism .....	41	13
Peace .....	16	3
Old Age Pensions .....	16	11
Prohibition Laws .....	13	2
Child Labor .....	12	8
Extension of Public Utilities .....	12	5
Imperialism .....	11	2
Political Corruption .....	11	2
High Tariff .....	6	1
Unemployment Relief .....	8	7
Low Tariff (Present too high) .....	5	2
Foreign Loans .....	4	1
Extension of Socialized Medicine ..	2	0
Probing of Corruption by Senate ...	1	2
<b>Candidates and Parties</b>		
Non-Partisan Activity .....	26	8
Odd Candidates only .....	15	2
Smith (Supported) .....	14	0
List of Candidates .....	11	8
Partisan Activity .....	6	0
Labor Party .....	3	0
Socialists .....	2	0





Political attitudes -- Notation as in Table B.

		VI	1	2	3	4	D1	a	b	2	3	a	
PERIODICALS TAKING VARIOUS POLITICAL ATTITUDES - NUMBERED AS LIST - A2	A. F. of L. National Organs	5	5		18	5		22		15		1	
		10	10		13	18							2
		13	29			13							4
		18				29							5
													6
													10
													12
													13
													21
													23
													24
													26
													28
											29		
	independen- ent Union Organ				30	30	30			30		30	
												32	
												35	
												37	
	State Fed.	38				38		38				39	
		41	41			41						40	
		42	42			42						41	
												42	
	D1s											43	
	City Trades Council Organs	47	47			47			45	60		44	
		48	50			50						45	
		50				51						46	
		51	53			53						47	
		53										48	
		49	49			49						49	
		57				48						50	
		58	58									52	
			48									53	
			48									55	
		57									57		
											58		
	Miscellan- eous	61	61	63	63	61						61	
		62	69	67	67	62						63	
		63				69						66	
		69				70						67	
		70										68	
		67										70	
	Let						73						

Extract from Table C. 1 showing  
the Number of Periodicals ex-  
pressing given Numbers of  
Distinct Attitudes toward  
Issues.

Number of Atti- tudes Expressed	Number of Journals
15	0
14	0
13	0
12	0
11	0
10	1
9	0
8	0
7	1
6	2
5	4
4	10
3	7
2	20
1	13
0	44 (1)
Check	102

(1) This figure represents the number of periodicals expressing distinct attitudes toward issues without reference to campaign activity. Section IV of Table B. 1 shows 35 expressing no political or election attitude whatever. The difference of 9 is explained by the fact that some journals gave some brief attention perhaps to national candidates on the eve of election without dealing specifically with issues as listed.



## TABLE SHOWING SENATORIAL CANDIDATES IN 1928 RECOGNIZED

## BY UNION LABOR JOURNALS AS FAVORABLE OR UNFAVORABLE

TO LABOR. (Number of previous terms as Senator, success in 1928, party affiliations, location (by state) of each candidate, and number of journals examined giving the labor record of the candidate are indicated.

Senators --(a)	Favor- able	Unfavor- able	Times Elec.	Suc- cess	Party	State	No. of Journals giv. rec.
Ashurst	100%		4	El	D	Ariz.	5
Johnson	100%		3	El	R	Calif.	5
Trammell	F		3	El	D	Fla.	4
Cermac	100%		0	Def.	D	Ill.	1
Glenn		100%	1	El	R	Ill	1
Walsh	100%		3	El	D	Mass.	5
Shipstead	100%		2	El	F.L.	Minn	6
Stephens	F		2	El	D	Miss.	3
Hay	100%		0	Def.	D	Mo.	2
Wheeler	100%		2	El	D	Mont.	5
Howell	100%		2	El	R	Nebr.	4
Pittman	F		4	El	D	Nev.	4
Cutting	F		2	El	R	N. Mex.	2
Copeland	F		3	El	D	N. Y.	4
Frazier	100%		2	El	R	N. Dak.	5
Reed		100%	2	El	R	Pa.	1
Gerry	100%		2	Def.	D	R. I.	1
McKellar	100%		3	El	D	Tenn.	4
Connally	100%		6R	El	D	Texas	4
King		100%	3	El	D	Utah	1
Swanson	F		3	El	D	Va.	3
Swanson	100%		3	El	D	Va.	1
Dill	100%		2	El	D	Wash.	5
Poindexter		100%	0	Def.	R	Wash.	1
Neely	100%		1	Def.	D	W. Va.	1
La Follette	100%		2	El	R	Wis.	5
Kendrick	F		3	El	D	Wyo.	1

(b)

- El. : Elected  
 F. : Favorable more than not.  
 F. L. : Farmer; Labor  
 D. : Democrat  
 R. : Republican  
 100% : Always favorable to labor.  
 New : Without a political record.  
 (R) : Terms as a Representative  
 (a) : Information in first, second and last columns taken from journals, other columns from Congressional Directory, 68th, 70th and 71st Congress.  
 In Conn., Del., Idaho., Ind., N. J., Utah, and the two Senatorial Contests in Ohio LABOR was neutral. It was both pro-Cermac and Anti-Glenn in Ill. 15 states did not elect Senators in 1928.

TABLE D 2

Column headed Times Elected indicates the number of previous terms served in the Senate with the exception of (R) noted.

TABLE SHOWING CANDIDATES FOR ELECTION AS REPRESENTATIVE TO CONGRESS IN 1928 RECOGNIZED BY UNION LABOR JOURNALS AS FAVORABLE OR UNFAVORABLE TO LABOR. Information tabulated and abbreviations used are the same as in Table D 1. Sources of information also the same.

Representatives (1)	Favorable	Unfavorable	Times Elec.	Suc-cess	Party	Dist.	Number of Journals
<u>Illinois</u>							
Hull			4	El.	R	2	1
Sproul	(2) 7	3	5	"	RR	3	1
Doyle	F		4	"	DD	4	1
Sabath	F		11	"	DD	5	1
Igoe	F		2	"	DD	6	1
Kunz	3		5	"	D	8	1
Britten	13	2	9	"	R	9	1
McDermott	15	9	0	Def.		9	1
Chindblom	12	3	6	El.	R	at large	1
Michaelson	F	5	5	"	RR	7	1
Reid	F		4	"	RR	11	1
Johnson	F		3	"	RR	13	1
Allen	F		1	"	RR	14	1
King	F			vacant	R	15	1
Holoday	F		4	El.	R	18	1
Adkins	F		3	"	R	19	1
Rainey	F		13	"	D	20	1
Major	F		4	Def.	D	21	1
Irwin	F		3	El.	R	22	1
Arnold	F		4	"	D	23	1
Williams	F		8	"	R	24	1
Denison	F		8	"	R	25	1
<u>Colorado</u>							
White	F		1	Def.	D	1	1
McIntyre	F New			"	D	3	1
Taylor	F		11	El.	D	4	1
Furnseth	100%			Def.	R		1
<u>California</u>							
Curry	F		9	El.	R	3	1
Welch	F		3	"	RR	5	1
Carter	F		3	"	RR	6	1
Barbour	F		6	"	RR	7	1
Swing	F		5	"	R	11	1
<u>Connecticut</u>							
Fenn		100	5	"	R	1	1
Freeman		100	8	"	R	2	1
Tilson		100	10	"	R	3	1
Merritt		100	7	"	R	4	1
Glynn		100	7	"	R	5	1
Kopplemann	100			Def.	D	1	1

(1) Arizona, Rhode Island, Oregon, Maryland and Idaho seemed not to be mentioned by the journals.

(2) Voted favorable to labor 7 times, unfavorable 3.

Representatives	Favor- able	Unfavor- able	Times Elected	Suc- cess	Party	Dist.	Number of Journals
<u>Deleware</u>							
Houston	F		3	EL.	R		1
<u>Florida</u>							
Green	F		3	EL.	D	2	1
<u>Georgia</u>							
Crisp	F		9	EL.	D	3	1
Wright	F		7	"	D	4	1
Steele	F		2	"	D	5	1
Brand	F		7	"	D	8	1
Vinson	F		9	"	D	10	1
Lankford	F		6	"	D	11	1
<u>W. Virginia</u>							
Bachmann	F		3	"	R	1	1
<u>Alabama</u>							
Hill	F		4	"	D	2	1
Stearall	F		8	"	D	3	1
Jeffres	F		5	"	D	4	1
Oliver	F		8	"	D	6	1
Allgood	F		4	"	D	7	1
Almon	F		8	"	D	8	1
Huddleston	F		8	"	D	9	1
Bankhead	F		7	"	D	10	1
<u>Arkansas</u>							
Oldfield	F		2	"	D	2	1
Wingo	F		9	"	D	4	1
Ragon	F		1	"	D	5	1
Reed	F		4	Def.	D	6	1
Parks	F		5	EL.	D	7	1
<u>Indiana</u>							
Greenwood	100%		4	"	D	2	1
Gardner	100%		4	Def.	D	3	1
Canfield	100%		4	EL.	D	4	1
Johnson	100%		3	"	R	5	1
Larrabee	F	New		Def.	D	6	1
Ludlow	F	New	1	EL.	D	7	1
Hogg	100%		4	"	R	12	1
<u>Iowa</u>							
Kopp	F		5	"	R	1	1
Thurston	F		3	"	R	8	1
<u>Kansas</u>							
Ayres	F		8	"	D	8	1
Hope	F		2	"	R	7	1
Little	F			Def.	D	Gov.	1
<u>Kentucky</u>							
Gregory	Good		2	EL.	D	1	1
Moore	Good		1	Def.	D	3	1
Mooreman	Good		1	"	D	4	1
Spence	Good			"	D	6	1
Chapman	Good			"	D	7	1
Gilbert	Good		4	"	D	8	1
Vinson	Good		1	"	D	9	1
Langley	Good		2	EL.	R	10	1
Robson	Good		6	"	R	11	1

Representatives	Favor- able	Unfavor- able	Times Elected	Suc- cess	Party	Dist.	Number of Journals
<u>Louisiana</u>							
O'Conner	F		6	El.	D	1	1
Martin	F		1	Def.	D	3	1
Sandlin	F		5	El.	D	4	1
<u>Massachusetts</u>							
Saltus	F	New		Def.	D	4	1
Connery	F		4	El.	D	7	1
Douglas	F		3	"	D	10	1
Underhill		100	5	"	R	9	1
<u>Michigan</u>							
Clancy	F		3	"	R	1	1
Woodruff	F		6	"	R	10	1
Bohn	F		2	"	R	11	1
James	F		8	"	R	12	1
<u>Minnesota</u>							
Kanutson	F		2	"	R	6	1
Lynn	F	New		Def.	D	1	1
Arens	F	New		"	F.L.	3	1
Williams	F	New		"	F.L.	4	1
Kvale	F		4	El.	F.L.	7	1
Carss	F		1	Def.	F.L.	8	1
Wefald	F	New	4	"	F.L.	9	1
<u>Mississippi</u>							
Rankin	F		4	El.	D	1	1
Whittington	F		3	"	D	3	1
Busby	F		4	"	D	4	1
Collins	F		5	"	D	5	1
Quin	F		9	"	D	7	1
Collier	F		11	"	D	8	1
<u>Missouri</u>							
Romjue	F		6	"	D	1	1
Lozier	F		4	"	D	2	1
Milligan	F		5	"	D	3	1
Jacobs	F			Def.	D	5	1
Dickinson	F		4	"	D	6	1
Major	F		4	"	D	7	1
Nelson	F		4	El.	D	8	1
Cannon	F		4	"	D	9	1
Neidringhaus	F		2	"	D	10	1
Cochran	F		2	"	D	11	1
Williams	F		1	Def.	D	13	1
Fullbright	F		1	"	D	14	1
<u>Montana</u>							
Evans	F		8	El.	D	1	1
<u>Nebraska</u>							
Morehead	F		4	"	D	1	1
Howard	F		4	"	D	3	1
Norton	F		1	Def.	D	4	1
Shallenberger	F		4	"	D	5	1
Summons	F			"	R	6	1
<u>N. Hampshire</u>							
Hole	F			"	R	1	1
Wason	100%		8	El.	R	2	1
<u>N. Jersey</u>							
Segar	F		4	"	R	7	1

Representatives	Favor- able	Unfavor- able	Times Elected	Suc- cess	Party	Dist.	Number of Journals
<hr/>							
<u>New Jersey</u>							
Heide	F		3	El.	D	11	1
Norton	F		3	"	D	12	1
<u>N. Mexico</u>							
Morrow	F		4	Def.	D		2
<u>N. Carolina</u>							
Abernethy	F		5	El.	D	3	1
Stedman	F		9	"	D	5	1
Lyon	F		1	Def.	D	6	1
Hammer	F		5	El.	D	7	1
Bulwinkle	F		4	Def.	D	9	1
Weaver	F		4	"	D	10	1
<u>N. Dakota</u>							
Sinclair	F		6	El.	R	3	1
<u>New York</u>							
Kindred	F		4	Def.	D	2	2
Lindsay	F		4	El.	D	3	2
Cullan	F		1	"	D	4	2
Black	F		1	"	D	5	2
Somers	F		1	"	D	6	2
Quayle	F		4	"	D	6	2
O'Connell	F		5	"	D	7	2
Celler	F		1	"	D	10	2
Prall	F		4	"	D	11	2
Dickstein	F		4	"	D	12	2
Sullivan	F		7	"	D	13	2
Boylan	F		4	"	D	15	2
O'Connor	F		4	"	D	16	2
Carew	F		9	"	D	18	2
Eloom	F		4	"	D	19	2
La Guardia	F		1	"	R	20	2
Weller	F		4	Def.	D	21	2
Griffin	F		7	El.	D	22	2
Oliver	F		4	"	D	23	2
Fish	F		5	"	R	26	2
Corning	F		4	"	D	28	2
Davenport	F		3	"	R	33	2
Jacobstein	F		1	Def.	D	38	1
Mac Gregor	F		4	"	R	41	1
Mead	F		6	El.	D	42	2
Bacon		100%	4	"	R	1	1
Wainwright		100%	4	"	R	25	1
Crowther		100%	6	"	R	30	1
Snell		100%	8	"	R	31	1
Clark		100%	4	"	R	34	1
Tober		100%		Def.	R	36	1
Stalker, Gale H.		100%	4	El.	R	37	1
Dempsey		100%	8	"	R	40	1
Reed		100%	6	"	R	43	1
<u>Ohio</u>							
Fitzgerald	F		5	"	R	4	1
Fletcher	F		1	Def.	D	8	1
Chalmers	F		4	El.	R	9	1
Jenkins	F		3	"	R	10	1
Underwood	F		4	"	D	11	1

Representatives	Favorable	Unfavorable	Times Elected	Suc- cess	Party	Dist.	Number of Journals
<u>Ohio</u>							
Clarke	100%		4	Def.	D	9	1
Speaks	F		5	El.	R	12	1
McSweeney	F		4	Def.	D	16	1
Morgan	F		5	El.	R	17	1
Mooney	F		5	"	D	20	1
Crosser	F		7	"	D	21	1
<u>Oklahoma</u>							
Howard	F		1	Def.	D	1	1
Hastings	F		7	El.	D	2	1
McKeown	100%		6	"	D	4	1
Swank	F		4	Def.	D	5	1
McClintic	F		8	El.	D	7	1
Garger	F		4	"	R	8	1
<u>Pennsylvania</u>							
Casey	F		6	"	D	12	1
Kent	F		4	Def.	D	30	1
Kelly	F		8	El.	R	33	1
Campbell	F		7	"	R	36	1
<u>S. Carolina</u>							
McMillan	F		3	"	D	1	1
Hare	F		3	"	D	2	1
McSwain	F		4	"	D	4	1
Stevenson	F		7	"	D	5	1
Gasque	F		4	"	D	6	1
Fulmer	F		2	"	D	7	1
<u>S. Dakota</u>							
Christopherson		U.F.	6	"	R	1	1
Johnson		U.F.	8	"	R	2	1
Williamson		U.F.	5	"	R	3	1
Hildebrandt	F			Def.	D	2	1
Watwood	F			"	D	3	1
<u>Tennessee</u>							
Taylor	F		6	El.	R	2	1
McReynolds	F		4	"	D	3	1
Hull	F		11	"	D	4	1
Byrns	F		11	"	D	6	1
Browning	F		4	"	D	8	1
<u>Texas</u>							
Blanton		100%	4	Def.	D	1	1
Box	F		6	El.	D	2	1
Sanders	F		5	"	D	3	1
Summers	F		9	"	D	5	1
Johnson	F		4	"	D	6	1
Briggs	F		6	"	D	7	1
Garrett	F		7	"	D	8	1
Mansfield	F		7	"	D	9	1
Lanham	F		6	"	D	12	1
Wurzbach	F		4	Def.	D	14	1
Garner	F		14	El.	D	15	1
Hudspeth	F		6	"	D	16	1
Jones	F		7	"	D	18	1

Representatives	Favor- able	Unfavor- able	Times Elected	Suc- cess	Party	Dist.	Number of Journals
<hr/>							
<u>Utah</u>							
Leatherwood		U.F.	5	El.	R	2	1
<u>Vermont</u>							
Brigham		U.F.	3	"	R	1	1
Gibson		U.F.	4	"	R	2	1
<u>Virginia</u>							
Montague	F		9	"	D	3	1
Whitehead	F		3	"	D	5	1
Woodrum	F		4	"	D	6	1
Moore	F		6	"	D	8	1
Peery	F		4	Def.	D	9	1
Tucker	F		4	El.	D	10	1
Lankford	F		1	"	R	2	1
Deal	F		4	Def.	D	2	1
<u>Washington</u>							
Miller	F		7	El.	R	1	1
Bone	F			Def.	R	3	1
Summers	F		6	El.	R	4	1
Hill	F		4	"	D	5	1
<u>W. Virginia</u>							
Bachmann	F		3	"	R	1	1
<u>Wisconsin</u>							
Cooper	F		5	"	R	1	1
Kading	F		2	"	R	2	1
Nelson	F		12	"	R	3	1
Schneider	100%		4	"	R	9	1
Berger	F		4	Def.	Soc.	5	1
Lainpert	F			"	R	6	1
Browne	F		9	El.	R	8	1
Frear	F		9	"	R	10	1
Peavey	F		4	"	R	11	1
<u>Wyoming</u>							
Kimball	F			Def.	D		1
<u>Alaska</u>				El.			1
Sutherland	F		5	El.	R		1
<u>Idaho</u>							
French		100%	12	"	R	1	1
Smith		100%	9	"	R	2	1



SUMMARY OF TABLES D. 1 AND D. 2 SHOWING ATTITUDES OF CANDIDATES FOR HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES AND SENATE TOWARD LABOR.

Representatives 435 elected	Favor- able	Elected	Defeated	Unfavor- able	Elected	Defeated
Total	222 (1)	168	54	25	22	3
4th term or more	145	124	21	23	21	2
New candidate	26	8	18	1	0	1
100% favorable or unfavorable	20	10	10	18	16	2

Senators 34 elected (2)	Favor- able	Elected	Defeated	Unfavor- able	Elected	Defeated
Total	23	19	4	4	3	1
2nd term or more	21	19	2	2	2	0
New candidate	2	0	2	2	1	1
100% favorable or unfavorable	16	12	4	4	3	1
Opposite party from Presidential Majority in state		14	4		1	1

(1) Omitting 15th Illinois Dist. marked vacant.

(2) 32 is the normal number but Ohio elected two Senators in 1928.

PROGRESSIVE TENDENCIES in the  
SENATORIAL ELECTIONS 1928 (1)

## I

Progressive Republicans Run 1,014,000

Votes ahead of Hoover

LaFollete over Hoover (Wis.) -----	548,000
Johnson over Hoover (Calif.) -----	318,000
Frazier over Hoover (N.D.) -----	96,000
Howell over Hoover (Neb.) -----	52,000
Total	1,014,000

## II

Reactionary Republicans Fall Behind Hoover 440,000 votes

Hoover over Fess (Ohio) -----	259,000
Hoover over Kean (N. J.) -----	76,000
Hoover over Reed (Pa.) -----	69,000
Hoover over Goldsborough (Md.) -----	36,000
Total	440,000

## III

Progressive Democrats and One Farmer-Laborite Run 1,054,000

Votes ahead of Hoover

(In pro-Hoover States)

Shipstead (Minn.) -----	487,000
Dill (Wash.) -----	213,000
Copeland N. Y.) -----	153,000
Walsh (Mass.) -----	108,000
McKellar (Tenn.) -----	93,000
Total	1,054,000

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(1) Reproduced from William English Walling in the J. of the Switchman's Union, March, 1929, p. 113-14.