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Trade Union Publications: The Official Journals,
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International Unions and Federations,
1850-1941, by Lloyd G. Reynolds and Charles C.
Killingsworth

Kheel Center for Labor-Management
Documentation & Archives

1944

Chapter 16 - Federations of Labor, pp. 360-388

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Chapter 16 - Federations of Labor, pp. 360-388

Abstract

The Catherwood Library and ILR School at Cornell are pleased to again make available an extremely important index of major labor union publications, long out of print. It is Lloyd G. Reynolds and Charles C. Killingsworth's *Trade Union Publications: The Official Journals, Convention Proceedings and Constitutions of International Unions and Federations, 1850-1941*. Baltimore, The John Hopkins Press, 1944.

Keywords

trade unions, journals, proceedings, publications, constitutions

Comments

Suggested Citation

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CHAPTER 16

Federations of Labor

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

Address: 901 Massachusetts Ave., N. W., Washington

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1881 Organized as Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada.
- 1886 Adopted present name.
- 1935 Group of affiliated international unions formed Committee for Industrial Organization (*q. v.*).
- 1936 Suspended CIO-affiliated unions.
- 1938 Expelled CIO-affiliated unions.

II. PUBLICATIONS (Code Number: A1)

- 1. Proceedings.
1st-61st ann., 1881-1941 (7th, 8th marked 2nd, 3rd)
- 2. Constitutions.
ann. 1886-1889; 1890?; 1898; 1899; ann. 1901-1937; 1940;
1941
- 3. Journal.
Published as: (New York; Indianapolis; Washington)
Mar 1894-1941+ : *The American Federationist*
(V. 47, Jul-Dec 1940, incorrectly numbered 48.)
Editors:
Mar 1894-Jan 1895: Samuel Gompers
Feb 1895-Jan 1896: John McBride
Feb 1896-1924: Samuel Gompers
1925-1941+ : William Green

III. CRITIQUE OF PUBLICATIONS

The American Federationist, official organ of the AFL, was founded in 1894. President Samuel Gompers was its first editor and, with the exception of one year, continued as editor until his death in 1924. Throughout this period, editorials occupied about one-third of the journal, or between nine and twenty-five pages.

Another third of the journal was devoted to articles on labor subjects, and the remainder to reports and miscellaneous items. In addition to writing the editorials, Gompers contributed frequent signed articles, and the texts of his speeches and reports on his travels abroad were also printed. The entire magazine, indeed, bore the imprint of Gompers' personality and expressed his philosophy of trade unionism.

Gompers' editorials covered a wide variety of subjects, including the principles of trade unionism, important developments in the labor movement, labor legislation, and other issues of national policy. His most important legislative demands were for restriction of immigration, enactment of workmen's compensation laws, elimination of child labor, and amendment or repeal of the Sherman Act. Much space was also given to defense of the legality of strikes and boycotts, opposition to compulsory arbitration and other forms of government intervention in labor disputes, and criticism of state legislation restricting union activities. During the first World War, Gompers advocated complete cooperation with the government's war policies and voluntary suspension of the right to strike, but demanded that labor standards be protected and that labor be represented on war agencies. He supported the peace treaty of 1919, and advocated entrance of the United States into the League of Nations and the World Court. While most of the editorials dealt with problems common to all organized labor, there was also frequent discussion of the internal conflicts, strikes, and collective bargaining or legislative victories of particular internationals. The unions of mine workers, railroad workers, clothing workers, textile workers, and federal employees were given particular attention. The editorials occasionally incorporated copies of Gompers' correspondence with government officials or union leaders on the subject in question.

Almost all the articles in the *Federationist* were written especially for the magazine by labor leaders, government officials, churchmen, and educators. Many of these articles were reprinted in the journals of affiliated internationals. Some of the articles described the history, policies, and achievements of particular internationals. Most of them, however, dealt with more general subjects, such as the origins and history of trade unionism, the effects of technological change, theories of wages, the functions of money, taxation, women workers, child labor, education, recent court decisions, legislation on labor subjects, the relation of labor to the war effort during World War I, the International Federation of Trade Unions, the Pan-American Federation of Labor, and the

International Labor Office. The journal also published frequent symposiums by union leaders, government officials, and educators. The subjects discussed included unemployment, technical change, the principles of trade unionism, labor's position in the economy, labor's status in war-time, and important labor laws.

The remainder of the journal consisted of reports of the AFL legislative committee on pending legislation, copies of public statements and addresses made by AFL officials, reports of conventions of AFL departments, excerpts from the executive council's reports to AFL conventions and from important convention addresses, official announcements, financial reports (through August 1918), letters from the secretaries of affiliated internationals or of state and city federations, letters from organizers, book reviews, and columns of news notes on labor developments in the United States and abroad. An entire issue was occasionally devoted to a single important subject, such as the Buck Stove and Range case, the passage of the Clayton Act, the factional conflict between the communist and anti-communist elements in the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union in the late twenties, and the southern organizing campaign undertaken by the AFL in 1929. During presidential election years the journal printed the AFL platform submitted to the two major parties and discussed the parties' position on each issue. The records of candidates for federal office were also discussed.

Running through the *Federationist*, and particularly through Gompers' editorials and articles, were certain principles of trade union organization and tactics. Outstanding among these were a distrust of Marxism and other revolutionary doctrines; opposition to affiliation of trade unions with the Socialist party or some "labor" party; a belief that labor's objectives could be achieved through collective bargaining, and that the main function of political action was to remove legislative and judicial restraints on the unions' economic activities; a belief that necessary political objectives could be achieved by bargaining with candidates of the two major parties; opposition to government regulation of relations between unions and employers; emphasis on immediate improvement of wages and working conditions rather than on a transformation of the social order in the distant future; belief in the superior cohesiveness of unions of skilled workers organized on craft lines; adherence to the principle of exclusive jurisdiction and strong condemnation of "dual" organizations; encouragement of alliances or federations of kindred trades under AFL auspices; and emphasis on the autonomy of international unions and the strictly

limited nature of the AFL's powers. These principles, constantly expounded in the journal and in Gompers' reports and speeches to conventions, have dominated the statements of AFL policy in its publications from the nineties to the present day.

The death of Gompers in 1924 and the election of William Green as his successor did not result in any change in the editorial policy or the general arrangement of the journal. The editorial section was reduced to seven pages, and articles expanded to occupy about half the magazine. The number of special features was also increased, and the journal almost doubled in size.

Soon after Green's assumption of office, the journal showed an increased interest in educational and cultural activities. Articles on workers' summer schools, union educational activities, and the progressive education movement, which had begun to appear about 1919, increased in number. From 1923 on, most of the material on these subjects was furnished by the Workers' Education Bureau, an independent organization with which the AFL cooperated. The Bureau held conferences on such subjects as prevention of unemployment, elimination of waste in industry, and the principles of industrial relations. The speeches of economists, engineers, and other participants in these conferences appeared in the *Federationist*.

The late twenties also saw a marked emphasis on union-management cooperation to achieve increased industrial efficiency, accompanied by a demand that increased efficiency be reflected in higher wage rates. Only in this way, it was argued, could the worker's real income be raised more rapidly than that of other consumers and his relative economic position improved. From October 1927 through 1929 the journal published indexes which attempted to compare labor's productive contribution with its share in consumption. Statistical techniques were also applied increasingly to other current problems. Beginning in 1927, the journal contained monthly estimates of unemployment, comparisons of wage rates in organized and unorganized shops, and data on wages and employment in various industries. After 1933 there were frequent attempts to measure the effects of the National Recovery Administration and other anti-depression programs.

During the depression of the early thirties articles and editorials attempted to explain the depression and suggest recovery measures. After 1933, the labor and social legislation of the Roosevelt administration received primary attention. Under the protection of Section 7A of the National Industrial Recovery Act and later of the National Labor Relations Act, the AFL began to organ-

ize federal locals on a large scale. A section of the journal discussed the problems of these locals, instructed them in collective bargaining methods, and contained copies of agreements signed. The journal scarcely mentioned the formation of the CIO in 1935 and the subsequent split in the labor movement, though this subject was discussed extensively in AFL conventions.

In July 1940, the format of *The American Federationist* was completely changed. The page size was enlarged and the number of pages reduced to thirty-two, a more informal style of writing was adopted, and the journal was further enlivened by the addition of many pictures and new features. Editorials now occupy only two pages, and both editorials and articles are shorter. Among the new features are "Labor Personality of the Month," a biographical sketch of a union leader; "The Other Fellow's Job," a description of a particular occupation; a "Junior Union Page"; and "What They Say," which contains excerpts from speeches and writings on labor matters. Since July 1940, editorials and articles have been primarily concerned with labor's role in the national defense program. Even before the United States entered the war, the Federation favored aid to Britain and opposed strikes in armament industries. At the same time, however, it warned against alteration of labor standards, demanded labor representation on war agencies, and emphasized the need of additional housing for workers in war industries.

While the *Federationist*, particularly in its editorial section, has reflected the growth and problems of the AFL, these matters have been reported more completely and systematically to the annual conventions, particularly in the officers' reports. From 1881 until 1900 the proceedings gave only brief summaries of the actions taken by the convention, except for occasional inclusion of particularly important discussions, such as the debate between socialists and non-socialists in the 1890 convention. An increasing amount of discussion was included after 1900, particularly in the case of jurisdictional disputes between affiliated unions and socialist proposals for political action. Since 1927 discussion in the convention has been reported in full.

Until 1886 the main report to the convention was that of the legislative committee, which included the principal Federation officers. This report was usually brief and discussed the organizing work of the Federation, its financial condition, the strike assistance rendered to affiliated unions, and the committee's work in connection with legislation.

From 1887 until 1912 the president submitted the principal report. After 1912, a single report of the executive council was presented, but the guiding hand of President Gompers was evident in its arrangement and content. These reports expressed the attitude of AFL leaders toward economic and political developments, and elaborated on the basic AFL principles already noted.

The president's report, and after 1912 the executive council's report, contained extensive discussion of legislative measures and of the Federation's activities with respect to each measure. Almost every report discussed legislation dealing with the eight-hour day for government workers, child labor, immigration, contract labor, prison labor, industrial safety, election procedure, reform of the judiciary, the use of injunctions in labor disputes, and the anti-trust laws. The report also discussed the increase in membership of federal locals and of all AFL affiliates during the year, important strikes and their outcome, jurisdictional disputes between internationals, the work of the various AFL departments, important court decisions affecting labor, the progress of the labor movement in Canada and Puerto Rico, relations with European and South American labor movements, economic conditions in the United States, political developments and AFL political activities, and the work of government agencies dealing with labor matters. There has been no marked change in the character of the executive council's report since 1912, though it has become steadily longer, more detailed, and possibly somewhat broader in its coverage of economic and political developments.

The secretary's report was in the beginning a very brief discussion of receipts and expenditures, correspondence handled, and the problems of conducting the secretary's office. Other matters were added from year to year, until by 1903 the report contained an itemized statement of monthly receipts and expenditures for the previous year; a comparative summary of receipts and expenses since 1887; a list of charters issued and revoked; a statement of each affiliated union's membership and number of locals; a compilation showing the number of strikes waged by each affiliated union, the number won, lost and compromised, the number of members involved, the cost of the strike, and any increase in wages or reductions of hours secured; a report of the amounts paid out in various types of benefit by each affiliate; and a list of unions using labels. This report has been presented in substantially the same form from 1903 to date, except that collection of strike and membership statistics from each affiliated union ceased in 1921, while the report of benefits paid out was abandoned in 1927.

In addition to the financial data appearing in the secretary's report, the proceedings contained a treasurer's report from 1882 to 1936 (at which time the offices of secretary and treasurer were merged), and an auditing committee report from 1882 to date. Beginning about 1904, these two reports listed the Federation's assets and the depositories of its funds.

The first major problem reflected in the Federation's publications was that of its relations with the Knights of Labor. Rivalry between the two organizations was particularly intense for several years after 1885, as the Knights chartered more and more national trade assemblies which paralleled the national trade unions included in the AFL. In 1889 a special AFL committee on relations with other organizations reported to the convention that the controversy could be resolved only if the Knights would revoke the charters of all their national trade assemblies, in return for which the AFL would urge its members to join the mixed assemblies of the Knights. After further negotiations, the president reported in 1892 that agreement with the Knights was apparently impossible, and from this time on the Knights were mentioned only rarely in the convention proceedings.

From 1890 to the present time the most serious controversies within the Federation have revolved around the three issues of industrial versus craft union organization, the relative importance of political and economic action, and the relation of the trade unions to leftist political parties. A majority of the delegates to AFL conventions has almost invariably adhered to the Gompers position on these subjects. At most times, however, there has been a large and vocal minority, whose views have been expounded at some length in convention discussions. In general, this minority has advocated mass organization of labor in industrial unions and greater concentration on political objectives. In addition, there has been a socialist (or more recently socialist and communist) group which, while supporting the advocates of industrial unionism, has also urged the mobilization of trade union support behind some existing leftist party or a new "labor party."

Dissension between socialists and non-socialists broke into the open in the 1890 convention over the question of whether to seat delegates from the New York City Federation of Labor, which included a branch of the Socialist Labor party. President Gompers' opposition to seating these delegates was upheld by the convention. Almost every convention during the nineties found the socialists introducing resolutions calling for collective ownership of the means of production and AFL support of a political

party, preferably the Socialist party. In 1894 the socialists and their sympathizers were strong enough to unseat Gompers and elect John McBride of the United Mine Workers to the presidency of the Federation. Gompers was returned to office in 1895 by a very narrow margin. In 1898, however, resolutions introduced by the socialists were defeated by a four to one vote, and they suffered similar defeats in 1902 and 1903. By 1905 the socialists had apparently abandoned hope of controlling the Federation and assumed the role of a permanent opposition. At about this time, also, Gompers formulated the policy of non-partisan political activity, or "elect your friends, defeat your enemies," which rapidly became the accepted political policy of the Federation.

The socialists and other left-wing groups continued, however, as active critics of AFL policy. In 1911 the socialist leaders of the Brewery Workers' Union submitted a resolution calling for election of AFL officers by referendum vote. The convention referred the resolution to the executive council, and it was defeated in 1912 after the council had reported it unfavorably. There was further discussion of the initiative and referendum system, notably in the 1915 convention. There was also frequent discussion of resolutions calling for an independent labor party, the most important debates occurring in 1923, 1925, and 1936.

President Gompers' view that labor's economic objectives should be sought through collective bargaining rather than legislation was crystallized in a resolution of the 1914 convention, passed over socialist opposition, which declared that "the question of regulation of wages and hours of labor should be undertaken through trade union activity, and not be made subjects of legislative enactment except insofar as such regulations govern or affect the employment of women and minors, health and morals, and employment by federal, state or municipal government." A similar attitude was taken toward the problem of unemployment as recently as 1930. In that year the resolutions committee reported unfavorably a resolution calling for government unemployment insurance, on the ground that such a system would require much supervision and control of labor by the government, necessitate registration of workers, and constitute a serious menace to their liberties. President Green, speaking on the resolution, said "The American workman, proud of his freedom and liberty, is not yet willing to make himself a ward of the state." During the 1929-1933 depression, President Green maintained that private industry must take the initiative in relieving unemployment, though

he also favored a system of public employment offices and a public works program.

The years since 1933 have witnessed a considerable modification of the Federation's attitude toward legislation. President Green supported the National Recovery Administration from its establishment and deplored its invalidation by the Supreme Court. The 1934 convention reversed the position taken in 1930 on unemployment insurance. The AFL approved the Social Security Act and has supported subsequent efforts to extend the Act's coverage. In general, the Federation has supported the labor and social legislation of the Roosevelt Administration but has criticized the administration of individual acts, particularly the National Labor Relations Act.

The merit of craft unions as compared with industrial or multi-industrial unions was debated from the very beginning of the Federation's history. It was involved in the struggle with the Knights of Labor. Even before this struggle had been won, jurisdictional disputes began to appear between craft and industrial unions within the AFL. The Brewery Workers had a particularly large number of disputes with the Teamsters and other craft groups. AFL conventions tended to uphold the position of the craft unions, and the refusal of the Brewery Workers to accept an adverse decision led to its temporary suspension from the AFL in 1907. The United Mine Workers also had frequent disputes with craft unions, but was usually sufficiently strong to maintain its position. The most important early statement of Federation policy on the subject was the declaration of the Scranton convention in 1901, which recommended alliance, federation, or even voluntary amalgamation of kindred trades. No compulsion was to be used to effect such alliances or amalgamations, however, and the jurisdictions of existing craft groups were to be respected. This declaration, and the organization of industrial departments which began in 1908-1909, has remained the basic AFL policy to the present time.

Related to the issue of industrial unionism was the question of whether and how to organize low-skilled workers. The great majority of industrial workers, left outside of craft organizations, constituted a constant threat to the standards of the skilled workers, particularly during depressions. The AFL federal locals, created in an effort to meet the problem, never succeeded in attracting more than a small percentage of the eligible workers, nor were their members ever satisfied with their status in the Federation. In 1901 they demanded greater representation in

AFL conventions, larger benefits, and an intensive campaign to organize the unskilled. Rebuffed on these points, a number of the locals seceded and attempted to form a separate laborers' union. This stimulated the AFL to establish a strike fund for federal locals in 1902. In 1911 the federal locals once more introduced resolutions demanding representation on the executive council and criticizing the AFL for its lack of organizing effort among the unskilled.

The problem became more and more serious as the number of semi-skilled workers in mass production industries multiplied. Large numbers of these workers were organized into federal locals on an industrial basis in the late twenties and early thirties, particularly during 1933 and 1934. Many of the craft unions looked on these new locals as legitimate recruiting grounds for their own membership. The industrial unions resisted the disintegration of their membership and demanded AFL charters giving them exclusive jurisdiction over their industries. They were supported in this position by many leaders of older industrial unions within the Federation.

The struggle came to a head in the 1934 and 1935 conventions, which saw protracted debates between the industrial unionists, led by John L. Lewis, and the majority of the executive council. After the industrial unionists were outvoted in the 1935 convention, several unions formed the Committee for Industrial Organization. They were shortly joined by other industrial unions in the Federation and by most of the federal locals in mass production industries. Although the leaders of the CIO contended that it was formed for purely organizing purposes and was intended to operate within the AFL, the executive council ruled that it was a dual organization and ordered it to disband. When the CIO affiliates refused, they were suspended from the AFL in 1936 and eventually expelled in 1938. They then proceeded to form a rival federation, the Congress of Industrial Organizations. From 1936 on, AFL conventions saw much criticism of the CIO and discussion of attempts to bring about a reunion of the two groups.

**AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR. BUILDING AND
CONSTRUCTION TRADES DEPARTMENT**

Address: 901 Massachusetts Ave., N. W., Washington

I. CHRONOLOGY

1908 Chartered by AFL.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
1st-35th ann., 1908-1941 (3rd omitted in numbering)
2. Reports.
Officers: 1940
3. Constitutions.
ann. 1908-1910; ann. 1912-1914; ann. 1916-1918; 1921; ann.
1923-1928; 1932

**AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR. METAL TRADES
DEPARTMENT**

Address: 901 Massachusetts Ave., N. W., Washington

I. CHRONOLOGY

1908 Chartered by AFL.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
1st-33rd ann., 1909-1941
2. Constitutions.
ann: 1909-1921; 1923; 1925; 1926; 1928; 1939
3. Journal.
Published as: (Washington)
1919-1927: *Metal Trades Department Bulletin*
1928-1941+: *Bulletin of the . . .*

**AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR. MINING
DEPARTMENT**

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1912 Chartered by AFL.
1922 Disbanded.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
[1912]; 1919; 1920; 1921
2. Reports.
President: ann. 1914-1918
3. Constitutions.
ann. 1913-1920

**AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR. RAILWAY
EMPLOYES' DEPARTMENT**

Address: 936 N. Michigan Ave., Chicago

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1908 Organized as Railroad Employees' Department.
1909 Affiliated with AFL.
1912 Absorbed Federation of Federations of Railway Employees.
1916 Adopted present name.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
Apr 1912; Nov 1912; 1st-6th bien., 1912-1922; 7th, 1926; 8th, 1930; 9th, 1938
2. Constitutions.
1908; 1911; 1912; bien. 1916-1922; 1926; 1930; 1938
3. Journal.
Published as: (Sedalia, Mo.)
Aug 29, 1914-Aug 1923: *Railway Federationist*
(Ceased publication. Published by Sedalia Federation of Labor 1910-Aug 1923 and was endorsed by the Railway Employees' Dept. during above period.)

**AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR. UNION LABEL
TRADES DEPARTMENT**

Address: 901 Massachusetts Ave., N. W., Washington

I. CHRONOLOGY

1909 Organized by AFL.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
1st, Mar 1909; 2nd, Nov 1909; 3rd-34th ann., 1909-1941
2. Constitutions.
1909 (2 edns); 1913; 1915; 1918; 1920; 1923; 1932; 1934

AMERICAN LABOR UNION

I. CHRONOLOGY

1898 Organized as Western Labor Union.
1902 Changed name to American Labor Union.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
3rd, 1900; 5th, 1902; 6th, 1903
2. Constitutions.
1898; ann. 1901-1903
3. Journal.
Published as: (Chicago)
1902-1904: *American Labor Union Journal*
1905-Jun 1905?: *Voice of Labor*
(Jan 1905 absorbed *Railway Employees' Journal*, organ of
United Brotherhood of Railway Employees (q. v.))

CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

Address: 718 Jackson Pl., N. W., Washington

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1935 Organized as Committee for Industrial Organization by informal agreement among officers of seven international unions affiliated with American Federation of Labor.
- 1936 Component unions (Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America; Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers; Federation of Flat Glass Workers of America; International Ladies' Garment Workers Union; International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers; United Automobile Workers; International Association of Oil Field, Gas-Well and Refinery Workers; United Mine Workers; United Rubber Workers; United Textile Workers) suspended by AFL.
- 1938 All of above unions, except International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, expelled by AFL. Reorganized as Congress of Industrial Organizations.

II. PUBLICATIONS (Code Number: C3)

1. Proceedings.
1st-4th ann., 1938-1941
2. Constitutions.
1938; 1940; 1941
3. Journal.
Published as: (Washington)
Dec 1937-1941 + : *The CIO News*
Editor:
Dec 1937-1941 + : Len DeCaux

III. CRITIQUE OF PUBLICATIONS

The Committee for Industrial Organization was three years old when it called its first convention in 1938 and constituted itself a permanent federation—the Congress of Industrial Organizations. The delegates spent little time on the reasons for the split in the labor movement, but did give considerable attention to proposals for peace with the AFL. They examined the peace negotiations of the year before and criticized the jurisdictional claims put forward by AFL internationals.

Though unionization of the mass production industries was the initial project of the Committee for Industrial Organization, the Congress took all industry for its province. To unite and educate its diversified membership, the weekly eight-page *CIO News* was established in 1937 as a central organ of information and opinion. The editorial section of the *News* expressed the views of headquarters officials on national and international affairs as well as on problems of CIO organization. The greater part of the paper, however, was given over to news stories on the organizing campaigns, contract negotiations, strikes, conventions, and auxiliary activities of the affiliated internationals, including such groups as the Furniture Workers, Inland Boatmen, Rubber Workers, Seamen, Federal Employees, Fur Workers, Woodworkers, Shoe Workers, and Office and Professional Workers.

While most of these reports were brief, the *News* singled out for special attention such events as the work of the organizing committees for the steel, textile, and packing house industries (1938); the factional struggle in the United Automobile Workers, the Chicago strike of the American Newspaper Guild against Hearst publications, the Chrysler strike, and the fight of the United Office and Professional Workers against alleged anti-union activities of insurance company employers (1939); the New York Transport Workers' strike and the initiation of the Ford drive (1940); the progress of the Ford campaign, the renewal of the Bethlehem Steel campaign, the organization of aircraft workers, and the negotiations of the United Mine Workers for a union shop in the captive mines of U. S. Steel (1941).

After 1939, and particularly during 1941, the national defense program was discussed extensively in the *News*. The 1939 and 1940 conventions, while expressing sympathy for the victims of Nazism, had agreed that the United States must stay out of the European war. They opposed the Selective Service Act and cited the dangers to labor of a war economy. The 1941 convention approved lend lease and rearmament. At the same time, however, the CIO demanded labor representation on economic control agencies and Selective Service boards, insisted on protection of labor's rights during the emergency, and denounced anti-strike legislation. Philip Murray, president of the CIO and chairman of the Steel Workers' Organizing Committee, presented proposals for more efficient use of manpower and other resources in defense industries and particularly in the steel industry. The *News* applauded a plan for converting the automobile industry to war production presented by Walter Reuther, vice-president of the United Auto-

mobile Workers. The CIO housing committee submitted suggestions for improved housing of defense workers. After the outbreak of war in December, 1941, the CIO announced its wholehearted support of the war program.

Efforts to secure and enforce favorable state and federal labor legislation were a major part of CIO activity from the beginning. Both Lewis and Murray, first and second presidents of the federation, included in their reports to CIO conventions a section on the administration of the Public Contracts Act, the Fair Labor Standards Act, and the National Labor Relations Act, with particular attention to the latter. Resolutions demanding the denial of government contracts to violators of these laws were passed annually. Lee Pressman, general counsel of the CIO, supplemented the president's report with frequent articles in the *News*, which discussed not only the three acts mentioned but also labor cases in general and particularly Supreme Court decisions. The president's reports also urged extension of the social security system, initiation of a socialized medical program, and increased appropriations for the Works Progress Administration.

The CIO took an interest in legislators as well as legislation. Through its affiliates and through a special political organization, Labor's Non-Partisan League, it worked for the election of local, state, and national candidates who had proved their good-will to labor. In 1940, during Franklin Roosevelt's third campaign for the presidency, John L. Lewis, independently of the CIO, endorsed the Republican candidacy of Wendell Willkie in a nationwide radio address. Re-election of Roosevelt, Lewis declared, "will mean that the members of the CIO have rejected my advice and my recommendations . . . and I will retire as president of the CIO." At the 1940 convention which followed the re-election of President Roosevelt, Lewis retired from the presidency of the CIO and Philip Murray was elected to succeed him.

The reports of officers to CIO conventions, in addition to the legislative and political material just mentioned, included a description of CIO organizing activities and gains in membership, the work of the CIO regional offices, the formation of new local industrial councils, and the activities of affiliated internationals. They did not, except for 1938, provide financial statements. Discussion of delegates, which was reported verbatim, centered mainly on the report of a committee specially appointed to evaluate the president's report. In addition, about a hundred resolutions, compiled by the resolutions committee from several hundred presented by various delegates, were put before each convention and discussed by the delegates.

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1905 Organized by a convention of international unions, the most important of which was Western Federation of Miners (*q. v.*).
 1907 Western Federation of Miners withdrew.
 1908 DeLeon faction seceded but retained name of Industrial Workers of the World until 1915 when it changed name to Workers International Industrial Union (*q. v.*).
 1924 Emergency Program group withdrew.

II. PUBLICATIONS
 (Code Number: W1)

1. Proceedings.

1st-4th ann., 1905-1908; [5th, 1909]; 6th-8th ann., 1911-1913; 10th, 1916; 11th, 1919; [12th, 1920]; 13th-15th ann., 1921-1923; [16th, 1924; 17th, 1925]; 18th, 1928; [19th, 1931] (4th, 11th, 12th, 17th *with* journal)

2. Constitutions.

1905; bien. 1906-1910; ann. 1911-1914; 1916; 1917; 1919; ann. 1920-1922; 1924; 1925; 1929

3. Journal.

Published as: (New Castle, Pa.; Chicago)

Mar 2, 1907-Mar 6, 1909: *The Industrial Union Bulletin*
 (Ceased publication)

Mar 18, 1911-Oct 27, 1917: *Solidarity*

Nov 1, 1917-Nov 9, 1918: *Defense News Bulletin*

Nov 16, 1918-Mar 6, 1920: *The New Solidarity*

Mar 13, 1920-Sep 10, 1921: *Solidarity*

Sep 17, 1921-Dec 1, 1931: *Industrial Solidarity*

(Ceased publication. *Solidarity* was published by New Castle locals Dec 18, 1909-Dec 10, 1910; was official organ of the Pittsburgh district Dec 17, 1910-Mar 11, 1911; was eastern organ of IWW Mar 18, 1911-Mar 29, 1913; was published by IWW Executive Board Apr 19, 1913-Dec 1, 1931; became official organ of IWW Mar 14, 1914. NS, Nov 16, 1918; Mar 13, 1920. Suspended Jul 30, 1924-Jan 7, 1925.)

Editors:

Mar 2, 1907-Apr 25, 1908: A. S. Edwards

May 2, 1908-Mar 6, 1909: W. E. Trautmann; V. St. John

Dec 18, 1909-Mar 26, 1910: A. M. Stirton

Apr 2-Apr 23, 1910: H. A. Goff

Apr 30-Jun 25, 1910: A. M. Stirton

Jul 2, 1910-Mar 3, 1917: B. H. Williams

Mar 10-Oct 27, 1917: R. H. Chaplin
 Nov 1, 1917-Nov 9, 1918: General Defense Committee
 Nov 16-Dec 7, 1918: General Executive Board
 Dec 28, 1918-Nov 25, 1919: C. E. Payne
 Nov 29-Dec 13, 1919: General Executive Board
 Dec 20, 1919-Mar 6, 1920: Donald M. Crocker
 Mar 13-Apr 24, 1920: General Executive Board
 May 1-Oct 16, 1920: Hugh R. Richards
 Oct 23-Nov 6, 1920: General Executive Board
 Nov 13, 1920-May 28, 1921: B. H. Williams
 Jun 4, 1921-Aug 18, 1926: General Executive Board
 Aug 25, 1926-Jul 15, 1930: J. A. Gahan
 Jul 22, 1930-Apr 7, 1931: General Executive Board
 Apr 14-Nov 17, 1931: J. A. Gahan
 Nov 24-Dec 1, 1931: J. Kenney

III. CRITIQUE OF PUBLICATIONS

When the Western Federation of Miners sponsored the Chicago Industrial Union Convention of 1905, it hoped to realize a federation dual to the AFL—a union of industrial unions. Disgust with craft union tactics had prompted the Miners to father a prior federation, the Western Labor Union, which, renamed the American Labor Union, was now declining. This time the WFM plan attracted other unions, both internationals and locals, and socialist labor leaders—all of whom shared the Miners' antipathy for the AFL and their desire for a real working class movement." In their condemnation of capitalism and Gompersism the two hundred delegates to the Chicago convention were as one, and in both these enmities the new federation, the Industrial Workers of the World, never faltered.

While agreed on the reality of the class struggle and the need for industrial organization, the membership of the IWW broke into antagonistic alignments on the question of political activity. In the preamble of the 1905 constitution the convention had declared that toilers must "come together *on the political as well as the industrial field* and take hold of that which they produce by their labor through an organization of the working class, *without affiliation with any political party.*"¹ This statement gave some measure of support to all factions in the union. The industrial unionists, who opposed any form of political activity, rallied around the phrase, "without affiliation with any political party." Their adversaries, themselves divided between the Socialist party

1. Italics supplied.

and the Socialist Labor party, appropriated the phrase, "on the political as well as the industrial field," to support their demand for political party affiliation. Both wings of this faction warned that without attack on the political strongholds of capitalism there could be no emancipation of workers, but each claimed to be the only workers' party and fought the other, as well as the anti-politics group, for control of the new federation.

In the convention of 1907 the industrial unionists joined hands with the Socialist Labor party group against the Socialists, and the Western Federation of Miners, who had generally supported the Socialist party, abandoned the IWW. The alliance between these two groups, however, proved very brief. Each wished to control the IWW and neither would surrender to the other. In the 1908 convention the anti-politics group secured a clear rejection of the tactics of political action. The Socialist Labor group, under the leadership of Daniel De Leon, seceded and set up a rival organization in Detroit, while the Industrial Workers of the World entered on its career committed to direct action on the economic front.

The refusal of the industrial unionists to lend themselves to either the Socialist party or the Socialist Labor party was based on their conviction that the political power of the capitalist was secondary and derived from his control over economic resources. They insisted that the proletariat must attack the source of the enemy's strength rather than one of its manifestations. They asserted that no political party was capable of uniting the duped and divided workers of the United States, who must instead be gathered into class-conscious unions of their own industries and joined in one big union with the workers of all industries—as they would be in the future society, in which workers would control production and enjoy its full fruits. The industrial union was regarded as a device to achieve several ends: to undermine the capitalist system by forcing from the employer more and more of the "surplus value" which he expropriated, and thus to secure worthwhile immediate gains for its members; to discipline and indoctrinate the working class for its revolutionary destiny; and to provide the basic industrial structure of the new syndicalist society. As preface and conclusion to such expositions of their philosophy, the industrial unionists castigated the AFL which, they contended, prevented labor solidarity by organizing workers into craft unions; which sacrificed labor to the profits of the employer by bestowing the union label on him; which sold labor to bourgeois politics by accepting the capitalist system and encouraging harmony between employer and worker.

The meaning of the policy established by the constitutional convention was debated in the early journals of the IWW, as well as in the 1906 and 1908 conventions. The first official publication, a monthly started in 1905, was seized by the losing faction in the 1906 convention, and no copy of it remains. Its successor, *The Industrial Union Bulletin*, expounded the principles of industrial unionism, but until 1908 did so under the fire of the Socialist Labor party group which remained after the 1906 contest and which continued to advocate political action. The *Bulletin* had only a short life. By August 1908 its four-page issues began to be published semi-monthly, rather than weekly, and the following March, it was discontinued for want of funds. From this time until March 1914, the Industrial Workers of the World had no official publication, but the locals in Spokane, Washington, undertook a weekly entitled *The Industrial Worker* and in New Castle, Pennsylvania, there appeared *Solidarity*, a publication of the Eastern locals.

Unlike the *Bulletin*, *Solidarity* paid little attention to theory. It watched instead over the development of the organization, for those were times when strike followed strike: McKees Rocks, East Hammond, Grand Rapids, Lawrence, Little Falls, Rochester, Paterson, Akron; when free speech fights were launched in many western cities—Spokane, Fresno, Aberdeen, San Diego, Minot; when organizing campaigns were begun among steel, textile, and hotel and restaurant workers. In the hands of the general executive board, which took it over in 1913, *Solidarity* became the clarion of the IWW. Whenever it could, it proclaimed victories. When it could not, it assailed the AFL and argued the advantages of industrial unionism.

A small element in the IWW at one time argued that the organization should "bore from within" AFL craft unions and capture them instead of fighting them. This strategy was scorned by the IWW leaders. They were confident that members could be attracted from the AFL unions by IWW successes and they therefore chose to raid rather than reform. But despite *Solidarity's* condemnations of the AFL and its arguments for the IWW program, the AFL members resisted conversion.

Though it failed to deplete AFL unions, the IWW established dual internationals of longshoremen, seamen, miners, machinists, and textile workers during the years 1914-1917 and 1919-1922. In the steel, oil, and food industries, despite repeated campaigns, it could assemble only a few insecure locals. Its greatest success, however, was achieved among migratory farm workers

and lumberjacks. The organization of lumberjacks had been reported by the *Bulletin* as early as 1908. *Solidarity* made little mention of these workers until 1916, but for ten years thereafter bulletins from the Lumber Workers' international appeared very frequently. The IWW initiated a drive among migratory farm workers in 1914 and within a year had chartered the Agricultural Workers' Organization as a national union in this field. Western farm workers and lumber workers made ardent "Wobblies" with a ready will for strikes and free speech fights, and with a more permanent attachment to the organization than the city workers of the east. The IWW also encouraged organization of the unemployed and of alien workers. For a period of at least fifteen years groups of aliens in the IWW—Finns, Hungarians, Czechoslovakians, Spaniards, and Italians—published papers of their own, and the Finns established Work People's College in Duluth.

Wherever the IWW organized it encountered bitter opposition. The early free speech fights, the Ford and Suhr case, the Everett massacre, the execution of Joe Hill, the murder of Frank Little, the Bisbee deportation—all crowded the eight years of *Solidarity's* publication. The journal was suspended in October 1917, when its second class mailing privileges were revoked as a penalty for its persistent depiction of the World War as a capitalist struggle, which presented labor with an opportunity to bring about revolutionary changes. A month earlier United States agents had raided IWW offices and printing bureaus and unearthed evidence sufficient to convict the IWW of interference with the prosecution of the war. State and local officials also raided the homes of IWW members and jailed them for "criminal syndicalism" and other offenses. After the war, on Armistice Day 1919, American Legionnaires parading in Centralia, Washington, stormed an IWW meeting. Three of the Legionnaires were killed in the riot which followed, and as a result one of the IWW members was lynched and eleven were imprisoned.

For a year after *Solidarity's* suspension, the *Defense News Bulletin* weathered the attacks loosed by the war, raising funds, rallying the members who remained, and supplying news of the organization until *New Solidarity* was begun. *Solidarity*, *New Solidarity* and *Industrial Solidarity*, the IWW's last official publication, were cut of the same cloth. All three consisted primarily of news stories, to which were appended expositions of the principles of industrial unionism. Until 1924 *Industrial Solidarity*, a six-page weekly, matched the vigor of its predecessors. But the IWW, which was suffering strike losses, new raids, and a second

outburst of criminal syndicalism cases in California, could not long support a journal in such style. It was forced to let *Industrial Solidarity* lapse, and when publication was resumed after five months, the journal had lost two pages and turned to the Federated Press for news.

While *Industrial Solidarity* was suspended in 1924, the IWW held its sixteenth convention. A group of members repudiated the convention and met separately, demanding measures to eliminate central control of the organization. Such demands were not new to the IWW. In successive conventions attempts had been made to secure control of the federation for the "rank and file." The office of president had been abolished in 1906, and in 1916 the decentralizers forced the elimination of the office of general organizer, which had become a partial substitute for the presidency. At the next convention, in 1919, general officers were limited to a one-year term, and uniform dues and initiation fees were decreed in an effort to reduce the power of local leaders. Thus by the twenties the rank and file was in control, and the rump convention of 1924 demanded virtual dissolution of the central organization as the logical completion of the reforms already made. Though these proposals were not adopted, *Industrial Solidarity* concluded in 1925 that decentralization had been folly: "All our important history was made prior to . . . 1919."

KNIGHTS OF LABOR

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1878 Organized as national assembly, bringing together local organizations dating back to 1869.
- 1887 Ended period of secrecy.

II. PUBLICATIONS (Code Number: K1)

1. Proceedings.
1st, 1878; 2nd, Jan 1879; 3rd, Sep 1879; 4th, 1880; 6th-9th ann., 1882-1885; spec. May/June 1886; 10th-23rd ann., 1886-1899; spec., June 1900; 24th-26th ann., 1900-1902; 29th, 1910; 30th, 1913
2. Constitutions.
1879; ann. 1881-1885; ann. 1887-1890; 1892; 1893; 1895; 1896; ann. 1898-1902; 1908; 1910

3. Journal.

Published as: (Marblehead, Mass.; Pittsburgh; Philadelphia; Washington)

•May 15, 1880-Nov 28, 1889: *Journal of United Labor*

Dec 5, 1889-Jun 1904: *Journal of the Knights of Labor*

Jul-Dec 1904: *The Journal*

Jul 1905-Jun 1917?: *Journal of the Knights of Labor*

(May 1903-Aug 1905 volume enumeration very irregular:

May-Nov 1903 marked v. 23; Dec 1903-Apr 1904 marked v.

24; Jul, Oct-Dec 1904 marked v. 1; no issues Jan-Jun 1905;

Jul-Aug 1905 marked v. 25; 1911 marked v. 31. Possibly

suspended Aug 1905-Jul 1911.)

Editors:

May 1880-Apr 1881?: Charles Litchman

May?-Sep 1883: Robert D. Layton

Jan 7?-May 12, 1888: Charles Litchman

May 19, 1888-Jul 11, 1889: Adelbert M. Dewey

Jul 18, 1889-Feb 16, 1893: Board of Trustees

Feb 23-Nov 30, 1893: A. W. Wright

Dec 7, 1893-Feb 14, 1895: J. S. Schonfacher

Feb 21, 1895-Apr 1904: Board of Trustees

Jul 1904-Jun 1917: John W. Hayes

(No issues available for May 1881-Apr 1883, Oct 1883-Dec 1887.)

III. CRITIQUE OF PUBLICATIONS

A scant two volumes of the *Journal of United Labor*, published during the formative years of the Knights of Labor, show clearly the separate roads which the Knights traveled—one, economic, the other, political. The principal content of these early journals is the every-day business of a young trade union. Monthlies of varying size, but usually about sixteen pages, they included membership lists, notices of expulsion, financial reports, and rules for the organization and conduct of district and local assemblies. Districts reported for themselves and their locals on membership, administration, and strikes. General Master Workman Powderly announced new regulations concerning eligibility for membership and office, elections, organizers, and traveling cards, and discussed the function of labor unions, the responsibilities and qualifications of officers, and the use of strikes. There were biographical sketches of the staff of the general assembly. On the editorial page, however, trade unionism made room for national problems, especially immigration, the qualifications of political candidates, and consumer and producer cooperation. Articles from other periodicals supplemented the discussions.

By 1881 the Knights of Labor had become strong enough to abandon the secrecy in which the organization had first taken shelter, and in 1888 its journal was made available to the public. Styled first the *Journal of United Labor* and after 1888 the *Journal of the Knights of Labor*, it maintained through several changes of editorship the dichotomy of interest which had marked its inception. Regularly, until 1895, one of its four pages went to issues before the nation; a second to editorials on these topics and on union affairs; a third to communications from subscribers who wrote of the progress or difficulties of their local assemblies or voiced their opinions on the political controversies which occupied the Knights; and the last to a miscellany gathered from other publications.

After 1895 the division of space among these components was revised—the change having begun imperceptibly during the formation of the Populist party and becoming more and more striking. Union news and communications were shortened to make room for lengthy articles, often reprinted from other papers, advocating government ownership of the telegraph and the railroads, trust busting, government control of money and banking, free coinage of silver, farmer-labor cooperation, restriction of immigration, and the election of trustworthy candidates. Accompanying this legislative program was strong advocacy of producers' and consumers' cooperation, including descriptions of cooperative enterprises already established. Increasingly, however, until the suspension of the publication in 1905, the exposition of the political policies of the Knights predominated. There were occasional innovations: the paper became an eight-page monthly; a woman's column was begun and deserted and woman suffrage taken up; regular columns of comment on national affairs were set up; the Spanish war raised the issue of imperialism and prompted a journalistic crusade in behalf of the Philippines and a pursuit of the beef trust. But through the years the initial planks held steadfast, and the fascination of the single tax and of cheap money never faltered.

In the convention proceedings political objectives did not enjoy such prominence. They were left to a national legislative committee, which presented to the conventions from 1887 to 1890 a report on legislation already passed and pending, lobbying techniques, and the attitudes of Congressmen. After 1890 this report, stripped of its commentary, consisted simply of resolutions on specific bills. In general, economic objectives and tactics dominated the convention discussions.

Ethical and political reformers, the Knights of Labor attempted to devise a trade unionism fitted to their purpose. They believed that only a fraternity of all workers could secure for them all of "the wealth they create." Accordingly, their local assemblies welcomed laborers and farmers alike and extended membership to all others honorably employed (but "honorably employed" was interpreted to exclude gamblers, stockbrokers, saloonkeepers, lawyers, and bankers). Most of the early locals were "mixed" assemblies, organized on a territorial basis and including all types of labor, though a few were trade assemblies admitting only the workers in a particular trade or industry. The mixed assemblies were grouped into districts on a territorial basis, and representatives from both the locals and districts formed the general assembly, the governing body of the Order.

The mixed locals were designed primarily for political and educational activities, but their members nevertheless expected them to secure immediate increases in the wealth which, they were taught, the workers create. The structure of these locals proved a considerable handicap, however, in collective bargaining. Their frequent failures and the contrasting successes of the AFL unions, organized along trade lines and seeking only day-to-day concessions, ultimately threw into disfavor the Knights' principle of fraternity. In 1898, when the issue had already been decided in practice, the Knights began to encourage the formation of homogeneous trade bodies.

Even before this time, however, the trade assemblies of the Knights had inevitably come into conflict with the trade unions of the AFL, since both organizations could establish, maintain, and extend their jurisdictions only at each other's expense. Accounts of important disputes, like those between the AFL Cigar Makers' International and the K of L Cigarmakers' National Trade Assembly, always appeared in the journal, seldom without a supplement of editorials explaining the issues and defending the Knights. As the AFL steadily gained ground, the Knights, although always asserting their claim to the workers on grounds of their prior organization and their broader program, tried to bring about a peaceable coexistence. In conference after conference they put forth proposals for an exchange of working cards and an agreement on wage standards. The AFL, however, insisted militantly on the "inherent right of trade unions to have jurisdiction in trade affairs."

The Knights entered into collective bargaining with no concept of class conflict or even a clash of interest between employer and worker. They considered the use of the strike dangerous to the maintenance of industrial harmony and also deplored it on the practical ground that it weakened the organization. Arbitration was the officially preferred method of adjusting disputes. District executive boards reserved the right to call and approve strikes, and the expenditure of assistance funds was carefully hedged with constitutional provisions. When they were locked out, usually because of union activity, the Knights resorted to publicity campaigns and boycotts, with which their journal is filled, and to the assistance fund. When discrimination became too severe, or wages or working conditions too unsatisfactory, however, the Knights struck.

The later years of the Knights saw an increase of internal turbulence. The general assembly suffered a stormy succession of Grand Master Workmen. Powderly, who held office from 1879 to 1893, was suspended from the Order because of his refusal to surrender to the new staff union documents in his possession. The Assembly replaced Sovereign (1893-1897) before he had completed his second term. The special convention of 1900 expelled Parsons (elected in November 1898) on three counts: neglect of duty, collection of a "corruption fund" with which Parsons as president of the National Association of Letter Carriers allegedly hoped to buy votes for a bill increasing the salaries of letter carriers, and an attempt to take possession of the property of the general office. Simon Burns (November 1900-October 1901) was not long out of office when his cooperation (and that of his local, Assembly 300) with the Window Glass Trust was discovered. And his successor, Hicks, was accused of abusing and exceeding the powers of the Grand Master Workman.

Parsons' attempt to seize the property of the general assembly led to the incorporation of the Knights, and the charter was retained even after the danger had passed. The Knights explained in the journal that incorporation safeguarded the union member from ill-advised or unconstitutional acts of officers; protected the label; enabled the union to prosecute those infringing its rights; recognized the constitution as the authorized law of the organization; and placed the Order upon the same footing as employers, already responsible to the law.

Publication of the *Journal of the Knights of Labor* was suspended in 1905, and when it was resumed in 1911, the Order had

almost ceased to exist. Only locals of the National Assembly of Boot and Shoe Cutters reported briefly in the journal that year, and in 1912 the Lynn Shoecutters, the most important of these, voted to join the United Shoe Workers of America. As a pendulum continues to swing after pressure had ceased, the journal continued to talk of government ownership of public utilities, immigration, finance, tariffs, and Theodore Roosevelt and to appraise political candidates. The World War did not disturb it, and its remaining energy was spent on the Pure Foods and Drug Act.

PAN-AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

I. CHRONOLOGY

1918 Formed at conference of Pan-American countries in Laredo, Texas. Composed of labor organizations of United States of America, Mexico, and nations of Central and South America.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.

1st, 1918; 2nd, 1919; 3rd-5th trien., 1921-1927

TRADES AND LABOR CONGRESS OF CANADA, THE

Address: Congress Building, 172 McLaren St., Ottawa, Ont.

I. CHRONOLOGY

1883 Organized as The Canadian Labor Union.

1886 Changed name to The Trades and Labor Congress of the Dominion of Canada.

1895 Adopted present name.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.

1883; 2nd-57th ann., 1886-1941

2. Constitutions.

1903; 1906; 1911; 1913; 1914; ann. 1916-1921 (1903 with proceedings)

3. Journal.

Published as: (Ottawa, Ont.)

1922-1941+ : *Canadian Congress Journal*

WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL INDUSTRIAL UNION

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1908 Organized by seceding faction of Industrial Workers of the World (*q. v.*). Set up headquarters in Detroit; continued to claim name of Industrial Workers of the World.
- 1915 Abandoned claim to name of Industrial Workers of the World and adopted name of Workers' International Industrial Union.
- 1924 Dissolved by formal resolution, and turned over records and property to Socialist Labor Party.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Constitutions.

1908; 1917; 1919

2. Journal.

Published as: (Detroit; Troy, N. Y.)

1912-May 1924: *The Industrial Union News*

(Ceased publication. Published without volume numbers after v. 10, no. 30, Feb 1922.)

