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# The American Labor Leader: A Statistical Survey and Interpretative Study

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THE AMERICAN LABOR LEADER: A STATISTICAL  
SURVEY AND INTERPRETATIVE STUDY

BY

IRVING FREDERICK FRIEDMAN

AND

LEROY ARTHUR PRIORE

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF  
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER  
OF SOCIAL ADMINISTRATION IN  
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# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

In this thesis an attempt is made to determine, if possible, the social characteristics of the United States Labor Leader. The method employed is research and statistical. Obviously such a study will have certain deficiencies. For example, this method can offer little to ascertaining as to what the subjective or psychological factors are in determining the motivations for a specific person to become a labor leader.

Considerable attention has been given to the general problem of "leadership." Anthropologists, sociologists, philosophers, psychologists and clergymen have discussed and written on this problem at great length. However, much of this problem is usually described in general, though not necessarily inept terms. Such necessary qualifications as "courageous", "resolute", "oratorical", "dynamic", "aggressive", etc., are ascribed to leaders. In the study of "leadership" when specific examples are given, outstanding personalities are almost universally presented, e.g. saints, important historical personages, tyrants, industrial tycoons et. al. Scant attention has been paid to the minor or temporary leader. In this study the "Napoleons" and "Lincolns" of the labor movement are considered with the

great mass of lieutenants and corporals among the labor leaders. <sup>1</sup>

Thus let it be understood at the outset that this study not only includes the small number of full time, remunerated, nationally recognized labor personalities as John L. Lewis, David Dubinsky, A. Phillip Randolph and Phillip Murray, but the thousands of leaders on the lower levels of generalship who do not necessarily devote their entire time or receive salaries for their union service.

To date there have been no detailed or lengthy studies of the nature of union leadership based on statistical research. Numerous biographies and studies have been made of union leaders, but again only of top-flight, policy-making men in the labor movement.

The first published analysis of American Labor Leaders, was made twenty years ago. <sup>2</sup> This nine page study is a pioneer work in the field. The source material for this study was American Labor Who's Who published in 1925, by the Rand School of Social Science and edited by Mr. Solon DeLeon. Unfortunately the source material has long been out of print and unavailable. This volume listed 1292 persons active in the American labor movement. More than half, however, were not trade union leaders

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1 The terms "Leaders" and "Officials" are used interchangeably.  
2 Louis Stanley, "A Cross Section of American Labor Leadership", American Labor Dynamics. Harcourt Brace, 1928, pp. 412-420.

but sympathizers, such as left-wing political leaders, lawyers, journalists, etc. Mr. Stanley made a careful analysis of the material presented and this paper will frequently compare and contrast the findings made by the present authors from similar source material gathered a score of years later. <sup>3</sup>

Currently a book is being prepared by Mr. Eli Ginzberg of Columbia University under the title, The Labor Leader. His exploratory study will interpret the leadership qualities of more than 600 members of executive boards of specific C.I.O., A.F.L. and Independent unions. <sup>4</sup>

Professor C. Wright Mills formerly of the University of Maryland has prepared a manuscript, The American Labor Leader: Who He Is and What He Thinks. This is to be published in book form in 1948. In a letter dated Sept. 11, 1947 to one of the authors of this paper, Dr. Mills states, "My own book consists of a sampling of some 600 labor leaders on national, state, and city levels and covers their career lines and opinions on political and social questions." This book doubtlessly will be a valuable study but again limits itself to the higher officers in the locals, state and city federations and national and international unions. <sup>5</sup>

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3 Marion Dickerman and Ruth Taylor, Who's Who in Labor. Dryden Press, 1946.  
4 Cf. "Tomorrow's Labor Leader," Labor and Nation, Nov. - Dec. 1946, Vol. 2, No. 1, pp. 29-32.  
5 Cf. "Who's What of Union Leadership," Labor and Nation, Dec. 1945, Vol. 1, No. 3, pp. 33-36.



In this study an analysis of 3647 leaders from all levels of leadership in all United States trade unions is tabulated from the authorized biographies of more than 4000 Canadian and United States leaders.<sup>6</sup> The appearance of the source material, Who's Who in Labor was long overdue.\* It is actually the only volume of its kind. This extensive work was encouraged by the late President Roosevelt and was awarded the official cooperation of the Congress of Industrial Organizations and the American Federation of Labor.

Misses Dickerman and Taylor assured the collaborators of this study that "no such study has to our knowledge, ever been made."<sup>7</sup> It is apparent that their book was primarily intended as a reference book for union officials and libraries. Therefore a criticism of the volume insofar as the needs of our study require should not be regarded as an attack on the merits of the book or the methods or craftsmanship involved in compiling the edition.

At the outset it must be clearly understood that this study would have been financially prohibitive if it were not for the availability of Who's Who in Labor as primary source material. However, it must be pointed out that certain problems were involved in interpreting this material.

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6. Canadian labor leaders were not included in the study. The 434 persons whose authorized biographies are listed in the section, "Men and women who deal with Labor," are also excluded.

7 See Appendix I.

First, since the brief biographies are "authorized" by each respective labor leader, there are many examples of great and perhaps needless detail by minor labor leaders and there are examples of brevity that give almost no information by top-flight leaders. For example, John L. Lewis submitted one of the briefest biographies in the entire book. Labor leaders not yet thirty years of age submitted hundreds of words pursuant to their background, yet Lewis summed up more than forty years in the labor movement with about forty words. Other officials<sup>8</sup> did not have the courtesy or interest (perhaps distrust) to return the questionnaires. A glaring omission is the name of William L. McFetridge, President of the Building Service Employees International Union. Some labor leaders particularly of the "old school" are inclined to be suspicious of academic correspondence and often simply ignore such mail. Mr. James C. Petrillo, who vies with Mr. Lewis for news value, does not appear in the book. Several local and regional leaders of the United Packinghouse Workers of America, C.I.O. are absent from the book.

Apparently there was some misunderstanding concerning the distribution of the questionnaires prepared by the executive

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8 If given a choice, many people would probably show a preference for the title "official" and shy away from the term "leader". Others show no aversion for either term. For the purposes of this study the terms will be used interchangeably.

editors of Who's Who in Labor. In a personal interview with Mr. Milton Phillips, Mid-West Regional Director of the United Public Workers, C.I.O., he stated that the national headquarters of the Union mailed out the questionnaire to only its top-level, full-time officials and followed up with a reminder to complete and return the form. However, in this union, none of the local presidents and other executive board members was solicited although there are several persons who have held and continue to hold prominent positions in various locals, contributing much time and effort to union activities.

On the other hand, the A.F.L. counterpart of the United Public Workers, C.I.O., had a member on the Advisory Board of Who's Who in Labor, Mr. Arnold S. Zander, International President of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees. His subordinate officials were sufficiently impressed with the importance of the questionnaire to execute and return the form. Thus it appears that one union may have more leaders than its rival, which is actually not true in all instances.<sup>9</sup>

It must be remembered that the above examples are isolated instances. By and large the book is praiseworthy and reliable.<sup>10</sup> There have been no reviews of a detailed and academic nature.

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9 See Appendix II, letter from Miss Dickerman dated Jan. 18, 1948.

10 Cf., Book Reviews: Management Review, Feb. 1947; N.Y. Times, Feb. 2, 1947

It is clear that only painstaking study of Who's Who in Labor will reveal the adequacies and demerits of the volume.

## CHAPTER II

### LABOR LEADERS: VITAL STATISTICS

#### 1. SEX AND AFFILIATION

The popular conception of the typical trade union official brings to mind a mature male. The stereotype in some detail would show a thick-around-the middle, cigar-chewing, middle-aged man. The appearance of women in organized labor is often overlooked in academic circles.

The introduction of women into the organized labor movement is rather new. The development of trade unions in America largely followed skilled and hazardous crafts and industries which excluded women by tradition and law. Also women generally show a healthy preference for home and family life in periods of relative prosperity. The female worker until rather recently was employed either as an office worker, assembler in a factory, in a sweat-shop, or as a professional worker. These areas of employment were not the traditional basis for trade union organization. Women also, to a large degree, worked part time, in seasonal work or for a few years during their pre-marital life. Exceptions to this have been the garment industry and to a lesser extent, the tobacco industry. For many years women have been members of millinery unions, International Ladies Garment Workers Union, A.F.L.,

Amalgamated Clothing Workers, C.I.O., and tobacco and cigar unions. Also women have been active in teachers' unions since 1916.<sup>1</sup>

The rise of the C.I.O. and the depression of the 1930's brought many women into the labor movement. Industrial unionism, the "organization of the unorganized," and the appearance of white collar professional workers and the new unions of governmental workers brought the lady trade unionist into the main floor of the organized labor movement. However "sister" trade unionist is far from being on an equal footing with her "brother" insofar as leadership is concerned. There are outstanding exceptions. The Chicago Federation of Labor welcomed Miss Lillian Herstein into their executive board. As a delegate to the central labor body in Chicago's American Federation of Labor unions, one of the authors noted that Miss Herstein was very popular with the "old-timers," although she was far more advanced in formal education than most of her "brothers."

The appearance of women as trade union leaders is still only to be regarded as the beginning of a trend, or perhaps the end of an emergency condition. The trade union leader is still to a large degree, most likely to be male.

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1 American Federation of Teachers, A.F.L.

TABLE I

TRADE UNION LEADERS BY SEX

	<u>C.I.O.</u>	<u>A.F.L.</u>	<u>INDEPENDENT</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
MEN	1463	1852	111	3426
WOMEN	<u>96</u>	<u>120</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>221</u>
TOTAL	1559	1972	116	3647

Thus of the total number of leaders, slightly more than six per cent are females.<sup>2</sup> The percentage composition of the Congress of Industrial Organizations by sex is 6.02 per cent female or 0.04 per cent less than the entire trade union leadership by the female sex. Women comprise 6.08 per cent of the leadership of the American Federation of Labor. The Independent unions which are largely composed of the Railway Brotherhoods are almost 100 per cent male in membership and direction. The American Federation of Labor is well represented by women leaders in teacher locals, Hotel and Restaurant Employees International Alliance, and Bartenders International League of America. The Congress of Industrial Organizations gains women leadership from the American Newspaper Guild and white-collar unions.

A recent unpublished release from the library of the ..

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<sup>2</sup> Nineteen women were authorized delegates to the 1946 A.F.L. Convention; 18 women were authorized delegates to the 1946 C.I.O. Convention. Source: Chicago Office, Women's Bureau, United States Department of Labor.

United States Department of Labor indicates the number of women delegates to 1946 and 1947 conventions of national and international unions. The selected list represents twelve C.I.O. unions, eight A.F.L. unions and the independent Communication Workers of America. A total of 11083 delegates attended the 21 conventions; 1044 delegates were women.

The twelve C.I.O. conventions registered 8948 delegates including 821 women. The eight A.F.L. conventions were attended by a total of 1870 delegates with the relatively high proportion of 220 women delegates.

The unaffiliated Communication Workers at their 1946 convention under the name of the National Federation of Telephone Workers had a delegation of 265 with only three women.

The A.F.L. union with the largest number of women delegates is the Glass Bottle Blowers Association of the United States and Canada with 71 women attending the convention out of a total of 437 delegates. However, the A.F.L. union with the greatest percentage of women delegates is the Glove Workers' Union of America where 54 per cent of its total of 51 delegates were women. It must be remembered that this selected list deliberately omits the building trades since the study wanted only unions with substantial female rank and file membership. <sup>3</sup>

The C.I.O. union with the greatest number and percentage

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3. See Appendix III.



of women delegates is the Amalgamated Clothing Workers where 30 per cent of the 800 delegates were of the female sex.

## 2. AGE AND AFFILIATION

TABLE II

### DATES OF BIRTH

<u>YEAR OF BIRTH</u>	<u>C.I.O.</u>	<u>A.F.L.</u>	<u>IND.</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Before 1871	2	20	0	22
1871 to 1875	2	40	2	44
1876 to 1880	12	69	6	87
1881 to 1885	33	162	16	211
1886 to 1890	57	244	17	318
1891 to 1895	132	316	21	469
1896 to 1900	214	326	16	556
1901 to 1905	358	353	21	732
1906 to 1910	364	236	9	609
1911 to 1915	290	129	6	425
1916 to 1920	64	23	1	88
1921 to 1927	8	7	0	15
Not Mentioned	23	47	1	71
	<u>1559</u>	<u>1972</u>	<u>116</u>	<u>3647..</u>

It should be remembered that the questionnaires were sent to the leaders, officials and influential union persons in 1945, thus a future trade unionist born in 1885 would have been sixty years of age upon receipt of the form from the

editors of Who's Who in Labor.

The modal age group for the entire union leadership is forty to forty-four years. This is also the modal age group for the American Federation of Labor officials and Independent union leaders. However, the Congress of Industrial Organization leaders' modal age group is thirty-five to thirty-nine years. Actually there were more future union leaders and officials of the C.I.O. born in the five year period beginning in 1906 than in any five year period for the A.F.L. This concentration is worth noting since the A.F.L. has 413 more leaders and officials listed than the C.I.O.

The A.F.L. clearly presents an older group of leaders than the younger C.I.O. Slightly more than six per cent of the A.F.L. officials are 65 years and older, while only one per cent of the C.I.O. leaders are in this age group. The middle aged grouping, 50 years to 64 years, is represented by almost 37 per cent of the entire A.F.L. leadership while the C.I.O. has somewhat more than 14 per cent of its leadership in this group.

The relatively youthful leadership of the C.I.O. asserts itself quite pronouncedly in the fact that it boasts a greater number of leaders in the younger age brackets than the A.F.L. as well as a greater percentage; 54 per cent of the leaders and officials listed are A.F.L., 3½ per cent Independent, and the balance are C.I.O. In the group of leaders 34 years and

younger the C.I.O. is represented by 23 per cent of its leaders while in the same younger group only eight per cent of the A.F.L. leaders appear.

The study of top flight leaders made during the same period by Professor C. Wright Mills indicated that 88 per cent of the C.I.O. leaders are under 50 years of age while the A.F.L. has no international union president or secretary under 30 years old. Only 12 per cent of the C.I.O.'s top leaders are 50 years old while 70 per cent of the A.F.L. leaders are in this age group. The sample contains no officials over 64 years of age and more than 21 per cent of them are under 35. The A.F.L. leaders are, typically between 45 and 70, the C.I.O. between 30 and 45. <sup>4</sup>

Twenty years ago the most prevalent age group among unionists was 46 to 50 years. In the study based upon 1925 material the typical woman union leader was 36 to 40 years old. The independent unions at this period were the railroad brotherhoods and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers; the independent union leaders were typically, 41 to 45 years of age, and the Amalgamated, later to be active in the formation of the C.I.O., boasted of leaders 36 to 40 years old. <sup>5</sup>

It may be of interest to note that 10 per cent of the female leaders in the C.I.O. omitted their dates of birth and

4 Labor and Nation, Dec. 1945, p. 33.

5 Cf. Louis Stanley, "A Cross Section of American Labor Leadership," American Labor Dynamics. Harcourt Brace, 1928, pp. 414, 415.

16 per cent of the A.F.L. women labor leaders declined to indicate their ages. <sup>6</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> 1.3 per cent of the male union officials do not state their ages. Almost 2 per cent of the A.F.L. men do not give dates of birth while less than 1 per cent of the C.I.O. men are reluctant to give their ages.

## CHAPTER III

### SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC BACKGROUND

#### 1. FAMILY ORIGINS

An insight into the economic and social background of the labor leader may be had from an analysis of the occupations of the trade unionist's fathers.

TABLE III  
LABOR OFFICIALS: FATHER'S VOCATION

<u>FATHER'S OCCUPATION</u> <sup>1</sup>	<u>C.I.O.</u>	<u>A.F.L.</u>	<u>IND.</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Unskilled	3.5%	2.2%	0.0%	2.6%
Semi-skilled	7.5%	7.5%	12.0%	7.7%
Skilled	17.5%	24.0%	16.0%	20.4%
Professional	6.0%	4.8%	3.0%	5.2%
Clergy	1.0%	1.3%	0.0%	1.1%
Agriculture	12.5%	17.3%	15.0%	15.8%
Merchant and Business	10.0%	7.4%	11.0%	8.5%
Supervisory	3.0%	2.0%	6.0%	2.3%
Contractor	2.0%	2.8%	3.0%	2.5%
Union Work	0.2%	1.0%	0.0%	0.6%
Railroad	4.8%	6.5%	19.0%	6.8%
Mining	8.0%	3.8%	0.0%	5.7%
Steel	2.7%	0.2%	0.0%	1.2%
Other	3.6%	3.4%	0.5%	3.4%
Not Mentioned	17.7%	15.8%	14.5%	16.2%
	<u>100.0%</u>	<u>100.0%</u>	<u>100.0%</u>	<u>100.0%</u>

It is clear that the skilled tradesman produced sons that had the best opportunity to become union leaders. It was not

1 Cf. Bureau of the Census, A Social Economic Grouping of the Gainful Workers of the United States, United States Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1938.

uncommon and it is still a practice today for many journeymen and master craftsmen, particularly in the building trades, to bring their sons in as apprentices. It is noteworthy that the independent union leaders came from homes on a higher economic level. Almost one-fifth of all railroad union officials came from "railroading" families.

The next highest occupational group for all of the unionists combined is the agricultural category.<sup>2</sup> Farming was the most popular vocation in America until World War I.<sup>3</sup>

In the C.I.O. the leaders whose fathers were miners are outstanding.<sup>4</sup> More ministers and Rabbis give their children to the labor movement than do the full time paid union leaders. The steel industry is the place of work for more C.I.O. leaders' parents than the A.F.L.

In our sampling of 1000 labor leaders it was found that 10.6 per cent of the C.I.O. leaders were in unions that represented their fathers' industries and that 16.6 per cent of the A.F.L. leaders were active in unions that now cover their father's crafts.

Professor Mills found of the top flight leaders twice as

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 2 A review of the foreign born union leaders reveals that the predominant family occupations were: farming for the Irish; mining for the English; skills and crafts for the Germanic; merchants for the Eastern Europeans; and agricultural for the Balkans and Latins.

3 Bureau Agricultural Statistics, U.S. 1935.

4 When primary source material was compiled the United Mine Workers of America was an affiliate of the A.F.L.

many C.I.O. leaders came from professional homes than did A.F.L. officials. He also found that 19 per cent of the A.F.L. leaders and 24 per cent of the C.I.O. leaders' fathers were business men. His study indicated that 17 per cent of the A.F.L. leaders and 16 per cent of the C.I.O. leaders came from farms.<sup>5</sup>

This study confirms Dr. Mills' statement, "One proposition stands up out of the details, the leaders of labor derive overwhelmingly from the ranks of labor. If the labor leader does not come from a skilled labor home, he comes from a farm family - and thirdly from the owners of small business."

In the study based on 1925 data the social origin of A.F.L. leaders was first: "bourgeois" (professional and proprietary), second: "Working class", followed closely by farm and agricultural homes.<sup>6</sup>

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5 Labor and Nation, p. 34, Dec. 1945

6 Louis Stanley, "A Cross Section of American Labor Leadership," American Labor Dynamics. Harcourt Brace, 1928, p. 418.



2. EDUCATION

TABLE IV

**FORMAL EDUCATION**

TYPE OF EDUCATION	<u>C.I.O.</u>	<u>A.F.L.</u>	<u>IND.</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Less than 8 years	1.2%	2.5%	0.0%	2.3%
Elementary Graduate	14.5%	21.8%	20.0%	18.3%
Some Secondary	8.2%	6.5%	6.0%	7.3%
4 Years High School	8.9%	38.5%	51.0%	38.2%
Some College	9.3%	5.7%	10.0%	7.2%
Bachelors Degree	13.9%	9.7%	10.0%	11.1%
Graduate School	2.9%	1.2%	0.0%	1.8%
Professional Degree	2.3%	3.1%	3.0%	2.8%
Not Mentioned	10.9%	11.0%	0.0%	11.0%
	<u>100.0%</u>	<u>100.0%</u>	<u>100.0%</u>	<u>100.0%</u>

We observe that one-fifth of all trade union leaders have gone beyond high school in their formal education. Previously it was noted that the C.I.O. is a younger group and we can expect their leaders to have a higher formal education; more than one-fourth of the C.I.O. leaders have attended college while only slightly less than one-fifth of the A.F.L. leaders have gone to college. However, the A.F.L. numbers more lawyers in its ranks of influence than does the C.I.O.

As a collective group the railway brotherhoods have the best educated leadership, but they also lack the intellectuals

the A.F.L. possess, i.e. physicians, lawyers, teachers, who have done extensive graduate work in the universities.

Professor Mills observed of the top flight leadership that "the difference between the formal education of the A.F.L. and C.I.O. leaders is clear cut. The C.I.O. men are better educated."<sup>7</sup>

In the study made by Mr. Louis Stanley we find that twenty years ago about 25 per cent of the A.F.L. leaders declined to specify their education as compared to only about 11 per cent today. In 1925 less than ten per cent of the A.F.L. leaders had some college education; today we find the same percentage having a four year degree from a college and almost six per cent in addition possessing a junior college education or equivalent, and an additional four per cent having attended post graduate University courses or professional schools. Thus the trade unionist keeps pace with the general trend of the American population in its struggle for literacy and higher knowledge.<sup>8</sup>

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7 Labor and Nation, Dec. 1945, p. 34.

8 American Labor Dynamics, p. 419.

3. RELIGION - U.S. LABOR LEADERS

TABLE V

## RELIGION AND AFFILIATION

	<u>C.I.O.</u>	<u>A.F.L.</u>	<u>IND.</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Protestant	610	930	75	1615
Catholic	386	488	17	891
Jewish	28	29	0	57
Other	7	4	0	11
Not Mentioned	<u>528</u>	<u>521</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>1073</u>
	1559	1972	116	3647

As in the American population the predominance of Protestants is also reflected in the religion of labor leaders. There is no method available in determining whether the church membership is nominal or that the stated religion is actually the pious belief of the trade unionist. Many persons of admitted Jewish ancestry and students of Hebrew and members of Jewish societies, did not state their religious affiliation. This was not so marked in reference to the Protestant and Roman Catholic union officials.

The independent trade unionists with the exception of the Progressive Mine Workers are very definitely a Protestant and Masonic group. This is particularly true of the Locomotive Engineers and Firemen. Persons of Jewish ancestry or Hebrew faith are completely absent from the Railway Brotherhoods.

The questionnaire asked for "church affiliation" not

"religion"; this may have been a factor in producing 30 per cent "not mentioned."<sup>9</sup> It is certain that a substantial minority of the non-church group is of Jewish ancestry.<sup>10</sup>

In the 1945 study of top flight leaders it was found that 36 per cent of the A.F.L. was Catholic as compared to 33 per cent for the C.I.O.<sup>11</sup> In this study of all levels of leadership it is found that the figures are almost exactly reversed if one excludes the "not mentioned" group. Professor Mills also found that three per cent of the A.F.L. officials were Jewish and seven per cent of the C.I.O. were Jewish. This study indicates a greater percentage of Jewish leaders in the C.I.O. than in the A.F.L., however, in either case it is considerably smaller than in the study of top leadership.<sup>12</sup>

#### 4. MARITAL STATUS

Only 8.4 per cent of the union leaders are bachelors.

9 Cf. Appendix II, letter from Miss Dickerman dated Jan. 18, 1948.

10 See Appendix IV.

11 It is estimated that one-half of all labor union members are Catholic. If this estimate is anywhere near accurate, we can safely state that Catholic Workers are not electing half as many officials as their number would seem to warrant since only 24.4 per cent of all labor leaders are members of the Catholic faith. Cf. The Pittsburgh Catholic, Thursday, March 28, 1946. No serious study based upon reliable data is available which will clearly express the number of rank and file trade union members according to religious denomination. The 50% estimate of Catholic trade unionists may be a slight exaggeration, but it is undoubtedly true that Catholics are proportionately well represented in the unions representing the basic industries and services.

12 Labor and Nation, Dec. 1945, p. 34.

There is little difference between the C.I.O. and A.F.L. in regards to marital status. The unaffiliated trade union officials have a slightly smaller percentage of bachelors. Of the married unionists 16 per cent have no children.

Of the entire married group 51 per cent have one or two children. One-third of the railroad union officials have no children and another one-third have one or two children. The C.I.O. leaders that are married show a 53 per cent classification for one or two children, while the A.F.L. indicates 49 per cent for the same category. Of all the married union leaders 29 per cent have three to five children. A slightly smaller percentage of the unaffiliated union leaders have large families. Four per cent have families of more than five children. This category is slightly smaller in the younger C.I.O. group. The median family with the labor leader as the parent is 3.5. The mean family with the labor official as head of the household is 3.8. The average population for families in the 1940 census was 3.9 persons. <sup>13</sup>

For a more valid comparison it would be appropriate to compare the union family with the American urban family. In 1940 the mean city family was 3.6 persons and the median family was 3.26 persons. It must be remembered that the questionnaires were returned in 1945 and there was a marked rise in the

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13 Bureau of the Census, 1940 Census Report, United States Department of Commerce, Washington, D.C., 1945.

birth rate during the war years. It is most probable that the union family is only 0.1 persons greater than the national urban mean and 0.15 greater than the national urban median. This may be due to the fact that the union leader is a little older than the "average" American father. A study of the family sizes of all rank and file union members would probably reveal no essential difference from the national urban data.<sup>14</sup>

TABLE VI A

## MARITAL STATUS

	<u>C.I.O.</u>	<u>A.F.L.</u>	<u>INDEPENDENT</u>
Married	91.8%	91.2%	92.3%
Single	8.2%	8.8%	7.7%

TABLE VI B

## FAMILY

	<u>C.I.O.</u>	<u>A.F.L.</u>	<u>INDEPENDENT</u>
No children	15.7%	16.6%	33.0%
1-2 children	52.9%	48.8%	35.0%
3-5 children	27.9%	30.1%	27.0%
6-12 children	03.5%	04.5%	05.0%
	<u>100.0%</u>	<u>100.0%</u>	<u>100.0%</u>

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract of the United States 1946, U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Washington, D.C., Pps. 48-49.

5. THE POLITICS OF U.S. LABOR LEADERS

TABLE VII

## POLITICAL AFFILIATIONS

	<u>C.I.O.</u>	<u>A.F.L.</u>	<u>IND.</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Democratic	41.0%	40.0%	44.0%	40.1%
Republican	2.8%	11.4%	8.0%	7.5%
Socialist	0.2%	1.3%	0.0%	0.7%
Amer. Labor Party	9.2%	0.9%	0.0%	4.1%
Farm Labor	0.8%	0.5%	0.0%	0.6%
Liberal and Prog.	1.3%	4.2%	4.0%	2.9%
Independent	2.5%	3.0%	14.0%	3.0%
Non-Partisan	2.4%	2.6%	2.0%	2.3%
Political Action Comm.	9.0%	0.0%	0.0%	3.7%
Not Mentioned	30.8%	36.1%	28.0%	35.1%
	<u>100.0%</u>	<u>100.0%</u>	<u>100.0%</u>	<u>100.0%</u>

It must be remembered that the questionnaires were distributed to the unionists during 1945, about the time of President Roosevelt's death and toward the end of the War. Judging from the public utterances of some of the labor leaders it is quite possible that a survey of the politics of union officials would reveal a slightly different picture in 1947.

The Republican Party derives very little support from the C.I.O. but more than one-tenth of the A.F.L. leadership supports the G.O.P. On the other hand there are far more supporters of the Socialist Party among the A.F.L. than in the

C.I.O. Almost all of the Socialist support comes from the older trade union leaders in the needle trades. <sup>15</sup>

New York state's American Labor Party receives more than nine per cent support from the C.I.O. with few supporters from the A.F.L. and more from the Independent unionists. The Farmer Labor Party receives less than one per cent support and that from the Middle West. It is generally acknowledged that the former adherents of the Farmer Labor Party became New Deal Democrats.

The labor leaders who characterized their politics as "Independent" apparently wanted to indicate they voted on issues and candidates - not on party lines. The same thing may be said of the "non-partisan" group. Nine per cent of the C.I.O. endorsed PAC with no supporters from the A.F.L. or Independent unionists.

More than one-third of the Union leaders declined to state their politics.

In the 1945 study by Professor Mills of top flight union leaders it was found that more than half were in favor of the Democratic Party, with the C.I.O. giving the "New Deal" a little more support than the A.F.L. The A.F.L. circle of leaders are five times as Republican as the C.I.O. and twice as many of the A.F.L. leaders are "independent". <sup>16</sup>

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15 Joel Seidman, The Needle Trades, Farrar and Rhinehart, N.Y., 1942, P. 231

16 Labor and Nation, Dec. 1945, p. 35



A year later another study was made by Professor Mills and Helen Schneider involving only the top flight union leaders. In 1946 the results indicated that the A.F.L. was 19 per cent Republican and the C.I.O. gave only 7 per cent support to the G.O.P. The Democratic Party received almost one-half of the A.F.L. leadership support and almost two-thirds support from the C.I.O.

"Within the A.F.L., however, the Gompersian (non-partisan) viewpoint is strongest among the national leaders, whereas the Democratic, and to a lesser extent, the Republican affiliation is stronger among the state and city leaders. Within the C.I.O., more of the national leaders are either non-partisan or belong to third parties than are the city and state C.I.O. men." 17

Among presidents of unions 22 per cent of the A.F.L. favor the Republican Party while the same party received no votes from the C.I.O. presidents. More than half of the C.I.O. presidents favor the Democratic Party while less than one-fifth of the A.F.L. presidents favor the 1946 Democratic Party. More than half of the A.F.L. presidents indicated "no party" affiliation while only one-fourth of the C.I.O. presidents elected this category. Almost one-fourth of the C.I.O. presidents belong to "third" parties while only seven per cent of the A.F.L. are in the less orthodox political parties.

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17 Labor and Nation, July-August 1947, p. 10.

"It is obvious that the labor leaders are not aligned politically as the general population. In the last five presidential elections, the Republicans and the Democrats maintained an almost equal balance of power." 18

Almost one-half of the top flight leaders of C.I.O. prefer the formation of a new labor party; this opinion is shared by only 22 per cent of the top A.F.L. leaders. 19

The political economic philosophy of the top leadership in the union is expressed by the fact that 92 per cent of the C.I.O. believe that government should see that "full employment is maintained" while only 72 per cent of the A.F.L. hold this position. Two-thirds of the C.I.O. leaders regarded as serious the "Fascist threat" to America while 53 per cent of the A.F.L. held this position. 20

In the study made twenty years ago it was found that 49 per cent of the A.F.L. leaders who gave their political affiliations belonged to the two old parties. "No doubt the information supplied was strongly influenced by the LaFollette campaign (1924). 21 This study also clearly reveals that the Democratic Party was the most popular of all the political alternatives.

18. Ibid., p. 11.

19 Ibid., p. 11.

20 Ibid., p. 12.

21 Ibid., p. 12.

CHAPTER IV  
SOCIAL ECOLOGY

1. PLACE OF BIRTH

In tabulating the birthplaces of labor leaders and officials, the co-authors deemed it advisable to utilize large geographic areas that would have significance because of migration waves, language similarities, common history, culture, and tradition. The Latin countries include Spain, Portugal, France and Italy (including Sicily). Another group was the British Isles. The Central European group comprised Germany, Austria and Hungary. The Eastern group included Russia, Poland and the Baltic Countries. Another group are the Scandinavian countries, namely Sweden, Norway, Denmark and Finland. The Balkan group consisted of Greece, Rumania, Turkey, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia (Croatia and Serbia). Bohemia, Moravia and Slovakia make up the Slovak group. The Canadian group consisted of Canada, British Columbia, Newfoundland and Nova Scotia. All other foreign countries were included in the category "other."

Necessity required some arbitrary decisions regarding geographic groupings in the United States. One "natural" category was the New England States. New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware comprise the Eastern group. The

The Southern States included the commonly accepted Dixie group together with Arkansas and Maryland. The Middle-Western States include the east and west-central states besides West Virginia, the Dakotas, and Nebraska. The South-Western group is made up of Texas, Oklahoma, New Mexico and Arizona. The mountain and Pacific States make up the Western group.

A selected sample of 2000 labor leaders was taken.<sup>1</sup> If both birthplace and home were not given, the biography was ignored.

TABLE VIII

## PLACE OF BIRTH: FOREIGN BORN

<u>BIRTHPLACE</u>	<u>C.I.O.</u>	<u>A.F.L.</u>	<u>IND.</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Latin	22	15	0	37
Balkan	6	3	0	9
Scandinavian	2	9	1	12
British Isles	34	39	3	76
Slovak	3	4	0	7
Eastern European	23	40	1	64
Central European	12	14	0	26
Canadian	9	10	0	19
Other	8	12	0	20
	<u>119</u>	<u>146</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>270</u>

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 1 The first 2000 names of Who's Who in Labor comprise the sample.

TABLE IX

PERCENTAGE TABLE OF FOREIGN BORN  
AND CITIZENSHIP

<u>BIRTHPLACE</u>	<u>PCT.OF TOTAL FOREIGN BORN</u>	<u>PCT.OF TOTAL LEADERSHIP</u>	<u>PCT.OF FOREIGN BORN NOT NATURALIZED</u>
Latin	13.7%	1.9%	11.0%
Balkan	3.3%	0.5%	0.0%
Scandinavian	4.4%	0.7%	32.2%
British Isles	28.1%	3.1%	3.0%
Slovak	2.5%	0.5%	0.0%
Eastern European	23.0%	3.3%	6.0%
Central European	9.6%	1.4%	11.0%
Canadian	7.0%	1.0%	14.0%
Other	8.4%	1.1%	15.0%
	<u>100.0%</u>	<u>13.5%</u>	<u>92.2%</u>

Of a total of 2000 persons having some prominence or influence in the American trade union movement we see that 270 or 13.5 per cent of that number were born in places elsewhere than the United States. Of that number 250 or slightly more than 92 per cent saw fit to become American citizens.<sup>1a</sup> That leaves an insignificant 8 per cent that did not bother to become naturalized.

A breakdown shows that 146 or 13 per cent of the A.F.L. labor leaders were foreign born and 10 per cent of those remained aliens. Of C.I.O. leadership 119 or 14 per cent were

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1a It is estimated that about 1 per cent of all active union members are aliens.

foreign born but only two per cent remain unnaturalized. Five Independent officials or seven per cent were foreign born and one leader was still an alien in 1945.

The British Isles provide the greatest percentage of foreign born leaders, 28 per cent of the group. However, the Eastern group comprises 23 per cent and 13.7 per cent of the foreign born leaders are from the Latin countries. (89 per cent of the Latins were Italian born.)

The A.F.L. gains almost a like number of leaders from Britain, 27 per cent as from the Eastern countries, 26 per cent. Foreign born leaders from Latin countries total 40 per cent.

Britain leads again and supplies 28 per cent of the C.I.O. foreign born leaders. The Eastern countries gave 19 per cent and the Latin countries a like percentage.

In absolute numbers as well as proportionately there are more Latins in the C.I.O. than in the A.F.L. In the C.I.O. 19 per cent are Latins and in the A.F.L. only ten per cent are from Latin countries. The percentages are based on the total foreign-born population of the union leadership.

The Scandinavians in the A.F.L. far outnumber their brothers in the C.I.O. This is to a large degree due to their membership in the skilled crafts, carpentry, cabinet making, etc.

Also greater numbers of Russian and Polish leaders in the A.F.L. can be partially explained by their numbers in the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, United Hatters,

Cap and Millinery Workers International Union, American Federation of Musicians, and Cigar Makers International Union of America. The preponderance of Italians in the C.I.O. may be due to the intense organization of the steel and auto industry which have great numbers of semi-skilled and unskilled laborers; the Italian migration to America is comparatively recent and many of the immigrants went to the large unorganized industries that later came into the C.I.O. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers also supply a large number of Italian leaders on a local level as well as nationally.

A glance at the Independent column clearly indicates the native American character of the unaffiliated union leaders.

From the 1925 source material it was found that about two-thirds of the union leaders were born in the United States. Thus in twenty years there has been almost a twenty per cent increase in native born leadership.

Dr. Mills in his recent study indicated that of the top flight leaders in the A.F.L., 15 per cent were foreign born while the number was six per cent greater than this in the C.I.O.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Labor and Nation, Dec. 1945, p. 33.

TABLE X  
PLACE OF BIRTH - U.S.

	<u>C.I.O.</u>	<u>A.F.L.</u>	<u>IND.</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
New England	61	66	7	134
Southern	111	189	13	313
Eastern	227	165	12	404
Mid-Western	269	415	25	709
Southwest	25	37	1	63
West	28	64	4	96
Washington, D.C.	1	10	0	11
	<hr/> 722	<hr/> 946	<hr/> 62	<hr/> 1730

It is apparent that the Central States with its great population density, urban centers, relative prosperity, great industries, and transportation centers also supply to a large degree the birth place of labor leaders. Of the A.F.L. total native born, 43 per cent are from the Middle West. Only 37 per cent of the U.S. born C.I.O. leaders give the Mid-West as their birth place. Almost as many C.I.O. leaders come from the East. The influence of the C.I.O. in steel may be a partial explanation of this phenomenon.

There are more Independent labor leaders giving the Southern States as their birth place than the Eastern States; this is also true of the A.F.L.

The recent study of top flight leaders indicated that the Middle Atlantic, the East North Central (particularly Ohio),



and the West North Central are the typical regions of birth for members of the A.F.L. and C.I.O. "Over twice as large a proportion of the A.F.L. leaders come from the West North Central than is the case with the C.I.O. whereas three times as many C.I.O. leaders are from the Mountain and Pacific regions." <sup>3</sup> This study which includes the top flight leaders as only a small percentage of the entire group of labor leaders officials, and executives somewhat supports the findings in regard to the preponderance of A.F.L. birth places in the West North Central States but finds that the leaders are almost proportionately equal as regards the Western region of the United States.

## 2. RESIDENCE AND AFFILIATION

In this section a tabulation will indicate the geographic area of operation of the union leader. Trade union leaders generally reside near the industry in which the union organizes workers. The exception to this is the Washington, D.C. group of trade union leaders that live in or near the capital (Arlington, Virginia or Chevy Chase, Maryland). Many unions have their national headquarters in Washington or operate a legislative or lobbying office near the White House.

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3 Ibid., p. 33.

TABLE XI  
PERCENTAGE RESIDENCE CHART

	<u>C.I.O.</u>	<u>A.F.L.</u>	<u>IND.</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
East	14.5%	10.6%	0.40%	25.50%
Middle West	14.40	20.10	1.5	36.00
South	3.50	8.90	0.50	12.90
West	3.90	7.50	0.70	12.10
New England	3.40	3.30	0.40	7.10
South West	1.10	2.50	0.70	4.30
Washington, D.C.	0.76	1.25	0.06	2.07
Other <sup>4</sup>	0.00	0.03	0.00	<u>0.03</u>
				100.00%

The New England States which were not too long ago the scene of great strikes in the textile and shoe industries, present a relatively small percentage of union leadership. The C.I.O. and A.F.L. divide the seven per cent almost evenly. A greater proportion and a greater total number of leaders of the C.I.O. reside in the East. Of the total C.I.O. leadership 34.1 per cent reside in the East, while only a fraction more than nineteen per cent of the A.F.L. leadership lives there. The South has a greater proportion of A.F.L.; however, it would be interesting to note any changes since the C.I.O. inaugurated "Operation Dixie."

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4 Consists of Territory of Hawaii, Alaska, Canal Zone.

The Middle West is the stronghold of labor. Many regional and international headquarters of large as well as small unions are located in Ohio, Michigan, and Illinois. Of the total labor leadership 36 per cent live in the Middle West. The Independent unions as well as the A.F.L. have their largest group of leaders in this area, while the C.I.O. divides 68 per cent of its leadership almost evenly between the East and Middle West.

The questions arise: How extensive is the migration of union leadership? Where does the foreign born union leader settle?

TABLE XII  
MIGRATION OF U.S. BORN

	<u>BORN</u>	<u>PER CENT REMAINED</u>
New England	134	77
South	313	61
Middle West	709	73
East	404	74
South West	63	47
West	96	73
Washington, D.C.	11	63
All Leaders	1730	71

The leaders born in New England show the least desire to migrate to another part of the country. The overall average

of 71 per cent is representative of four groups, New England, Middle West, West, and the East.

Seventy-three per cent of the A.F.L. Southern trade union leaders are natives of the South, while only 44 per cent of the C.I.O. Southern leaders preferred to remain in the South. Negroes of Southern birth no doubt make up a large part of those leaders who chose to leave.

Of the 119 Southern born labor leaders leaving the South, 41 moved to the Middle West, 27 to the South West, 24 to the East, and twenty to the West. More than two-thirds of the leaders moving from New England went either to the Middle West or to the East. Half of the leaders that left the East, went to the Middle West, and in turn 43 per cent of those who left the Middle West pushed to the West. Half of those leaving the South West went still farther West, and 51 per cent of the few leaders leaving the West settled in the Middle West.

TABLE XIII  
SETTLEMENT OF FOREIGN BORN LEADERS

	<u>C.I.O.</u>	<u>A.F.L.</u>	<u>IND.</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
East	23.7%	23.3%	0.6%	47.6%
Middle West	10.7%	16.3%	1.1%	28.1%
South	1.4%	2.2%	0.4%	4.0%
West	2.9%	5.5%	0.0%	8.5%
New England	4.8%	5.5%	0.0%	10.3%
South West	0.4%	1.1%	0.0%	1.5%
Other	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
				100.0%

Of a total of 270 foreign born labor leaders, 46.6 per cent settled in the Eastern States, and this number is divided almost evenly between the two large American unions. This is especially interesting since the percentage of labor leaders residing in the East makes up only 25.4 per cent of the total. In proportion and in total the C.I.O. has an edge over the A.F.L. in its Eastern foreign born leadership.

Slightly more than 28 per cent of the immigrant labor leaders settled in the Middle West and the majority of those (53.9 per cent) became officials in the A.F.L.

Of the remaining 25 per cent of the immigrant labor leaders, all but a very few settled either in the New England States or in the West.

## CHAPTER V

### CONCLUSION AND SUMMARY

One of the functions of social science is to attempt to postulate generalizations, principles, and laws on objective evidence. Actually the lay person attempts to express his philosophy or opinions in general terms. Also the slogans he adopts are too often unfounded and merely a reflection of his prejudices. It is common to hear references to labor leaders as "Bureaucrats", "Jews", "racketeers", czars", "aliens", "foreigners", or "communists". Even the labor sympathizer generalizes too often without supporting evidence. The great number (over 50 per cent) of "don't know" answers to questions concerning labor leaders caused the conductors of a Fortune Survey to remark, "Very few of the general public praise the labor leader on any count. On the other hand, only a few feel they know enough to criticize them. The people mostly don't know much about union leaders".<sup>1</sup>

The executive editors of the primary source material, after more than a year of work in collecting the biographies were prompted to write, "One thing stands out preeminent, and that is that the leaders of labor are a cross-section of American

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<sup>1</sup> Fortune, June 1941. Vol. XXIII, p. 148.

life, with a variety of backgrounds, education, and training equally as diverse. In short there is no set pattern, no common denominator."<sup>2</sup> The labor leader cannot be reduced to a simple formula or generalization, but perhaps a series of patterns have been established and a comparison made with the general population.

In summarizing and concluding, an attempt should be made to outline a collective portrait or cross-section of American labor leaders, officials, and executives on all levels of influence and activity. Certain generalizations may be rightfully asserted, some popular concepts may be verified, other slogans, prejudices, and slanders regarding the labor movement personnel can be rightfully denied.

The "typical"<sup>3</sup> union leader obviously is male. In the past twenty years there has been a definite increase in the number and percentage of females in the trade union movement and in prominent positions in labor circles, however the possibilities are still more than nine chances of ten that the leader is a man. There are no women represented on the executive board of the American Federation of Labor or its departments; the same may be said for the Congress of Industrial Organizations. In fact no large union has a lady as its

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2 Dickerman, Marian and Taylor, Ruth, Who's Who in Labor, Dryden Press, N.Y., 1946, Preface.

3 The Modal Type.

national president, however, executive boards and locals have women in important positions.

The "composite" labor official is more likely to be an A.F.L. man, but the C.I.O. "typical" leader is not far behind in the race for leadership. The active unionist will be about 42 years of age, the C.I.O. man will be about 37. The very aged and venerable A.F.L. leader still exists in appreciable numbers and is probably increasing; there are no elderly C.I.O. leaders, at least, not yet. If the labor leader is in his twenties it is almost a certainty that he is a C.I.O. man. The median age for the C.I.O. leader is 40 years and the median for the A.F.L. is 47 years. The median age for the unaffiliated union leader is 50 years. If the leader happens to be a C.I.O. man, one chance of four is that he once was an A.F.L. member (not necessarily a leader) within the past score of years; the chances are even greater if the C.I.O. leader is past forty years old.

Despite popular opinion to the contrary, the American labor leader is native born. The chances are almost nine of ten that the labor official is a native born American and at least 99 per cent of the union officials are citizens of the United States. There is no significant difference between the foreign born groups according to affiliation except that the railway brotherhoods are more than 95 per cent native born.

If the leader is foreign born he is most likely to be



British, usually not Irish, with the Eastern European countries, particularly Russia, coming second and Italy, third. More than 95 per cent of the foreign born arrived in the United States before World War I.

The A.F.L. leader has the greatest chance of having been born in the Middle West. The C.I.O. leader is just as likely to have been born in the East as the Middle West.

If the labor leader was born in the East or New England the chances are three to one that he will remain near his birth-place. Almost 40 per cent of the Southern born leaders migrate north or west. The vast majority of Mid-west born leaders remain near their home. The leader born in the South-West most often migrates to the industrial north or Pacific States. Most of the Western born remain in the Pacific or mountain states.

The foreign born chose the East as their most popular place of union activity, the Mid-west second, and New England third.

The "typical" labor leader has a working class background; in one half of the cases his father is a skilled worker. The second most likely social origin of the leader will be the farm or ranch. An important third possibility is that the union leader will have a father who was in business, generally a small storekeeper or merchant.

The "composite" union leader is a high school graduate.

The older A.F.L. leader manages capably with only eight years of elementary education with perhaps a course or two from a correspondence school. The younger C.I.O. union official is likely to have had some college training.

The U.S. labor leader is a Democrat. Only three of almost 4000 labor leaders acknowledge their membership in the Communist Party. Assuming that some are discreet or subversive there is no indication that Communists are abundant in labor unions. The anti-Communist faction in trade unions maintain the Marxian followers are influential because of their energy and not their quantity.

One third of the labor leaders seem to indicate politics is their private affair. This attitude is more common in the A.F.L. and is probably an extension of the Gomperian attitude.

The interest in third parties and labor politics that has developed, particularly in the C.I.O. indicates a trend toward political unionism and "business" unionism is on the decline.<sup>4</sup>

The "typical" union official is Protestant, but his chances of being Catholic are greater if he comes from a large Mid-west city. Most of the Protestants are Masons and the Catholics in turn almost invariably list their membership in the Knights of Columbus.

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4 Cf. Ginzberg, Eli, "Tomorrow's Labor Leader" and David, Henry, "100 Years of Labor Politics". Both in Labor and Nation, Vol. 2, No. 1, Nov.-Dec. 1946.

The composite union man of influence is a married man with children. He is definitely a family man.

It must be reemphasized that this study includes the thousands of minor and local leaders and only a few hundred of labor leaders who have prestige and top influence in their areas of generalship. In fact, many of the top-level leaders are averse to revealing their attitudes on vital statistics.

Of the thirteen vice presidents of the A.F.L. three did not return the questionnaires. Of the 200 top elective officers in the 103 international unions in the A.F.L., 91 ignored the questionnaire. Of the eight top positions in the five departments of the A.F.L. three did not submit information. <sup>5</sup>

Only Reid Robinson, President, Mine Mill and Smelter Workers Union, of the eleven top officers of the C.I.O. did not submit a questionnaire. Of the 42 international unions in the C.I.O. with 84 top-flight executives only seventeen did not return the questionnaire.

Of the fifteen large Independent Unions with 30 important posts, seventeen members did not submit information. It is unfortunate that no prominent leader of the Railway Unions was a member of the Advisory Board of Who's Who in Labor.

It is the contention of this study that a greater insight into the machinery and spirit of the American trade union

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5 "Directory of Labor Unions in the United States," U.S. Dept. of Labor, Washington, D.C., May 1947, Bulletin No. 901.

movement may be discerned by a cross section of the entire movement from the local chief steward to William Green or Phillip Murray. We discover that the trade union official does not easily fit into the popular stereotyped pattern; he is not greatly different from the "man on the street" in any urban community except, perhaps, that his politics may be characterized as more "progressive", "liberal", "left", or "radical" than his non-union neighbor.

It is clear that the union man is an integral part of the social organization of the city. The recent war witnessed the unionists' participation on the combat and production line. Sociology does not have to divorce itself from the fields of ethics and morality in order to retain academic objectivity. One of the purposes of this study was to portray the labor movement in an honest manner and to demonstrate its part in the social composition of the American milieu.

The need for greater and more extensive and intensive study of American labor should be obvious. It is hoped that this contribution will help inspire a greater interest in the trade union movement among academic circles.

APPENDIX I

COPY

The Val-Kill Cottage

Hyde Park, New York

August 6, 1947

My dear Mr. Priore:

Miss Taylor and I have your letter of July 31st before us in regard to your proposed use of "Who's Who in Labor" as a reference for your thesis research.

We should be happy to have you use it as you suggest and would be most interested in seeing a copy of your study.

The various reviews have touched on the points you mention but no such study has, to our knowledge, ever been made.

Good luck to you in your work.

Sincerely yours,

/signed/ Marian Dickerman

APPENDIX II

COPY

2020 West Le Moyne Street  
Chicago 22, Illinois  
December 21, 1947

Miss Ruth Taylor  
Columbia Hotel  
70 West 46th Street  
New York, N.Y.

Dear Miss Taylor:

I wish to acknowledge my appreciation for the valuable primary source material you and Miss Dickerman provided Mr. LeRoy Priore and myself with your volume, Who's Who in Labor. Could you refer me to published book reviews, both favorable and critical, of the Dryden Press publication?

It is easy to understand the many difficult problems involved in compiling several thousand authorized brief biographies. However, I wonder if your book could not be improved upon in a future edition by encouraging the active participation of one of the leaders of the Railway Brotherhoods and another leader from one of the other unaffiliated large unions in addition to your present advisory board. Do you think the questionnaire would be improved by the addition of "Race" and "Military Service" and the substitution of "Religion" instead of "Church Membership?"

Do you believe that a more uniform and more complete compilation would have been made if the questionnaires had been distributed to a cooperative member of each international union executive board with the instructions that the questionnaire was to be executed by all the top flight leaders on a national, regional, and local level?

It is apparent, to cite one example, that Mr. A.S. Zander was able to get the forms executed by not only the top flight

leadership but even by the most obscure and relatively unimportant officials of his organization, while on the other hand, the CIO counterpart of his union, United Public Workers and its two parent organizations, SCMWA and UFWA, are hardly represented in your book. There are a few glaring omissions of labor leaders, for example in the United Packinghouse Workers Union, CIO. I wonder if these leaders had been solicited for information or if they ignored your questionnaire.

Please be assured the above statements are not petty fault finding remarks but honest academic questions; I feel that the main honest criticism that can be leveled at your book is that the Railway Brotherhoods are woefully neglected.

Enclosed herewith please find an addressed stamped envelope for your convenience. I would be deeply grateful for a reply to the problems I have raised and assure you that I hold your pioneer work in high esteem.

Very truly yours,

Irving F. Friedman

COPY

Sunset Hill Road  
New Canaan, Connecticut

January 18, 1948

Dear Mr. Friedman:

Ruth Taylor has given me your letter to her of December 21st.

"Who's Who in Labor" was fairly well reviewed. The Labor Press from which we have a large number of clippings seemed unanimous in their appreciation of the book. "The New York Times" of Feb. 2, 1947 ended its review by saying, "It is a worthwhile addition to the "Who's Who Shelf." Elinore M. Herrick, who reviewed it for the "Herald Tribune", said "The editors have done a signal service for libraries and research groups." If there were any unfriendly articles we have not seen them and would appreciate having them brought to our attention.

The book could be improved in many ways. Where unions have not been adequately represented the fault lies with the officers who did not fully urge upon their members the importance of returning their personal data sheets and on the members themselves many of whom having come to us since and said, "I meant to return my sheet but kept putting it off."

Many listed military service under Public Activities. Your suggestion that it be a separate one is good. Why do you ask "Race"? It puzzles me.

Religion - Church Membership? You have no idea how long and carefully that was considered. It will be reconsidered when the next edition is undertaken.

Next time I know personal information will come in quickly and more fully. Some were skeptical, some suspicious. Our book has answered them and next time, I am confident, our task will be easier and the result more complete.

No man has taken exception to what was said of him or of his union. This to us has been a satisfaction.

Sincerely,

/signed/ Marian Dickerman



## APPENDIX III

COPY

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR  
Women's Bureau  
Washington 25

December 23, 1947

1200 Merchandise Mart  
Chicago 54, Illinois

Mr. I.F. Friedman  
2020 West LeMoyne Street  
Chicago 22, Illinois

My dear Mr. Friedman:

Since our telephone conversation yesterday, I have checked my files again for information concerning the number of women in unions. As I thought, I do not have any estimate of recent date concerning the number of women union members. As I explained to you over the telephone, our Bureau is endeavoring to collect some additional information on this subject.

I am enclosing a copy of a Women's Bureau Release dated November 30, 1945. You will note in a paragraph about the middle of the first page a statement that women membership in unions increased from 800,000 before the war to over 3,000,000\* by VJ-Day.

While the material given in this release is now out of date, you may be interested in the estimates on the numbers of women in selected international unions given in the last paragraph of the release.

I am also enclosing a copy of some material concerning women attending recent union conventions. This was sent to me by the Washington office of the Women's Bureau in answer to another request for information about women in unions.

I am also enclosing a copy of some material prepared for the National Women's Trade Union League Convention which was held in May, 1947. I do not have a supply of this material but happen to have an extra copy and I am sending it to you, since you will probably be interested in the material on pages 9 and 10 concerning women union members.

As I mentioned during our telephone conversation, you probably will wish to consult a copy of the Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science for May, 1947. It has an article on women in unions by Gladys Dickason, a vice president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers - CIO.

Also enclosed is a copy of the latest issue of the Women's Bureau Fact Sheet. This is a monthly publication which gives in brief form selected current information concerning women workers. If you would like to be placed on the mailing list for this publication, please let me know.

Sincerely yours,

/signed/ Martha J. Ziegler  
Regional Representative

Encs.

APPENDIX IV  
JEWISH LABOR LEADERS<sup>1</sup>

This very interesting observation probably will never be successfully proved since we cannot tell what a man's religious convictions may be with only his name and a few sketchy facts as guides. One leader with a typical Scandinavian name of Johnson, is a Jew. Consider however the following fifty-three traditionally Jewish names and notice how many (those marked with an asterik) profess the Jewish faith. The others ignored the question.

Dubinsky, Edelman, J.J., Edelman, J.W., Engelburg, Engelman, Eshelman, Feinberg, M., Ernst\*, Ellstein\*, Farber, Feigenbaum, Feinberg, I., Feinglass, Finkelstein\*, Finks, Fischer\*, Fisher, Freedman, B., Freedman, Freeman, Gold, Golden, Goldenberg, Golstein, Gomberg, Greenfield, Greenberg, Greenwald, Grossman, S.J.\*, Grossman, J., Hardman (Salutsky), Helfgott, Heller, Helstein, Herbst, Hoffman, K., Hoffman, B., Horowitz, I., Horowitz, L., Horowitz, A.K.\*, Hurvich\*, Hyman, Isserman, Jacobs, J., Jacobs, J.M., Jacobs, V.V., Katz, A., Katz, C.R., Katz, I.\*, Levin, R.A., Levin, S.\*, Levinson, E., Levinson, L.\*.

Granting that the above sample nowhere approached

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1 Cf. Personal Letters, Appendix V, also Chapter III and Table V.

scientific standards, it is clearly evident that a great percentage of labor leaders with Jewish names and ancestry do not wish to answer the question of religious affiliation. Assuming that the leaders in our sample are of Jewish background we see that 79 per cent prefer not to divulge their religion. The overall percentage of officials not mentioning their religion is 29 per cent. This glaring difference led the authors to consult known Jewish labor leaders for possible explanations. They were evasive and noncommittal.

APPENDIX V

COPY

2020 West LeMoyne Street  
Chicago 22, Illinois  
November 23, 1947

Mr. Ralph Helstein, President  
United Packinghouse Workers of America, CIO  
205 West Wacker Drive  
Chicago 6, Illinois

Dear Brother Helstein:

In a detailed study I am making of the Labor Leaders appearing in "Who's Who in Labor," 1946, I find that many important officials in your Union are absent from the book. Can it be that Leaders like Herb March, Sam Parks, et al ignored the questionnaire that preceded the publication of the book or were they never solicited?

I also find that many Labor Leaders of Jewish ancestry ignored the question of Church Affiliation. Two other researchers came to the same conclusion independently. Could you offer some possible reasons to account for this? I would appreciate any comments you may have on the book "Who's Who in Labor."

Fraternally yours,

I.F. Friedman

ARM. 2819

C O P Y

## UNITED PACKINGHOUSE WORKERS OF AMERICA

515 Engineering Building

205 West Wacker Drive

Chicago 6, Illinois

November 28, 1947

Dict. November 26

Mr. I.F. Friedman  
2020 West LeMoyné Street  
Chicago 22, Illinois

Dear Mr. Friedman:

I am in receipt of your communication of November 23.

I have not carefully examined "Who's Who in Labor" and consequently am in a position to make little comment with reference to it.

As to the reasons that Herb March, Sam Parks and others are not included in the book, I haven't the slightest idea. I don't know whether or not they were solicited nor if they ignored the questionnaire. I would suggest that you communicate directly with them.

I am sorry that I cannot be more helpful to you with reference to this inquiry.

Fraternally yours,

/signed/ Ralph Helstein  
President

2020 West LeMoyne Street  
Chicago 22, Illinois  
November 23, 1947

COPY

Mr. Abram Flaxer, President  
United Public Workers of America, C.I.O.  
930 F Street, N.W.  
Washington 6, D.C.

Dear Brother Abe,

I am making a detailed study and analysis of United States Labor Leaders. My primary source material is "Who's Who in Labor", 1946. It is obvious that only the top flight leaders of the former Federal Workers, CIO and SCMWA, CIO appear in the book. On the other hand the State, County, and Municipal Employees' Union, AFL is well represented in the book including even the most minor and obscure local leaders. Arnold Zander was a member of the advisory board in compiling the book.

I discussed this problem with Milt Phillips and he vaguely recalled the questionnaire and the fact that your office reminded him to return the form. However, he is sure that local leaders were not solicited. I wonder if there was some misunderstanding when the executive editors, Misses Taylor and Dickerman, distributed the forms to your office.

I also note and other students have called my attention to the same phenomenon that many apparent and known Labor Leaders of Jewish ancestry ignored the question of Church affiliation. Other non-Jewish Union Leaders who are known not to be regular church attendants almost invariably answered the question with their nominal church affiliation. Could you throw some light on this problem?

I know you are terribly busy but I would be grateful if you or some other competent person in your office would reply to this letter and you might also state your opinion of the book, "Who's Who in Labor."

Fraternally yours,

I.F. Friedman

UNITED PUBLIC WORKERS OF AMERICA

Affiliated To The Congress of Industrial Organizations

930 F. Street, N.W.  
Washington 4, D.C.  
District 3288

December 10, 1947

Mr. I.F. Friedman  
Local 13, UPW-CIO  
2020 West LeMoine St.  
Chicago 22,  
Illinois

Dear Sir and Brother:

Thank you for your letter of November 23rd in which you inquire about the compilation of the material for "Who's Who in Labor, 1946".

The presidents of our local unions were not solicited for biographical information and we did not solicit such information from our locals directly, as Mr. Zander apparently did for the locals of his union.

As to your question of why the information concerning Church affiliation was omitted, I of course do not know each individual's reason for omitting this information about himself. This is, however, often a matter which an individual may not wish to make public.

Who's Who in Labor is probably a very handy reference volume, but I have no particular opinion about it one way or the other.

Fraternally,

/signed/ Abram Flaxer  
President



C O P Y

## THE PITTSBURGH CATHOLIC

Magee Building, 336 Fourth Avenue

Pittsburgh 22, Pa. Dec. 1, 1947

Mr. Leroy A. Priore,  
902 South Ashland Blvd.,  
Chicago 7, Ill.

Dear Sir:

We cannot find that we have run anything dealing at any length or in any detail with Catholic leaders in the union labor movement; we did have an item some time ago on the number and percentage of Catholics in unions. Clipping of this article is enclosed.

If this is not what you had in mind, we would be glad to search further.

Yours very truly,

THE PITTSBURGH CATHOLIC

/signed/ John B. Collins

Editor

APPENDIX VII

COPY

BUREAU OF APPLIED SOCIAL RESEARCH

15 Amsterdam Avenue

New York 23, N.Y.

September 11, 1947

Mr. Irving F. Friedman  
2020 W. LeMoyne Street  
Chicago 22, Illinois

Dear Mr. Friedman:

Thank you for your letter about the article in Labor and Nation about labor leaders. I have recently completed a book The American Labor Leader: Who He Is and What He Thinks, but it will take about ten months to get it through the press. In the meantime I do not know of anything other than the Appendix in "American Labor Dynamics", edited by Hardman in 1928, and an article by Sorokin in the Journal.

My own book consists of a sampling of some 600 labor leaders on national, state and city levels and covers their career lines and opinions on political and social questions.

Yours very truly,

/signed/ C. Wright Mills, Director  
Labor Research Division

COPY

2020 West LeMoyne Street  
Chicago 22, Illinois  
December 21, 1947

Professor C. Wright Mills  
Columbia University  
New York, N.Y.

Dear Sir:

Upon reading the issues of "Labor and Nation" and "Public Opinion Quarterly", it appears that you and Professor Eli Ginzberg are engaged in preparation of a book relative to a statistical study of labor leaders. I wonder if your work is a joint enterprise or distinctly separate studies or two related studies which will appear in one volume?

I am raising this question with reference to similar work being prepared by two graduate students of Loyola University Institute of Social Administration. Have you had an opportunity to examine Who's Who in Labor, Dryden Press, 1946, and have you found it of value in your work or in studies performed under your supervision?

Enclosed herewith please find an addressed stamped envelope for your convenience. I shall be grateful for your cooperation in this matter and I can assure you that your published studies at the University of Maryland and Columbia have been a valuable source material for me and I wish to acknowledge my appreciation and respect for your contribution.

Very Truly yours,

Irving F. Friedman

C O P Y

## BUREAU OF APPLIED SOCIAL RESEARCH

Under the Auspices of the Columbia University  
Council for Research in Social Sciences

15 Amsterdam Avenue

New York 23, N.Y.

December 26, 1947

Mr. Irving F. Friedman  
2020 West LeMoyne Street  
Chicago 22, Illinois

Dear Mr. Friedman:

There is no connection between Dr. Ginzberg's book on leadership and my book on The American Labor Leader. I think his book should be out in a couple of months and mine is being delivered to Harcourt Brace this month and should be published during the summer.

As to your question about Who's Who in Labor, yes, I have used it. As a matter of fact, we are in the process of coding and putting on Hollerith cards the information contained in it.

Sincerely yours,

/signed/ C. Wright Mills

per M.W.

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