

Labor movement - U.S. - Study and teaching
(1955)

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THE STORY OF LABOR IN AMERICAN HISTORY

A Unit For Senior High School American History

Prepared by

Ben Lundquist, Great Falls High School, Montana

Walter H. Uphoff, Head of Workers Education, University of Minnesota

Vernon G. Smith, Minneapolis Public Schools

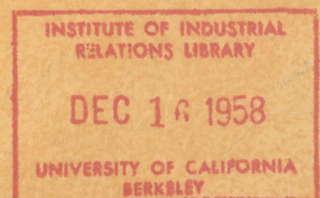
Made Available by the Minnesota Federation of Labor

Labor Temple, St. Paul, Minnesota

1955



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October, 1955

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State of Minnesota

Department of Education

St. Paul 1



September 13, 1955

The instructional division in this department, which has the responsibility for curriculum planning, has carefully examined the "Story of Labor in American History. Their response is that your booklet constitutes a very complete resume of the subject and that it should be very helpful to a teacher of secondary school social studies. The amount of attention which could be given to it in the social studies course would depend somewhat upon the plans of the individual teacher in relation to the rest of our course of study.

Sincerely,

Dean M. Schweickhard

Dean M. Schweickhard
State Commissioner of Education

R. A. OLSON, President
Labor Temple, St. Paul 2

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ZONE 2

The State Federation of Labor, and labor generally, has for many years been aware of the fact that there is not much material available for teaching about labor history in our secondary schools.

With this in mind, the Education Committee of the State Federation of Labor asked the authors of this booklet to prepare an outline with appropriate teaching procedures and references which could be used as a supplement in teaching social science courses.

The curriculum planning committee of the State Department of Education has gone over this material and considers it "a very complete resume of the subject that should be very helpful to a teacher of secondary school social studies".

We are glad to have had a part in making this material available for use in our schools since we frequently are told there is little material on labor available in our school system.

Adolf T. Tobler
Adolf T. Tobler, Chairman
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FOREWORD

All through history we have seen organizations come into being in response to a specific need or as a reaction to a widespread injustice. Early labor unions were formed as a reaction to low wages and intolerable working conditions. Organizations have grown or died out as they met or failed to meet the immediate needs that brought them into being, and as they adapted or failed to adapt their program to changing situations.

The story of labor in American history is the story of gradual but constant progress toward economic democracy without which political democracy is a meaningless sham.

To fully understand labor and labor unions today, one must go back to the beginnings of the labor movement. Labor unions have been the leaders throughout their history in the age-old struggle for a better life for the man who works for wages. Objectives of this struggle have included not only better wages, shorter hours, and improved working conditions, but also free public education, extension of the suffrage, wider participation in government, and community improvement. Benefits gained by unions have worked to the advantage of all wage earners, unorganized as well as organized, and to the advantage of the nation as well.

Labor's story is not a peaceful idyll; it is a struggle marked, at times, with violence and bloodshed. Happily, today, most of the differences between unions and employers are settled peaceably around the collective bargaining table.

Some of your students will work at jobs in industries which are organized and will become labor union members, some will be employers of union labor, while still others will be served in various ways by members of unions. All of them, in some way, as they continue to live in the United States of today will be directly or indirectly affected by the kinds of relationships that exist between labor and management. Thus, from a practical standpoint, it is imperative that all Americans learn more about the role labor unions play in our intricate economic system and our complex society.

The Minnesota State Federation of Labor, in publishing this unit, "The Story of Labor in American History", is attempting to fill a long-time need for materials hitherto not easily available to teachers of American history. Its Education Committee asked us to prepare this unit to supplement the new state social studies course of study. The Minnesota Federation of Labor has agreed to publish this resource unit and to make it available to teachers of the social studies to the end that high school students will get a better understanding of the role and program of labor in American life.

Clarence G. Lofquist, St. Paul, for many years, chairman of the Federation's Education Committee, gave much of his time, effort and devotion to the launching of this unit. Mr. Lofquist passed away in June 1954. We dedicate this publication to his memory.

This is a resource guide primarily for teachers. It is not intended to be taught entirely and exactly as outlined. Teachers should select from it, adapt it to their use, and expand it as seems desirable. It supplements well the tenth-grade unit in the new state course of study entitled "Development of Better Living Conditions." It spells out in some detail that part of the unit which deals with the growth of organized labor in America. Like the new state course of study, this resource unit has five sections: the overview, the objectives of the unit, the outline of content, teaching procedures, and references. In addition, we have prepared suggested questions for a unit examination.

It is hoped that this resource unit will prove both informative and useful.

Ben Lundquist

Walter H. Uphoff

Vernon G. Smith

October, 1955

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THE STORY OF LABOR IN AMERICAN HISTORY

OVERVIEW

Since the beginning of our history, workingmen have fought to better the life of the common man. Today we enjoy the fruits of this struggle. It is no longer necessary for citizens to own property in order to vote or to run for public office. Most public officials are now directly elected by the people. Every American child is entitled to a free public education. A person unable to pay a debt cannot be imprisoned for that reason. Hours of work have been greatly reduced. Child labor is outlawed for most industry. Businesses engaged in interstate commerce must pay their employees a minimum wage. Safety laws must be observed. Most workers are covered by insurance in case of accidents on the job, and in case of unemployment. Today we have an extensive system of social security. Employees may join organizations of their own choosing, and they may not be fired for union activities. These conditions did not just happen. They were achieved by generations of workers joined together in the trade union movement.

Although there has been much progress, there are still many issues about which labor is concerned. In the south there are many places where lower wages are paid and where unions are not generally accepted as a legitimate part of the community. A number of states have outlawed the union shop in so-called "right-to-work" laws. Union leaders and members are concerned about the impact of automation on job opportunities. They are interested in steady employment, preferably in a peace-time economy. In addition to negotiating contracts, and settling grievances, unions today are also concerned with community, state, national and international problems. Most union programs include such matters as health, education, civil liberties, taxes, tariffs and trade.

A look backward at labor history shows many achievements by organized labor; a look to the future points to many challenging problems that remain.

OBJECTIVES

- I. Understandings:
 1. Development of the labor movement in American history has closely paralleled the rise and intensification of industrialization in the United States.
 2. Over the years, government has acted both in a friendly and an unfriendly manner toward labor unions.
 3. Trade unions have generally increased in periods of prosperity and declined in periods of depression.
 4. In periods of prosperity the demand for their labor placed the workers in a strategic position to make effective use of trade-union methods; in times of depressions such methods cannot be used effectively, and workers attempt to accomplish their ends politically.
 5. The rise of organized labor has contributed a new political, social and economic force in our society.
 6. Labor unions, like other human institutions, are imperfect. Their weaknesses and abuses, when clearly established, should be subject to vigorous criticism.
 7. Organized labor has played a significant role in winning a better life for the underprivileged, a greater measure of economic justice, with a closer approach to equality of opportunity.
 8. Free labor unions are essential to democracy and are one of the prime assets of the United States in its struggle with totalitarian tyranny.
- II. Attitudes:
 1. A willingness to understand labor's problems.
 2. A respect for the dignity of labor.
 3. An unwillingness to accept statements without facts to substantiate them.
- III. Skills:
 1. Skill in utilizing community resources.
 2. Skill in evaluating and analyzing materials on labor-management relations.

Outline of Content

THE STORY OF LABOR IN AMERICAN HISTORY

- I. Why study labor in American history?
 - A. Labor is an important part of American society. About 17 million workers out of a total of over 60 million belong to unions. Actually over half of production workers, manual workers and craftsmen are organized and about one-eighth of white collar workers (teachers, clerks, office workers, nurses, etc.) belong to unions.
 - B. All high school students, and especially those about to work for a living, should be familiar with the history and functions of unions.
 - C. Unions have played an important role in getting a degree of security for workers. Workmen's Compensation, unemployment insurance, social security, etc., have long been a part of trade union objectives.
 - D. In peacetime, only a wide distribution of purchasing power can keep the wheels of industry turning. The prosperity of each segment of the economy is dependent on what happens in other areas.
- II. Early attempts at improving working conditions through group action date back to the Revolutionary War period. In those days the courts ruled that if a group of workers "ganged up" and asked for a wage increase at the same time, such action would be a "criminal conspiracy."
 - A. During the Revolutionary War period, the vast majority of workers were self-employed, either as farmers or craftsmen—those who did work for others had no protection from long hours and poor wages until they banded together in unions.
 - B. In 1786 journeymen printers in New York formed a temporary association to obtain a dollar a day. Their demands were turned down and they conducted the first organized strike in the United States and won their demands. After they won their demands the organization disbanded and before long the old conditions returned.
 - C. In 1792 Philadelphia shoemakers formed the first permanent union in the United States, with dues, regular meetings and a constitution.
 - D. When the shoemakers of Philadelphia "stood out" in 1805, an indictment was returned against them, charging that they had combined to increase their pay and to injure others, and had thus violated that part of the old English law which forbade criminal conspiracy. This was known as the Cordwainers' Case.
 1. From 1806 to 1842, the courts consistently upheld the decision in the Cordwainers' Case.
 2. It was not until the decision of Chief Justice Shaw of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts in the case of Commonwealth v. Hunt (1842), that an important court of the United States took the position that a strike of workers to improve their conditions was lawful and not a criminal conspiracy.
 - E. The emergence of trade-unions was accompanied by the formation of employers' associations which sought to procure non-union labor and frequently used the courts in their fight against workers' organizations.
- III. When the industrial revolution became an established fact in the northeastern states in the 1820's a genuine labor movement began, built around the craft union, with a labor press and local central bodies, concerned with question of wages, hours, and working conditions.
 - A. It was the Napoleonic Wars that gave the first great impetus to the establishment of the factory system in America.
 1. During this period from 1807 to 1815, imports into this country were largely cut off and Americans were forced to do their own manufacturing.
 2. Since labor was scarce, the status of the American wage earner was fairly high in comparison with similar workers in the industrial countries of Western Europe.
 3. A great many of those who worked in factories were women and children.
 - a. In 1831, 3,472 out of a labor force of 8,500 working in the cotton mills of Rhode Island, were children under 12 years of age.

OUTLINE OF CONTENT (continued)

- b. In 1831, in the six New England states and in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia, 58% of all the employees were women, and 7% were children under 12 years of age.
 - 4. One of the worst features of early factory labor was the long hours, from sunrise to sunset.
 - B. In 1827, Philadelphia carpenters went on strike for a ten-hour day, saying, "All men have a just right, derived from their Creator, to have sufficient time in each day for the cultivation of their minds and for self-improvement." But the carpenters were not strong enough by themselves and the strike was lost. From this experience came the first city-wide union of unions (central labor union) in 1827, the Mechanics Union of Trade Associations.
 - 1. In 1828, Philadelphia workers nominated a Workingmen's Ticket for the fall elections, the first labor party in the world.
 - 2. By the 1820's, most male workers in the industrial states had the right to vote (franchise) without having to own property.
 - 3. In 1830, the great majority of persons in jails were there because they owed a debt, in most cases a small one. One of the demands of the Workingmen's parties of that day was the outlawing of imprisonment for debt. They also called for the enactment of a Mechanics' Lien Law to provide for paying workers wages before settling other debts in cases of bankruptcy.
 - 4. Between 1828 and 1834, Workingmen's parties were organized in sixty-one cities and towns. Their platforms varied from place to place, but the following demands appeared in almost all of them:
 - a. Restriction of child labor
 - b. Universal ten-hour day
 - c. Abolition of imprisonment for debt
 - d. Mechanics' Lien Law
 - e. Free, equal, practical, non-sectarian, public education
 - (1) Free schooling was then available only to the pauper poor, and the worker did not like the idea of education as a charitable "handout."
 - (2) In 1834, about one and a quarter million children out of a population of roughly fifteen million people could not read or write.
 - (3) Labor looked upon education as the real hope of workingmen in their struggle to improve their lot.
 - (4) The first large organized groups to work, argue, and fight for free schools, consistently and continuously, in politics, in the press, in debate, were the labor unions of the 1820's and 1830's.
 - C. The panic of 1837—America's first modern-style depression, the kind appearing periodically as part of the business cycle—struck a blow at America's budding labor movement.
 - D. The labor movement of the 1820's and 1830's was not fruitless. The seeds were planted by these early reform movements, eventually giving us every reform demanded by the Workingmen's parties of 1828. The workers gradually learned that in union there is strength.
- IV. While the country's western boundary moved on to the Pacific, while settlers were battling "border ruffians" in Kansas, and while the country was moving into, through, and out of Civil War, groups of skilled workers, in this town or that, were combining into unions to improve their working conditions.
 - A. During the late 1840's and in the 1850's, labor shifted from a general policy of advocacy of reform to one of "old line unionism."
 - 1. Each trade union restricted its "house-cleaning" to its own shop, limited its demands to its trade, asked for a minimum wage and minimum hours, and laid out with considerable detail the conditions under which its members would work.
 - 2. After numerous local unions and central labor bodies were formed, the next logical step was to form national organizations. The printers were the first to form a national labor

OUTLINE OF CONTENT (continued)

organization in 1850. This was followed by national organizations of machinists, molders, stonecutters, and hat finishers.

- B. During this period there occurred the first really large wave of emigration because of oppressive conditions in Ireland and other European countries and as a result of the abortive European revolutions of 1848. Before 1840, most of the European immigrants were farmers; after 1840, many of them were workers.
- V. The Civil War created problems for labor.
 - A. In order to meet the shortage in the labor market and to counteract the growing power of organized labor, Congress passed in 1864, an act authorizing persons to make contracts in foreign countries to import laborers in the United States, and bind them to work for a term until their passage was paid out of their wages. This, in effect, resulted in the revival of the indentured servant system. Labor complained that it was faced with a growing "poor and dependent population"—one whose "abject condition in their own country made them tame, submissive, peaceable, orderly citizens, who are willing to work 14 or 16 hours a day for what capital sees fit to give them."
 - B. Retail prices rose rapidly during the Civil War period, but wages, as is common in times of increasing business activity lagged far behind.
 - 1. In July, 1862, retail prices were 15% above the 1860 level, while wages remained stationary; in July, 1863, retail prices had risen 43% and wages but 12%; in July, 1865, prices ascended to 76% and wages only to 50% above the 1860 base.
 - 2. Labor has had a constant struggle to get enough wages to buy back the goods it produces.
 - C. The eight-hour day became a major concern of the trade unions.
 - 1. The national government enacted an eight-hour day law for federal employees in 1868, but it was not until 1872 that a decision could be reached, prohibiting wage reductions because of the shorter hours.
 - 2. Organized labor has frequently sought to have the Government regulate hours of government employees to help establish a pattern of lower hours for all workers.
 - D. Far-seeing labor leaders realized the need for a national federation, and in 1866 succeeded in bringing all kinds of workers together in the National Labor Union.
 - 1. This organization, which at its high tide represented a membership of 640,000, was very influential in these three important matters:
 - a. It pointed the way to national amalgamation and was thus a forerunner of more lasting efforts in this direction.
 - b. It had a powerful influence in the eight-hour day movement, but it must be realized that it took many years before the eight-hour day was generally established.
 - c. It was largely instrumental in establishing labor bureaus and in gathering statistics for the scientific study of labor questions.
 - 2. When the NLU threw its energies into politics in 1872 by affiliating with the Labor Reform Party, it dwindled rapidly and soon disappeared entirely.
- VI. The Noble Order of the Knights of Labor aimed to organize all workers in one democratic, mutually helpful brotherhood.
 - A. Organized in 1869, it called for the welding of all workers into a single organization, regardless of trade, sex, race or religion, in order that labor might more successfully challenge concentration in finance, industry and commerce.
 - B. The Knights of Labor functioned as a secret society, which enabled workers to join it without risking retaliation by the employers. By 1879 the Knights had grown in strength and became less secretive under the new leadership of T. V. Powderly of the Machinists Union.
 - C. A riot in Chicago in 1886 (Haymarket) was blamed on eight "radical" labor and political leaders who were identified in the public mind with the Knights of Labor, anarchism, etc. This episode contributed to a decline of the influence of the Knights.

OUTLINE OF CONTENT (continued)

1. In 1886, the Knights of Labor had over 700,000 members. By 1893 this figure dropped to 75,000.
2. In 1881 a federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions was formed by craft unions that differed with the Knights of Labor. This was the forerunner of the AFL, which was organized in 1886. Samuel Gompers of the Cigar Makers Union, became the first AFL president. The AFL functions primarily as a clearing house for the affiliated crafts. Its structure and program didn't foster the organization of the semi-skilled and unskilled industrial workers.

D. Organizations come into being to meet a certain need. If the need is met the organization grows and prospers providing it continues to adapt to changing conditions. Although the Knights had idealistic and humanitarian objectives, the program apparently did not come close enough to meeting the immediate needs of workers and so it gave way to another organization.

VII. Of the independent unions today, the most important are the Railroad Brotherhoods (operating), or the "Big Four." (Locomotive Engineers founded in 1863; Railroad Conductors, 1868; Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, 1873; and Railway Trainmen, 1883.) **Note:** There are at least 15 non-operating railroad unions which **do** belong to the AFL. Another large union that is presently not affiliated with either the AFL or CIO is the United Mine Workers of America.

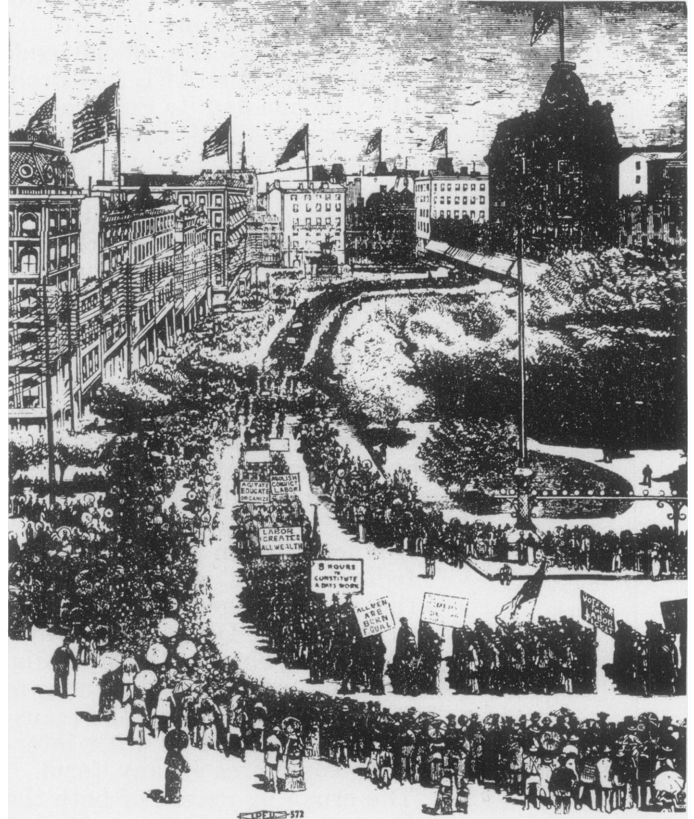
A. To safeguard the welfare of their families in case of injury or death, since the insurance companies refused to consider them "acceptable risks," railroad employees formed their own "Brotherhoods" and "Orders" as insurance benefit societies to which they regularly paid "premiums."

B. Because, as the courts put it, "common carriers" (which in this instance refers to railroads) "are invested with a public interest," the management of railroads, since 1887, has more and more been controlled by the government.

1. When, in 1916, the Brotherhoods demanded an eight-hour day and refused arbitration, Congress stepped in and, in the Adamson Act, voted a basic eight-hour day for railroad labor engaged in interstate traffic.
2. In 1926, Congress passed the Railway Labor Act—often referred to as the first real legislation to spell out the rights of railroad workers.
3. In 1937, the government took over the existing pension systems of the railroads, administering them through a Railroad Retirement Board with funds obtained through a payroll tax split between workers and management.

C. The Railroad Brotherhoods occupy a special position in labor, sometimes more protected than other unions, sometimes definitely less free.

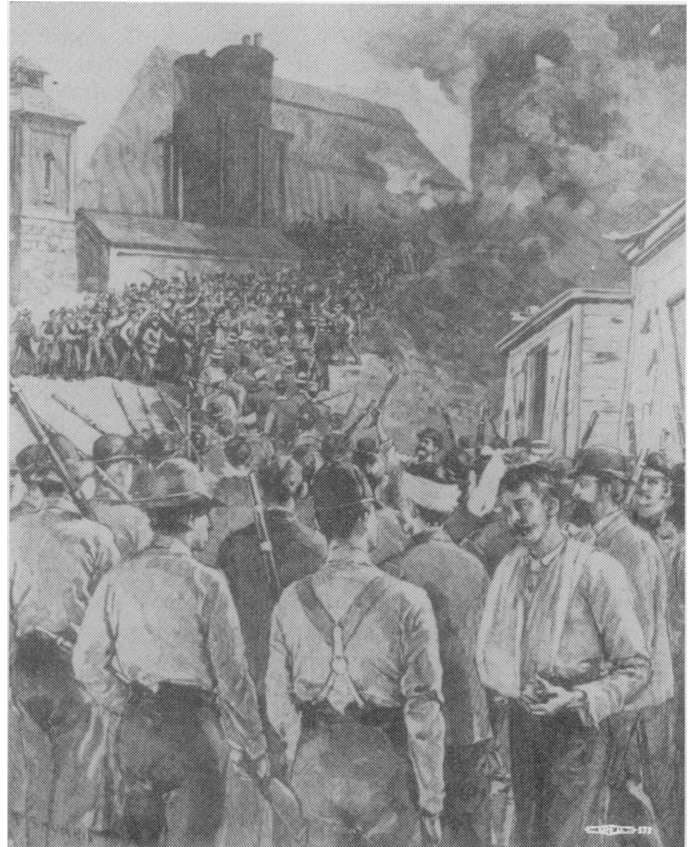
VIII. The American Federation of Labor, organized by the federation of a few crafts in 1881 and reorganized under the present name in 1886, came to be the main unifying force in the labor movement.



(Courtesy of Bureau of Labor Statistics, U. S. Dept. of Labor)
The first Labor Day parade, in New York City, on September 5, 1882

OUTLINE OF CONTENT (continued)

- A. The AFL was built on the skilled trades, and for some time most of the national and international unions that composed it were craft unions, though industrial unions like the United Mine Workers belonged. The great mass of unskilled industrial workers remained unorganized.
- B. The majority of leaders within the AFL have generally been against independent political action by labor.
 - 1. Gompers proceeded on the basis of "reward your friends and punish your enemies," and this kept AFL political activities on a personal basis, although affiliated unions at times took contrary positions.
 - 2. An exception was the official endorsement of LaFollette for President in 1924.
 - 3. In recent years, the AFL has promoted a Labor's League for Political Education (LLPE) and the CIO has had its Political Action Committee (PAC).
- C. The AFL concerned itself primarily with the improvement of wages, hours, and working conditions for its own trade union followers within the framework of the existing system.
- D. The growth of the AFL was slow—starting with a membership of 138,000 in 1886, it took twelve years to double that number.
 - 1. Two disastrous strikes weakened the growth of the AFL.
- E. In 1892, when the steel workers struck the plant at Homestead, Pennsylvania, in protest to a cut in wages, the situation deteriorated into a pitched battle between hired detectives and the strikers, the state militia finally being called in. The strike failed, and the steel industry remained largely unorganized until the CIO was formed about 45 years later.
 - 1. Labor leaders were concerned about what they called "a new form of judicial tyranny" by which strikes might be broken through the imprisonment of leaders without trial by jury.
 - a. In the Pullman strike of 1894, federal troops were used, and the courts issued an injunction to Eugene V. Debs and all other persons involved in the labor dispute, ordering them to refrain from interfering with the transmission of mails or with interstate commerce in any form.
 - b. The crushing defeat of both the Homestead and Pullman strikes was a bitter lesson in the overwhelming power that could be mustered to smash the efforts of industrial employees to organize in the protection of their rights.
 - c. The panic of 1893 resulted in widespread unemployment and weakened the position of the AFL.
 - 2. In the Norris-LaGuardia Act of 1932, labor was given full freedom of association without interference by employers. It became illegal to force workers to sign a "yellow-dog" contract promising not to join, and a union, and federal courts were prohibited from issuing injunctions in labor disputes except under carefully defined conditions.
 - 3. In 1890, Congress passed the Sher-



(Courtesy of Bureau of Labor Statistics—U. S. Dept. of Labor)

Pinkerton agents, hired by the Carnegie Steel Co., battling with strikers at the company's Homestead, Pa. plant in July 1892. The strike was broken when the company brought in 2,000 strikebreakers protected by the State militia.

OUTLINE OF CONTENT (continued)

man Anti-Trust Act. Although originally aimed at business combinations, the courts held that unions were also "combinations in restraint of trade." The most publicized case under this Act was that of the Danbury (Conn.) hatters (1908) where the United Hatters of America declared a boycott against Loewe and Co. as a means of gaining their demands and were fined \$234,000 by the courts. The national AFL raised most of the money.

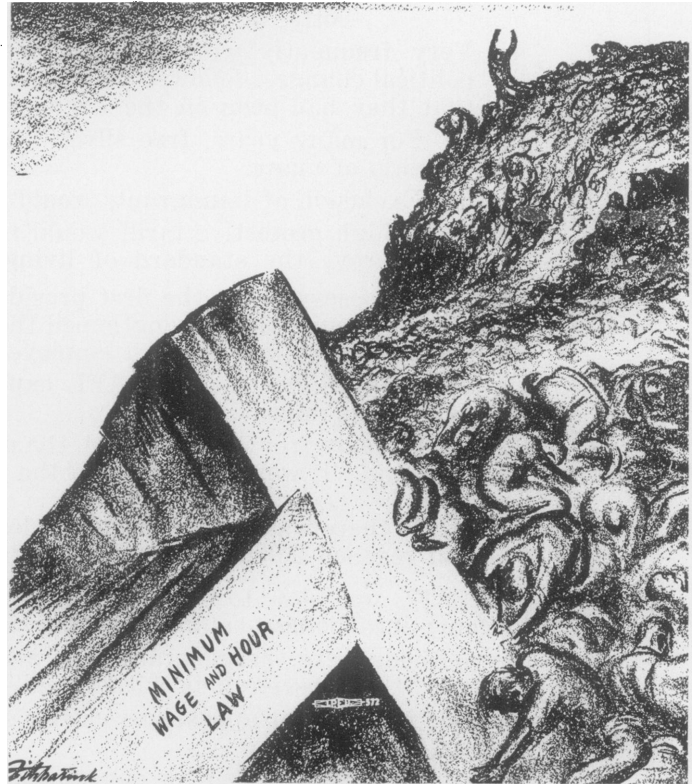
- a. Not until 1914 when the Clayton Anti-Trust Act was passed, were the unions exempted from this interpretation of the law.
 - (1) The Act provided in part that "nothing contained in anti-trust laws shall be construed to forbid the existence and operation of labor . . . organizations . . . or to forbid its members from lawfully carrying out the legitimate objects thereof . . ."
 - (2) Gompers called it the "Magna Charta of Labor" but judicial interpretations kept it from stopping the use of injunctions. The courts ruled that secondary boycotts, mass picketing, etc., were "not legitimate objects" of unions.
4. Very frequently working men, feeling keenly that somehow social injustice called for political changes, followed political soothsayers and won tough political battles only to find that they had been on the wrong trail.
 - a. For many years, free silver was the panacea that commanded the devoted partisanship of many.
 - b. Exclusion of immigrants would reduce the competition for their jobs.
 - c. A high protective tariff would reduce competition from the outside world, and thereby improve the standard of living.
- E. Theodore Roosevelt was the first president of the United States to intervene in a very critical strike in a manner that strengthened the union. In the coal strike of 1902, he proposed an arbitration board, and induced employers as well as the miners to submit to it.
- F. Despite many difficulties, the AFL experienced some growth, and the lot of the wage earner as a whole was improving
 1. In the years from 1898 to 1904, the membership increased from 278,000 to 1,676,200. Gompers said, "It was the harvest of the years of organizing work which were beginning to bear fruit."
 2. While there was a short period of lean years, membership began again to increase in 1911, and reached 2,000,000 by the opening of the First World War.
- IX. Since the AFL was slow to move into new fields of organizing, the Industrial Workers of the World came into being—calling for "one big union."
 - A. Its methods were the general strike and direct action such as aggressive and unannounced strikes, "the conscientious withdrawal of efficiency," etc.
 - B. It made its greatest appeal to western miners, construction gangs, lumberjacks, and migratory harvest hands.
 - C. IWW leaders were jailed for opposing the country's entry into World War I, and the organization never regained much influence thereafter.
- X. Labor, on the whole, gained power, prestige, and numbers during World War I.
 - A. The AFL had more than 4,000,000 members in 1920, twice the number when the war began.
 - B. Because of a series of strikes caused by rising prices in 1917, the government created the National War Labor Board (NWLB) which would be responsible for the final settlement of disputes when all other means had failed. Labor shared equal representation on this Board with management.
 - C. Significant labor legislation was enacted:
 1. The Clayton Anti-Trust Act (1914) and the Adamson Act (1916), explained earlier, were passed.
 2. States, too, were passing labor laws, providing minimum wages, limiting hours for women and children, and guarding the health and safety of workers.
- XI. The short but sharp unemployment crisis of the first post-war years slashed union membership; but the boom years that followed did not restore labor to the relatively strong position it had held during the war.

OUTLINE OF CONTENT (continued)

- A. The membership of the AFL dropped from 4,000,000 in 1920 to 2,961,096 in 1930, even though America was enjoying its greatest period of prosperity.
- B. In 1920, 17.5% of all workers were organized; in 1930, it was only 9.3%.
 - 1. Lower prices during these boom years brought a significant rise in real wages for American industrial workers.
 - 2. Shifts in the location of industries, the anti-union drive, and shrewdly manipulated labor policies (the open shop, welfare capitalism, company unions, sale of stock to employees, etc.) also played a part in preventing the growth of union membership.

XII. The Great Depression reduced the membership of AFL unions even more, exhausted their treasuries and caused great suffering. A majority of those who voted in 1932 chose Franklin D. Roosevelt for President and ushered in a "New Deal" administration, sympathetic to the needs of workers, farmers and the unemployed.

- A. The national income dropped from about \$90 billion to about \$42 billion between 1929 and 1932.
- B. The years between 1929 and 1933 brought a marked decline in real wages, the total national income of labor declining 41%.
- C. Value of exports declined from \$5,241,000,000 in 1929 to \$1,611,000,000 in 1932, and imports from \$4,399,000,000 to \$1,323,000,000.
- D. Estimates of the AFL put the unemployed in 1930 at 4,639,000; in 1932 at 11,586,000; and early in 1933 at over 13,000,000.
- E. Aiming to stimulate industry as well as to provide for security, the New Deal enacted a number of measures affecting labor. Among them were:
 - 1. Public employment measures:
 - (a) Public Works Administration (PWA)
 - (b) Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC)
 - (c) Work Projects Administration (WPA)
 - 2. Measures to establish minimum standards of living and security:
 - (a) Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA)
 - (b) Social Security Act — including unemployment insurance, old age and survivors insurance.
 - (c) Fair Labor Standards Act — wages and hours.
 - 3. Measures to permit workers to organize freely and bargain collectively without interference by the employer: Section 7A of The National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA), (1933) later declared unconstitutional, and the National Labor Relations Act (Wagner Act, 1935).



Cartoon by Fitzpatrick—Courtesy St. Louis Post-Dispatch

OUTLINE OF CONTENT (continued)

- a. The Wagner Act made it illegal to hire labor spies, to use a "blacklist," to force workers to sign a "yellow dog" contract, to set up a company union, to threaten workers with dismissal for joining a union, to discriminate against union men, and to refuse to bargain with the union.
- b. Tremendous gains were made in unionization because of the protection of the Wagner Act.
 - (1) Of 35 million organizable workers in 1935, 3,700,000 were union members; of 38 million in 1937, 7½ million were union members; and of 50 million in 1945, 14,700,000 were union members.
 - (2) Conditions during World War II made it expedient that the government encourage union organization in return for wholehearted support of the "war effort."
 - (3) The formation of a rival CIO organization spurred both groups in their organizing campaigns, and may have been wholesome in its formative years; although it is generally agreed today that a united labor movement is desirable.
 - (4) This period brought into the labor movement, millions of workers who knew little or nothing about the history, purpose and program of unions, and thus created a real need for labor education.
 - (5) With the growth of unions, collective bargaining, (instead of unilateral determination) became an accepted part of labor-management relations. Many national unions established education and research departments to provide information on legislation, collective bargaining, etc., to affiliated locals. Quite a number of universities established industrial relations centers and workers' education programs to help meet the requests for information and training in the fields of legislation, collective bargaining, community relations, etc.
- c. Employers attacked the Wagner Act more vehemently than any other New Deal measure.

XIII. At the 1935 AFL convention, the vote was 18,024 to 10,093 against a proposal to launch an organizing campaign in the mass-production industries on the basis of industrial rather than craft-type organization. Those who favored industrial unions formed a Committee on Industrial Organization which a year later became the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO).

- A. Recognizing Franklin D. Roosevelt as a strong ally of labor, the CIO revived direct participation in politics by organizing the Political Action Committee, (first called the Labor's Non-Partisan League) which actively campaigned for the re-election of Roosevelt in 1936 and 1940.
- B. John L. Lewis of the United Mine Workers favored the election of Wendell Wilkie in 1940 and stated that he would resign as president of the CIO if Wilkie were not elected. When the membership of the CIO rejected his advice, he resigned as president and later led the Miners out of the CIO, completely disassociating himself from the organization he had been so instrumental in founding.

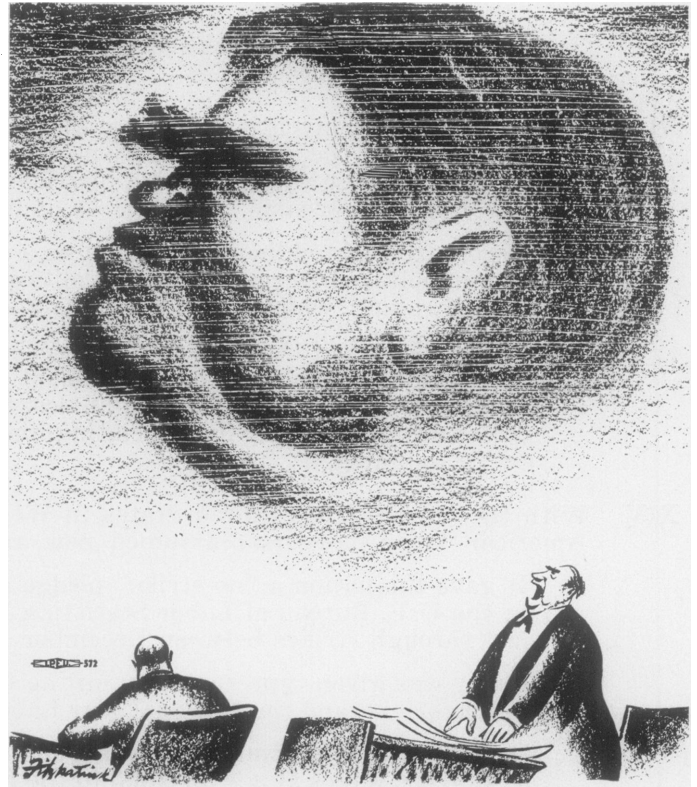
XIV. With the entry of the United States in World War II, following the attack on Pearl Harbor, the American labor movement assumed new and heavy responsibilities.

- A. It gave the nation a "no strike" pledge and, by and large, it abided by its promise. According to the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, only 1/100 of 1% of the scheduled working hours were lost through strikes between December 1941, and June 1944.
- B. Labor was given representation on the Council of National Defense, the Office of Production Management, and the National War Labor Board.
- C. On the theory that wage control should logically follow price control, the War Labor Board in 1942 froze wages at a level equal to the rise in the cost of living up to that time. The Board limited increases to 15% above the level of January 1st, 1941 (the "Little Steel formula"), but softened its policy by allowing vacation pay, higher wages for overtime, up-grading, welfare payments, etc.

OUTLINE OF CONTENT (continued)

XV. New problems followed V-J Day:

- A. By the end of 1946 all price controls had been lifted except those on sugar, rice and rents, and a year later, only rent control remained. The result was the inevitable upsurge in the cost of living—there was a shortage of many essential commodities coupled with a great demand for them, with the ability to buy.
1. There was a steady increase in the cost of living until in September of 1949, the cost-of-living index of the Bureau of Labor Statistics reported a figure of 174.5 for all items (1935-1939=100).
 2. Demanding wage increases adequate to meet these rising prices, some 4,700 strikes involving 4,750,000 workers were recorded in 1946 alone—one of the stormiest years in American labor history.
- B. Having lost to some extent the good will of the general public which felt that post-war strikes were inflationary and that the Wagner Act had given too much power to labor, organized labor suffered setbacks.
1. Congress, in 1947, passed the Labor-Management Relations Act (Taft-Hartley) which largely rewrote the former Wagner Act.
A coal miners' strike in 1946 which threatened to restrict transportation and some other industries if continued for a long period became an important consideration during the debates on this act.
 2. While workers retained the right to join unions and to bargain collectively, the new Taft-Hartley Act forbade certain "unfair" labor practices against the employers. Some of these prohibitions were:
 - a. The law makes unlawful the closed shop under which all employees are members of the appropriate union at the time of hiring and continue to be members in good standing throughout their employment.
 - b. The law placed restrictions on the type of union security clauses which can be included in collective bargaining agreements.
 - c. The law relinquishes federal jurisdiction over the regulation of union security in those states which have enacted more restrictive union security legislation. Where states pass "right-to-work" legislation outlawing the union shop, these laws take precedence over the Taft-Hartley which permits the union shop.



Cartoon by Fitzpatrick—Courtesy St. Louis Post-Dispatch
"Debate on Taft-Hartley Act"

OUTLINE OF CONTENT (continued)

- (d) Prohibits "secondary boycotts." It denies to unions or their members the right of "mutual aid and protection" under section 7 of the law by making unlawful their refusal to handle goods produced under non-union conditions, and by struck establishments.
- (e) Restricts "Jurisdictional disputes."
- (f) Provides for use of courts (injunctions) in case of "unfair" labor practices by both employers and unions.
- (g) Makes it possible for employers to sue unions in unlimited amounts for "breach of contract."
- (h) Workers who leave their job in an economic strike are not permitted to vote in an NLRB election.
- (i) Unions must submit financial statements each year to the Labor Department. However, these are to be kept secret from the public since knowledge of a union's financial strength or weakness may prove an added advantage to an employer in collective bargaining with the union.
- (j) Union funds may not be used for political purposes, that is, for the support of political candidates for federal office.
- (k) Officers of unions must sign affidavits that they are not communists or members of any organization that advocates the overthrow of the government by force, if they want to be eligible to use the services of the NLRB.
- (l) Court injunctions may be used to postpone threatened strikes for 80 days where national health and welfare are concerned.
- (m) Unions under contract cannot strike without giving a 60-day notice before the expiration of the contract of a desire to change the agreement and bargain with the employer.

C. Most labor leaders have been, and are, for the repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act.

XVI. Recent Developments in American Labor.

Ever since 1935, when a split occurred in the American labor movement with the formation of the CIO, labor leaders and rank-and-file members have asked, "Why can't our differences be resolved and a united labor movement re-established?"

During the years 1935-1940, rivalry between unions might be credited with stimulating the formation of new unions. It soon became apparent, however, that dual unionism, raids, jurisdictional disputes, etc., were a costly business.

During World War II the national administration adopted a policy friendly to labor and in turn got labor's cooperation in the defense program. Union shop and maintenance of membership clauses became very common in union contracts, especially those involving defense industries.

- A. A study of union raids during 1953-54 showed that during that period there were 1,760 raids. In these the CIO gained about 40,000 from the AFL while the AFL gained about 44,000 from the CIO and 4,456 voted for no union—at a cost of about \$12,000,000 to the unions.

On several occasions after World War II, joint AFL-CIO committees on unity tried to bridge the gap that existed. At a special meeting of the AFL Executive Council, November 25, 1952, it was decided to re-activate a unity committee. This committee met with a similar committee from the CIO on April 7, 1953, and jointly stated:

"We met today in good faith to try to achieve labor unity. Both sides came into the meeting with no prior conditions. Both sides agreed to explore all the matters involved on their merits."

A no-raiding agreement was signed on June 9, 1954, by George Meany, President of the AFL, and Walter Reuther, President of the CIO. At that time 65 AFL unions and 29 CIO

OUTLINE OF CONTENT (continued)

unions committed themselves to this no-raiding agreement. This represented a majority of all the union membership. Thirteen more unions signed later.

Both the AFL and CIO national conventions in 1954 approved of the action taken to date on merger plans.

On October 15, 1954, a further meeting of the Joint Unity Committee was held. This Committee stated in part:

"It is the unanimous decision of this joint committee of the AFL and CIO to create a single trade union center in America through the process of merger, which will preserve the integrity of each affiliated national and international union."

Present plans call for conventions of both the AFL and CIO in New York in December 1955 at which time the merger is to be completed. The problem of what to call the new organization was resolved by agreeing to call it AFL-CIO.

There are indications that at least some of the independent unions will affiliate with the new organization before long. The Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen announced such intention in June, 1955.



William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, 1924-52; Philip Murray, president of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, 1940-52; George Meany, elected president of the American Federation of Labor, November 25, 1952; Walter P. Reuther, elected president of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, December 4, 1952. (Picture taken March 1951 at meeting of United Labor Policy Committee in Washington, D. C.)

- XVII. The programs of labor unions encompass more than collective bargaining and settling grievances. In addition to seeking improvements in wages and working conditions for its members through collective action and in establishing methods for the settlement of grievances and disputes, labor today is interested in many other problems.

These include:

- Community Affairs
- Legislative and political action
- World affairs
- Civil Rights and Civil Liberties
- Consumer problems
- Health and Welfare
- Workers' Education

Labor is also concerned with questions of

- War and peace
- Automation and technological changes
- Guaranteed annual wages and steady employment
- Shorter work week
- Jurisdictional problems

Teaching Procedures

INITIATORY ACTIVITIES:

1. Pretest to find out how your students feel about unions. The following questionnaire will be helpful:

Opinion Questionnaire in Industrial Relations

The purpose of this questionnaire is to give you a chance to tell how you feel about unions. Please be frank and honest in your answers in order to give a true picture of your feelings and attitudes. In the space provided before each statement, mark

A—if you strongly agree

B—if you agree

C—if you are undecided

D—if you disagree

E—if you strongly disagree

- _____ 1. If it were not for unions, we'd have little protection against favoritism on the job.
- _____ 2. I think that the best man should be kept on the job regardless of seniority.
- _____ 3. Unions impose too many restrictions on employers.
- _____ 4. Charges of "racketeering" in unions are greatly exaggerated.
- _____ 5. Employees of a firm have better wages and working conditions when all of them belong to unions.
- _____ 6. Unions should have something to say about whom the employer hires.
- _____ 7. A non-union shop usually pays lower wages than a union shop.
- _____ 8. Union rules often interfere with the efficient running of the employer's business.
- _____ 9. Every worker should be expected to join the union where he works.
- _____ 10. We need more laws to limit the power of labor unions.
- _____ 11. Labor unions hold back progress.
- _____ 12. The high wage demands of unions reduce chances for employment.
- _____ 13. The growth of unions has made our democracy stronger.
- _____ 14. The selfishness of employers can be fought only by strong unions.
- _____ 15. Workers should not have to join a union in order to hold a job.

- _____ 16. Labor unions should be regulated to a greater extent by the federal government.
- _____ 17. In a factory where there is a union, workers who are not members should be required to pay the regular union fees if they are getting union rates of pay.
- _____ 18. Most unions gain their membership by forcing workers to join by threats of violence.
- _____ 19. If the majority of workers in a plant vote to have a union, the others should be required to join.
- _____ 20. Labor unions have proved themselves to be irresponsible pressure groups.
- _____ 21. Labor unions are undemocratic because they are controlled from the top.
- _____ 22. Labor unions are usually controlled by Communists or fellow travellers.
- _____ 23. Labor unions in America are a very important factor in explaining our high standards of living.
- _____ 24. Labor unions, while necessary, have assumed too much power.
- _____ 25. In general, business does not oppose unions which are reasonable and responsible.

Tabulate the responses of the class, and discuss the results.

2. Make use of the students in the class whose parents are union members. Study the composition of the community from the standpoint of union membership, secure stories of union gains, recollections of early unionism in the community, etc.

3. Show the film, "How Green Was My Valley," a thirty-minute TFC film, available from the CIO, Department of Research and Education, 718 Jackson Place, Washington 6, D. C., for a rental charge of \$4. This is a story of mining and working conditions in the Welsh coal fields, and it illustrates the early struggles of workers to organize against ruthless employers. You will find especially useful the scenes showing the father of the family killed in the mine, the two older sons being fired because cheaper help can be hired, and youngest son turning down a scholarship to go down into the mines with his brothers. This is the Hollywood film cut to thirty minutes for school use. It should be previewed so that the teacher might fill in information which will give the film continuity. The story is based on the book by the same name, by Llewellyn. Some students may wish to read the book after having seen the picture.

TEACHING PROCEDURES (continued)

4. Prepare a bulletin board display of materials from local newspapers dealing with trade unions. Critically discuss these materials. Are the articles friendly or unfriendly? Are they objective? What situations are usually reported? Is the general picture presented characteristic of the whole union movement?

5. Show the film, "I. A. Documentary," a twenty-five-minute film available from the AFL, Department of Education, 1625 Eye Street, N. W., Washington 6, D. C., for a rental charge of \$3. This film was produced by the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees and Moving Picture Operators of the United States and Canada. It traces the history, the improved working conditions, and the growth of the union in the theater industry from 1893 to 1948. The story of a half century of struggle and accomplishment is told through the medium of John G. Williams, first president of the Alliance, as he recalls to Richard F. Walsh, the present head of the union, the conditions before the formation of the Alliance, the first successful strike of stagehands which resulted in a wage of \$1.00 a show, and the trials and tribulations of the road companies which spread the gospel of unionism. We see the transformation of the theater, and the expansion of the union with the development of the movie industry. This film is especially effective because of the subject matter, and the prominence of theater personalities on the picket line and at work in the union. Discuss the ideas advanced in the film.

6. Present a brief overview of the unit and provide a planning session for the unit.

DEVELOPMENTAL ACTIVITIES:

7. Conduct a discussion of the ways in which the frontier affected labor in early American history.

8. Prepare a report on the federal government's policies between 1789 and 1865 for disposing of the land which it owned. Consider questions such as these:

(a) Why did eastern factory owners want the government to demand high prices for its lands?

(b) How would cheap land affect wages paid to labor?

(c) How did cheap and abundant land retard the development of industry?

9. Here is a typical advertisement in the Providence **Manufacturers' and Farmers' Journal** for January 14, 1828: "Families Wanted—Ten or Twelve good respectable families consisting of four or five children each, from nine to sixteen years of age, are wanted to work in a cotton mill, in the vicinity of Providence." What kind of factory work did

women and children do in these early factories? How were they treated? A good explanation can be found in Kirkland, **A History of American Economic Life**, pp. 331-341. It might be especially interesting to investigate the Waltham or Lowell system. Charles Dickens, visiting in this country in 1842, was very impressed by the benevolent paternalism of this system. See Dulles, **Labor in America, A History**, pp. 73-75. What was responsible for the abandonment of this system?

10. Keep an accurate account of all your activities for one day. Plan what you would omit if you worked in a factory thirteen hours a day, or from sunrise to sunset. Discuss.

11. Quickly review the effect of the Napoleonic Wars on American trade, stressing the impetus given to the establishment of the factory system in America.

12. As a candidate for the state legislature, representing the Workingman's Party between 1828 and 1834, discuss with the class the issues of the day as you would see them. Show by specific illustration the conditions of working people at that time. See Harris, **American Labor**, pp. 18-20, and Mary Beard, **A Short History of the American Labor Movement**, pp. 40-42.

13. Do some research on the panic of 1837. Ascertain its causes and prepare yourself to describe in some detail its effects on the people of America then. Why does the labor union movement not prosper in periods of depression?

14. Why the unions did not recover with the business recovery following the panic of 1837 needs more explaining. Briefly review your American history for the period of the 1840's and 1850's, noting the dominant issues making demands on the American people at that time. (Acquisition of Texas, the Oregon controversy, the Mexican War, the slavery issue, etc.)

15. Chart changes in prices and wages during the 1860's, referring to the "Outline of Content." Then define "real wages." Why does a decrease in real wages usually lead to increased union activity?

16. Organized as the United States Senate, the class should discuss the passage of the Alien Contract Immigration Law of 1864.

17. The Knights of Labor has been referred to as "the workers' last fling at a reformist type of unionism." What does this mean?

18. The Haymarket Riot is not only a very significant event in the history of American Labor, but it is a most interesting story as well. Have some student relate the incident in detail. Good references include: Adamic, **Dynamite**, Chapters 5 and 6, pp.

TEACHING PROCEDURES (continued)

49-81; Harris, pp. 85-92; Austin, **The Labor Story**, Chapter 11, pp. 95-104. How did the Haymarket Riot effect the downfall of the Knights of Labor?

19. Another interesting story in the history of American Labor is that of the Molly Maguires. Have some student relate this story in detail. Good references include: Adamic, Chapter 2, pp. 9-21; and Austin, Chapter 9, pp. 67-78. Indicate the role of the Pinkerton Detectives. The following is an advertisement of that Detective Agency:

"Corporations or individuals desirous of ascertaining the feelings of their employees, and whether they are likely to engage in strikes or are joining any secret labor organizations with a view of compelling terms from corporations or employers . . . can obtain a detective suitable to associate with their employees and obtain this information." How does the class feel about such employment of private detectives?

20. Bring to the class some older representative of the Railroad Brotherhoods, and have him discuss some of the dangers of early railroading.

21. Do some research on the Homestead and Pullman strikes. Compare them with the Haymarket Riot as to causes; extent of violence; the use of private detectives, the police, the state militia, and the army; and the effect upon the growth of organized labor.

22. Show the film, "With These Hands," a fifty-minute film available from AFL, Department of Education, for a rental charge of \$3. The film tells the story of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union as seen through the eyes of Alexander Brody, cloak operator, and the role he, as a rank-and-filer, played in his union from the days of struggle in 1909 to the present, when we see him retired on his union pension. Brody remembers tragic and climactic events such as the bitter strike for recognition, the terrible Triangle Waist fire, and the 1926 struggle to resist Communist domination of the union. He counts the gains which the union has brought in better living conditions, health and medical care, facilities for cultural and recreational development, education, and the final security of a pension plan. The film has such an emotional impact that discussion is sometimes not possible for three or four minutes after the film has ended. In the interval, the teacher might try to summarize the message of the film, and begin to bridge it into the present with such questions as: Is the ILGWU typical of labor unions that you know? Is the theme overdone? Do you think the union's work is done? Invariably the students will view the picture differently, and a good discussion should result.

23. Compare Terence V. Powderly of the Knights of Labor with Samuel Gompers of the AFL, consid-

ering appearance, temperament, ability, background, strengths and weaknesses, philosophy, etc.

24. Panels or debates, in each instance with class participation, may be organized around the following topics:

(a) Labor should be organized along craft lines rather than industrial lines.

(b) All unions, whether craft or industrial, should be federated under one national organization.

(c) Labor should support a National Labor Party, as in England, with its own candidates for public office.

25. During the great reform period from 1900 to 1915, labor endorsed such measures as the direct election of senators, the secret Australian ballot, civil service reform, the initiative and referendum, and other similar measures. Explain labor's special interest in each of these reform measures.

26. Some students may wish to read and to report on Upton Sinclair's **The Jungle** and **King Coal**. The first gives a very stark picture of life in the packing house district of Chicago during the early 1900's; the second is a fictional account of life in a company mining camp.

27. "Tie 'Em Up," sang the Wobblies. Does this song express the philosophy of the IWW's?

"We have no fight with brothers of the old A F of L
But we ask you use your reason with the facts we
have to tell.

Your craft is but protection for a form of property,
The skill that you are losing, don't you see?

Improvements on machinery take your skill and
tools away,

And you'll be among the common slaves upon some
fateful day.

Now the things of which we're talking we are
mighty sure about—

So what's the use to strike the way you can't win
out?"

"Tie 'em up! Tie 'em up; that's the way to win.

Don't notify the bosses till hostilities begin.

Don't furnish chance for gunmen, scabs and all
their like;

What you need is One Big Union and One Big
Strike."

TEACHING PROCEDURES (continued)

Discuss the irony of the famous IWW ditty, "The Preacher and the Slave." Here's the chorus:

"You will eat, by and by,
In that glorious land above the sky;
Work and pray, live on hay,
You'll get pie in the sky when you die."

Investigate and report on the interesting life of Joe Hill, famed ballad writer of the IWW's.

28. Investigate the Sacco-Vanzetti case in Massachusetts, the Mooney-Billings case in California, in order to find out if any similarities exist to the Haymarket Riot case.

29. List the standard arguments pro and con on the shortened work day, whether the 10-hour day, the 8-hour day, or the 30-hour week.

30. Comment on the following statement of Finley Peter Dunne, who, in his nationally famous column, "Mr. Dooley Sez," wrote: "Why don't ye know? What is the open shop. Sure 'tis were they kape the doors open to accommodate the constant stream ave men comin' in to take jobs cheaper than the min who has the jobs. 'Tis like this, Hinnissey: Suppose one ave these freeborn citizens is workin' in an open shop fer the princely wage av wan large iron dollar a day av tin hours. Along comes another son-av-a-gun and he says to the boss, 'oi think oi could handle the job nicely fer ninety cents' . . . Properly conducted unions . . . An there ye are: an' how would they have thim conducted? No strikes, no rules, no contracts, no scales, hardly iny wages, and dam few members."

31. A mature reader may wish to report on Steinbeck's *Grapes of Wrath*. Upon arrival in California, the Okies became wage earners, and their problems in organizing, in securing higher wages, in battling the private police were similar to other wage earners in other areas. The book also gives a realistic picture of depression days. The feature film, "Grapes of Wrath," is also now available in 16 mm. film.

32. Some student may wish to read about the great truck drivers' strike which paralyzed Minneapolis back in 1934. One account is found in Charles R. Walker, *American City, A Rank-and-File History* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1937).

33. Chart the New Deal reforms in the following manner:

The Principle involved:

1. Federal Government's obligation to Youth, unemployed by the depression.

The Machinery:

1. The CCC.

The class might discuss whether or not the principles involved were valid, and the machinery adequate.

34. Herbert Harris has written, "The Negro until very recently has been almost as outside the pale of unionism, both locally and nationally, as in the South he has been outside the pale of Civil Liberties." Some student may wish to investigate this problem further. Reference books in the library on racial discrimination will be most helpful in providing information.

35. If there is a Central Labor Union in your city, a committee of students might interview its secretary concerning the extent of unionization within the community.

36. List the arguments, from labor's point of view, for and against the restriction of immigration and the protective tariff. Has labor's viewpoint changed in these two areas?

37. Show the filmstrip, "Labor in the News," 55 frames, produced by the *New York Times* in 1949, and available from the AFL, Department of Education at a rental charge of 50c. This film strip discusses in a very elementary way what unions do for their members, and how they operate when disagreements with the employer arise. It demonstrates the usual arguments against unions and discusses the Wagner Act and the Taft-Hartley Act. The film strip may be used to introduce discussion of these two very significant legislative acts.

38. Obtain if possible a speaker from one of the local unions to present labor's side of the Taft-Hartley question. Discuss the talk. Was the speaker objective? Did he have adequate evidence to substantiate his main argument?

39. Make out a balance sheet, showing in one column the ways by which Government has sought to curb and control labor, and in the other column, Government's efforts to curb and control management.

40. Define the Open, Closed and Union Shops. Discuss their relative merits.

41. Collect as many samples of union labels as you can find. Either individually or through class committees, interview merchants to find out how important the union label is in their customer's choice of purchases, and report to the class on the present importance of the union label.

42. Eleanor Roosevelt recently wrote: "One thing we must always remember. There is seldom any great difficulty in getting management's side of any

TEACHING PROCEDURES (continued)

story printed, but when it comes to getting labor's side in print, that is a very different question." Is this true? Discuss.

43. From the **World Almanac** and the **Information Please Almanac**, one can get statistics on a variety of subjects pertinent to this unit. Graphs may be prepared by students, and trends, comparisons, and interpretations should be discussed by the class. Some of the subjects which might be so studied are:

The number of strikes, by years, stress being placed on the number of man-hours lost

The Causes of Strikes

Women in Industry—by actual number and by percentage

Unemployment

Consumers' Price Index

Minutes of working time required for purchase per pound of selected foods—comparison with European countries, including the USSR

44. Have the students bring to class cartoons about unions, labor-management disputes, etc. Use an opaque projector to show them to the class. Call for interpretations and discussion. Cartoons may be secured from trade-union magazines too, so that the viewpoint of labor might also be included in such an exercise.

45. Prepare a dictionary of terms pertinent to this study, including such terms as injunction, yellow-dog contract, scab, common law, craft union, etc. Also prepare a "Who's Who in Labor History," including such names as John Peter Altgeld, T. V. Powderly, Eugene V. Debs, Samuel Gompers, Ely Moore, "Big Bill" Haywood, Uriah Stephens, etc. Mimeograph these lists so that each student might have a copy.

46. Trace the history of the attitude of our courts toward labor unions and in labor disputes from the beginning of our history to the present time. List on the board the pertinent court decisions and legislative acts.

47. Show the film, "The Other Paris," a twenty-five-minute film, produced by the Foreign Operations Administration in 1952, and available from the AFL, Department of Education for a rental charge of \$1. By showing us the homes the French workers live in, the food they are able to buy with what they earn, the kind of lives they lead, this film demonstrates why so many are communist or communist sympathizers. Representatives of the AFL and CIO, Joe Heath and Vic Reuther, comment on the French workers' conditions as they see them, and outline the progress of FO, the non-communist labor fed-

eration. Someone might wish to investigate what the American labor movement is doing to help build free and democratic trade unions in the world.

48. Some student might trace the history of the International Labor Organization from its beginning in 1919 to the present, describing the structure, the method of representation, procedures, etc. Write to I. L. O., 1262 New Hampshire Ave., N.W., Washington 6, D. C., for literature on current I. L. O. developments.

49. In 1900, the average man lived 48 years, and the average woman 51 years. By 1948, these figures had risen to 65 years and 71 years. These figures are always cited by the American Medical Association to prove that the medical profession in this country has done a superior job to that being done in any other country throughout the world. In what way, and to what degree, might the organization of unions have had an effect on this increase in the life span?

Many things other than improvement in medical care have undoubtedly had at least some effect in increasing the life span. It is perfectly obvious that widespread adoption of safety devices has had some effect. It is just as obvious that the union's contribution in reducing the speed of the lines has improved safety conditions in the plant, and has contributed to the improvement of the health of the workers in the plant. Child labor laws have also had their effect. But perhaps the most striking contribution has been made in the improvement of the diet of American workers which, to a large extent, has resulted from increased wages.

In order to illustrate this point, put the following figures on the blackboard, which will show that as the worker's income increases, the amount of bread and potatoes he eats declines, while the amount of milk, meat, fruit, vegetables, etc., increases.

In terms of 1935-39 dollars (that is, dollars that will buy as much as a dollar would, on the average, buy during those years), in 1909, the average manufacturing worker made \$15.38 for a 51-hour week. In 1949, the same worker made \$32.48 for 39 hours.

In 1909, the average worker ate 1,572 pounds of food.

In 1948, the average worker ate 1,581 pounds of food.

In 1909, he consumed 291 pounds of grain.

In 1948, he consumed 171 pounds of grain.

In 1909, he ate 180 pounds of potatoes.

In 1948, he ate 100 pounds of potatoes.

TEACHING PROCEDURES (continued)

In 1909, the average consumption of fluid milk, or its equivalent, was 194 quarts; in 1948, 249 quarts.

In 1909, the average consumption of canned fruits and vegetables was 19 pounds; in 1948, 83 pounds.

In 1909, the average consumption of citrus fruits and tomatoes was 44 pounds, and in 1948, 105 pounds.

From these figures, it may be inferred, that while workers as a rule do not eat more when their income is low, they do eat poorer food and that an increase in wages is ordinarily reflected in an improved and better balanced diet.

50. What do we mean by labor unity? What steps toward unity have been taken to date? Is complete unity of all unions possible? Why? What additional responsibilities come with unity? What effect will labor unity have on the following activities?

- (a) collective bargaining
- (b) organizing the unorganized
- (c) legislative and political action
- (d) jurisdictional disputes
- (e) labor's participation in community affairs, and in international affairs.

CULMINATING ACTIVITIES:

51. As a review exercise, show the sound film-strip, "Labor's Challenge," color, 62 frames, 22 minutes, 1950, produced by the American Federation of

Teachers. It has a transcription of $33\frac{1}{3}$ revolutions per minute to be played with the strip. The film-strip depicts the growth of unionism from the home industry of 1790 through the hardships and exploitation for workers in growing industrialization, up to the present day. It shows how desperation drove many into the working class parties of an earlier day, and traces from this the growth of craft unionism under the AFL. It may be secured from the AFL, Department of Education for a rental charge of \$1.

52. Discuss the following quotation from Foster Rhea Dulles, "Labor has become so strong in recent years, again both economically and politically, that the way in which it uses its power has become of paramount importance. There are tremendous potentialities for both good and harm in union activity, and the future of free enterprise depends quite as much on responsible labor leadership as on responsible leadership in industry . . . Labor monopoly can no more be condoned than industrial monopoly. Policies that ignore the public interest are as dangerous when they are the policies of organized workers as when they are those of organized businessmen. Democracy cannot allow any single group, however broadly based, to attain uncontrolled dominance in the economic and political sphere."

53. Set up a committee to bring in news items on topics, and to present periodic reports on current problems connected with this unit.

54. Again use the "pretest" to discover what changes in attitude there may be. Test for understanding. Clear up any misconceptions. Evaluate the unit.

REFERENCES

I. Textbooks:

In the current high school texts on American history one will have to search for material on labor history, but it is there. Students will have much practice in using the index. The following listed page assignments are typical:

Augspurger & McLemore, **Our Nation's Story** (Laidlaw, 1954), pp. 271; 431-442; 459-460; 471-472; 478; 481-482; 499-500; 655-663; 772-773.

Canfield & Wilder, **The Making of Modern America** (Houghton-Mifflin, 1954), pp. 127-129; 270-276; 332-333; 349; 402; 450-451; 464-468; 510; 551-554.

Harlow & Miller, **Story of America** (Holt, 1953), pp. 228-230; 388-396; 521-529; 771-773.

Muzzey & Kidger, **The United States** (Ginn, 1953), Chapter 21, "Labor in the Machine Age," pp. 414-438.

Riegel & Haugh, **United States of America, A History** (Scribners, 1953), pp. 274-276; 444-450; 594-601; 682-686; 729-732; 742-746; 776; 798.

Todd & Curti, **America's History** (Harcourt Brace, 1950), Chapter 27, "The Workers Organize", pp. 495-515; and pp. 288-294; 704-707; 721-723; 795.

Many of our schools use **The Heritage of America** (D. C. Heath, 1949) edited by Henry Steel Commager and Allan Nevins, to give their students experience in the reading of contemporary historical accounts. Several of these readings deal with labor history, such as:

No. 81, "Harriet Martineau Finds a Working Girls Paradise."

No. 202, "The Panic of 1873 Hits New York."

No. 215, "John Spargo Hears the Bitter Cry of the Children."

No. 216, "Jurgis Works in a Fertilizer Plant."

No. 225, "John Peter Altgeld Pardons the Anarchists."

II. An Inexpensive Library of Labor History:

Many smaller high schools do not have adequate libraries in the area of labor history, nor do they have the funds to purchase many expensive books. The following paper-covered editions of important books are there-fore suggested.

Faulkner and Starr, **Labor in America**, New York: Oxford Book Co., 1955. 348 pages. \$1.25. May be purchased from the Oxford Book Co., 222 Fourth Avenue, New York 3, New York, or from the CIO Department of Education and Research, 718 Jackson Place, Washington 6, D.C. This book, originally published by Harpers, was written for high school use. It presents the history of the labor movement in the United States from the beginnings of the Industrial Revolution up to 1955. It contains several chapters on the structure, function and activities of present day unions. It also contains a list of suggested activities in connection with each chapter, and a detailed bibliography.

Aleine Austin, **The Labor Story**, New York: Coward-McCann, Inc., 1949. 244 pages. \$1.25. May be purchased from the CIO Department of Education and Research. This is a short, concise, simply written history of the trade-union movement to 1949. It is a very readable and lively book. It, too, has a selected bibliography.

United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, **Brief History of the American Labor Movement**, Bulletin No. 1000, 1951.

66 pages. This pamphlet, House Document No. 662, 81st Congress, 2nd Session, may be purchased from the Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C. for 25¢. While this history is brief, it is informative and well-written. It includes the Taft-Hartley Act and a brief section on labor unity.

Mark Starr, **Labor and the American Way**, New York: Oxford Book Co., 1953. 76 pages. 50¢. This is pamphlet No. 14 of the Oxford Social Studies Pamphlets. Two chapters are particularly pertinent: Chapter 2, "Out of the Past", and Chapter 6, "Labor Unions and the Law." Suggested activities are given at the end of each chapter.

Samuel Colton, editor, **Sagas of Struggle**, New York: Claridge Publishing Corp., 1951. 128 pages. The paper-covered edition may be purchased from the CIO Department of Education and Research for \$1.00. For two or more copies, the charge is 70¢ each. This labor anthology presents a series of 14 dramatic selections taken from labor history.

Orlin Folwick, **Take a Peek at These Unions**. 64 pages. This booklet, a brief story of labor in America, is available free-of-charge from the Minnesota State Federation of Labor, Labor Temple, St. Paul, Minnesota. Classroom sets will be provided upon request.

Teachers might also write directly to the AFL and CIO for available free and inexpensive literature. Their addresses are:

Department of Education,
American Federation of Labor,
1625 Eye Street, N. W.,
Washington 6, D. C.

Department of Education and Research,
Congress of Industrial Organizations,
718 Jackson Place,
Washington 6, D. C.

III. Selected Bibliography:

A. General Histories:

Louis Adamic, **Dynamite, The Story of Class Violence in America**, New York: Viking Press, 1935.

Aleine Austin, **The Labor Story**, New York: Coward-McCann, 1949.

Mary Beard, **A Short History of the American Labor Movement**, New York: Macmillan, 1924.

John R. Commons and Associates, **History of Labor in the United States**, New York: Macmillan, 1951. 4 Volumes.

Foster R. Dulles, **Labor in America**, New York: Crowell, 1949.

Harold U. Faulkner and Mark Starr, **Labor in America**, New York: Oxford Book Co., New Edition, 1955.

Herbert Harris, **American Labor**, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1938.

Samuel P. Orth, **The Armies of Labor** (Yale Chronicle Series), New Haven: Yale University Press, 1919.

Samuel Yellen, **American Labor Struggles**, New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1936. (Out of print)

B. Labor in Special Industries and Groups:

Paul Angle, **Bloody Williamson**, New York: Knopf, 1952.

REFERENCES (continued)

Jack Barbash, **Unions and Telephones: The Story of the Communications Workers of America**, New York: Harper, 1952.

B. R. Brazeal, **Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters**, New York: Harper, 1946.

McAllister Coleman, **Men and Coal**, New York: Rinehart, 1943.

Lewis Corey, **Meat and Man**, New York: Viking, 1950.

Clayton W. Fountain, **Union Guy**, New York: Viking, 1949.

Irving Howe and B. J. Widick, **The UAW and Walter Reuther**, New York: Random House, 1949.

Vernon H. Jensen, **Lumber and Labor**, New York: Rinehart, 1945.

Rose Pesotta, **Bread Upon the Waters**, New York: Dodd Mead & Co., 1944.

Joel Seidman, **The Needles Trade**, New York: Rinehart, 1942.

Vidkunn Ulriksson, **The Telegraphers**, Washington: Public Affairs Press, 1953.

C. Biography:

Saul D. Alinsky, **John L. Lewis: An Unauthorized Biography**, New York: Putnam, 1949.

Oscar Ameringer, **If You Don't Weaken**, New York: Holt, 1940. An autobiography, out-of-print.

Mary Anderson, **Women at Work**, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1951. Pioneer union organizer and head of the U. S. Women's Bureau.

Ralph Chaplin, **Wobbly: The Rough-and-Tumble Story of an American Radical**, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948. Autobiography.

Mary E. Dreier, **Margaret Dreier Robbins, Her Life, Letters and Work**, New York: Island Press, 1950.

Ray Ginger, **Bending Cross**, New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1949. (Eugene V. Debs)

Elsie Gluck, **John Mitchell**, New York: John Day, 1929.

Samuel Gompers, **Seventy Years of Life and Labor**, New York: Dutton, 1945.

Jean Gould, **Sidney Hillman: Great American**, Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1952.

Jonathan Grossman, **William Sylvis: Pioneer of American Labor**, New York: Columbia University Press, 1945.

Rowland Hill Harvey, **Samuel Gompers**, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1935.

Matthew Josephson, **Sidney Hillman, A Statesman of American Labor**, New York: Doubleday, 1952.

Lucy Robins Lang, **Tomorrow Is Beautiful**, New York: Macmillan, 1948. Autobiography.

Robert Leiter, **The Musicians Union and Petrillo**, New York: Claridge, 1952.

Barrie Stavis, **The Man Who Never Died**, New York: Haven Press, 1954. (Joe Hill)

Louis Waldman, **Labor Lawyer**, New York: Dutton, 1944. Autobiography.

James Wechsler, **Labor Baron: A Portrait of John L. Lewis**, New York: Morrow, 1944.

D. Fiction:

Teachers are frequently seeking materials that give reality to the problems of labor so that the topic comes alive for the students. Their aim is to help students develop a feeling for the period being studied. Fiction lends itself to this aim. Many books have been written about the laborer and his relation to the industrial machine. The "Depression" years especially produced a flood

of such novels. Mostly they were propagandistic, but there was much solid writing too. A number of such books are listed below. We have briefly annotated all titles so as to suggest the subject matter and the treatment given it. We have tended to favor the substantial, realistic and mature books over those that are romantic or sentimental.

Samuel H. Adams, **Sunrise to Sunset**, New York: Random House, 1950. 373 pp. A romance about the rigorous life in and around the cotton mills of Troy, New York, in the 1830's. Mr. Adams' heroine is a perky young mill-worker named Obedience Webb, who marries her boss, a man named Gurdon Stockwell. Gurdon turns out to be a thorough villain, and meets a bad end, which is all to the good, as Obedience was really in love with someone else all the time. Mr. Adams probably had a very good time writing this book, digging up old songs and sayings, edged turns of speech, the incredibly harsh, though authentic, rules and customs designed to protect the morals and enhance the industry of the children and girls who worked in the water-powered textile mills.

Thomas Bell, **Out of This Furnace**, Boston: Little, Brown, 1941. 413 pp. In 1881 George Kracha, a Hungarian immigrant, arrived in New York and, shortly after, reached his destination in Pennsylvania where he became a worker in the steel mills at Homestead at 10¢ an hour. A little over half a century later John Dobrejcak, grandson of Kracha, electrician in the steel mills, helped organize his co-workers in the CIO. Bell tells the story of this immigrant family through five decades and makes of it a saga of brave and humble folk that is typically American.

Thomas Bell, **There Comes a Time**, Boston: Little, Brown, 1946. 228 pp. This is an urbane, realistic, sociological novel with organized labor as a background. Joel Pane, married, middle-aged bank teller, feels that he is growing old without knowing life and his relationship to it. He finds this meaning and significance in working for a union of bank employees, taking part in politics and thinking about American democracy.

Beatrice Bisno, **Tomorrow's Bread**, New York: Live-right, 1938. 328 pp. Sam Karenski came to America from Russia with his family. At 17 he operated his own garment sweatshop in Chicago where he employed the members of his family and others. At 20 he became a fanatical labor leader. In this capacity we follow his through the rest of his life. The author's attempt to suggest Yiddish idiom by literal translation frequently results in unintentionally humorous passages.

Fannie Cook, **Mrs. Palmer's Honey**, New York: Doubleday, 1946. 289 pp. The evolution of a St. Louis Negro girl from a faithful but inarticulate "perfect servant" into a class-conscious leader among her people. The book covers the whole field of northern Negro thinking—attitudes toward world wars, intermarriage, education, segregation, labor unions. The characters are stock symbols of opposing forces rather than flesh-and-blood persons.

Albert Halper, **The Little People**, New York: Harper, 1942. 402 pp. This is an appealing, realistic story of the "little people" who work in an exclusive clothing store in Chicago. The author has a sure ear for the half-inarticulate talk of the little people, choked with clichés and repressed passions.

Harlan H. Hatcher, **Central Standard Time**, New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1937. 314 pp. This story of industrial conflict in 1934 presents both sides of the controversy and the in-betweens as well. The scene is a manufacturing town in Ohio. The chief characters include the owner of the mill, a rugged individualist; his son, who would make concessions; and the leaders and followers in the strike.

Rupert Hughes, **The Giant Wakes**, New York: Borden, 1950. 294 pp. This is a biographical novel about Sam Gompers.

REFERENCES (continued)

Richard Llewellyn, **How Green Was My Valley**, New York: Macmillan, 495 pp. A rich and full story of a mining family in a South Wales valley from the late 70's or early 80's to the beginnings of the present century. It is a family chronicle set down by Huw Morgan telling how the valley was green when he was young, how he lived to see it grow black, and how he was driven away by the desolation it bred.

Robert Mende, **Spit on the Stars**, New York: Rinehart, 1949. 378 pp. An aptly titled story of Gregg Haber growing up in Brooklyn and New York wholesale garment trade. It is told against a CIO effort to organize the trade. Mature.

Dorothy Meyersburg, **Seventh Avenue**, New York: Dutton, 1940. 288 pp. Here the proletarian pattern of much of our recent fiction is turned inside out. As the "other side of the story", here is an accumulation of complaints of the hard-pressed employer, battling as an individual against the tide of an organized society and losing. Her exposition of the ills existing is convincingly presented but the conclusion she seems to draw—that unions should be abolished—is extreme.

Wellington Roe, **Begin No Day**, New York: Putnam, 1938. 307 pp. Realistic story of labor conditions in America as evidenced in a Connecticut town where the manufacture of hats was the main business. The author takes into account both sides of the story—depicting the owners of the factory, and the men and women who work in it.

Upton Sinclair, **The Jungle**, New York: Doubleday, 1906. 343 pp. Of the meat-packing houses in Chicago early in the century. It exposes the filthy conditions and the mistreatment of the workers. It is a classic tale of the horror and futility of a worker's life and failure in attempts to organize. Recommended.

Wallace E. Stegner, **The Preacher and the Slave**, Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1950. 403 pp. This is a biographical novel which, with considerable fictionalization, tells the story of a leader of the IWW, Joseph Hillstrom, during the last six years of his life from 1910 to 1916. The story is enriched by vigorous dialogue, some shrewd character sketches, and insight into the motivations of the fanatics. The last half of the book, dealing with the trial and execution of Joe Hill before a Utah firing squad, is particularly good.

Irving Stone, **Adversary in the House**, New York: Doubleday, 1947. 432 pp. Stone has written a fictionalized biography of Eugene V. Debs, pioneer labor leader and socialist. It is a movingly sympathetic picture of Debs, but Debs, was reputed to have the faculty of making men love him tenderly, protectively. The only heart that Gene was forever unable to melt was the heart of his wife. She was the adversary in his house as he himself was in the greater house of his country.

Thomas Tippet, **Horse Shoe Bottoms**, New York: Harper, 1935. 298 pp. John Stafford, an English miner, came to work in the Horse Shoe Bottoms mine in Illinois with a group of his mates. The time was the 1870's and John was young, strong and eager to make his way in this country. The owner of the mine was a proud man, but weak, and as long as luck was with him things went well for the miners. But with wage cuts came labor troubles and John became a vital factor in the early history of the labor unions. For a time he as blacklisted and jobless, but victory came to him before he died.

Robert Travers, **A Funeral for Sabella**, New York: Harcourt Brace, 1952. 249 pp. A novel about politics, union rivalries and death in a big city. The main character is Harry Cooke, the undertaker in charge of the body of Pete Sabella, a longshoreman, who has been found at the bottom of the harbor in a casing of cement. Between

the time of the discovery of the body and the funeral, Cooke learns a good deal about the city and its workings.

Ben Ames Williams, **Owen Glen**, Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1950. 629 pp. A historical novel about life in a small Ohio town in the 1890's. Owen Glen, the central character, is a Welsh-born coal miner's son. Owen's life is described in detail up to the age of 19, when he himself had been working as a miner for five years.

John Minnich Wilson, **Dark and the Damp**, New York: Dutton, 1951. 256 pp. Autobiography of an American coal digger turned poet, describing his life from the age of 13, in 1911, when he first went to work in the mines of Southern Indiana, to the early 1920's when he gave up mining after a serious accident. Plainly and creatively written. Highly recommended.

Leane Zugsmith, **A Time to Remember**, New York: Random House, 1936. 352 pp. A novel of the strike of white-collar workers in a large New York department store. Many detailed descriptions of the life of the employees and the execution of a strike. Miss Zugsmith's particular talent lies in the accuracy with which she catches the vernacular of the men and women she portrays.

E. Miscellaneous Subjects:

Jack Barbash, **Labor Unions in Action**, New York: Harpers, 1948.

Marjorie R. Clark and S. Fanny Simon, **The Labor Movement in America**, New York: Morton, 1938.

Harold U. Faulkner, **The Quest for Social Justice**, New York: Macmillan, 1931 (History of American Life series).

Walter Galenson, editor, **Comparative Labor Movements**, New York: Prentice-Hall, 1952.

J. B. S. Hardman and Maurice F. Neufeld, editors, **The House of Labor, Internal Operations of American Unions**, New York: Prentice-Hall, 1951.

Edward C. Kirkland, **A History of American Economic Life**, New York: Crofts, 1941.

Katherine Lumpkin and Dorothy Douglas, **Child Workers in America**, New York: McBride, 1937.

Florence Peterson, **American Labor Unions, What They Are and How They Work**, New York: Harper, Revised Edition, 1952.

University of Minnesota Industrial Relations Center, **Problems of Union Administration**, Research and Technical Report #15, Dubuque: Wm. C. Brown Co., 1954.

University of Minnesota Industrial Relations Center, **Job Opportunities and Job Security**, Research and Technical Report #16, Dubuque: Wm. C. Brown Co., 1955.

Donald H. Wollett, **Labor Relations and Federal Law**, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1949.

Chester W. Wright, **Economic History of the United States**, New York: McGraw Hill, 1949.

Dale Yoder, **You and Unions** (Life Adjustment Booklet) Chicago: Science Research Associates, 1951.

IV. Audio-Visual Materials:

A. Films:

Films already described in the "Teaching Procedures" include the following:

*****"How Green Was My Valley"**, b&w, 30 minutes, 1941.

"I. A. Documentary", b&w, 25 minutes, 1948. *

"With These Hands", b&w, 50 minutes, 1950. *

"The Other Paris", b&w, 25 minutes, 1952. *

Other films which might prove helpful follow:

"The Future of Labor Unions", b&w, 30 minutes, 1952. * Rental is \$1.00. This is a kinescope of a television program

REFERENCES (continued)

featuring Mark Starr, education director of the ILGWU, as he answers questions put to him by students from Barnard and Columbia Colleges. Questions cover political action by labor, democracy in trade unions, development of union leadership, advantages of unions to professional workers, etc. Dated somewhat by references to the 1952 Steel Strike.

"Youth Wants to Know", b&w, 30 minutes, 1953. * Rental is \$1.00. A kinescope of George Meany's appearance on the television program of the same name. The AFL head gives forthright answers to a wide variety of questions ranging from the New York dock situation to political action, Taft-Hartley, labor unity, and John L. Lewis.

"Union at Work", b&w, 24 minutes, ** Rental is \$4.00. Story of the Textile Workers Union of America—CIO. It was made specifically to clarify the "what", "how" and "why" of the varied activities of a modern union. Labor history, organizing, collective-bargaining, strikes, political action, and union democracy are dealt with in an interesting manner. The commentator does all the talking, and the film becomes background material for his remarks. For example, one does not hear the principals speaking in a sequence dealing with a grievance. In this sense, the film does not provide that nearness to direct experience which is desirable in a teaching film.

"The Grievance", b&w, 32 minutes, 1955. * Rental is \$3.00. An excellent step-by-step presentation of the handling of a grievance in a General Motors plant, as the newest production of the National Film Board of Canada. The film, employing a case-study technique, points out that the important thing to emphasize in labor-management relations is the necessity of having an orderly step-by-step grievance procedure, and while the union position was upheld in this instance, it is not particularly important to know how this particular grievance was resolved.

"For Fair Play", b&w, 30 minutes, 1955. * Rental is \$3.00. Produced by the Pennsylvania State Commission on Industrial Race Relations, this film shows how a white machinist becomes concerned because a colored machinist cannot find a job in town and what he does about it. It has a plant-oriented setting, it is down-to-earth, it is realistic, and it makes its point effectively. There is no mention of unions in the film.

"Local 100", b&w, 32 minutes, 1950. *** Rental is \$3.00. Produced by the National Film Board of Canada. It is a straight-forward story of how the discharge of a worker leads to the formation of a union and to a contract. Along the line the film provides a look-in on the first organizing meeting as organizer and workers measure one another; a taste of coming victory as more and more cards are signed and an election is called for; the "cooling of heels" outside the boss' office waiting for the first contract negotiations and all the familiar incidents in any local's history.

"I. L. O.", b&w, 11 minutes, 1948. *** Rental is \$1.00. Produced by the National Film Board of Canada. It traces the history of the ILO from its beginning in 1919 to the 29th conference in Canada. It describes its structure, its method of representation, and its procedures.

"United Action for Victory", b&w, 33 minutes. ** Rental is \$3.00. It brings you face to face with problems that confronted early CIO unions when they tried to organize. The effects of injunctions are clearly demonstrated. There is an especially good scene of a worker trying to explain a strike (UAW Tool & Die Makers Strike of 1938-39) to his wife. One of the results of farm-labor understanding is shown when farmers provide food for the strikers.

"For the Record", b&w, 20 minutes. ** Rental is \$3.00. This is the record of the 1946 strikes of the CIO, their causes and the meaning of the victory. The cut in take-home pay at the war's end is measured against the rise

in prices, and the need for political action is stressed. The pitting of veterans and the community against labor does not succeed. There are scenes of community support received by the strikers. This is compared to the violence and strike-breaking after the first world war.

"Union Local", b&w, 26 minutes, 1951. * Rental is \$3.00. This film was originally produced by the State Department for overseas use. It tells how a local of the American Machinists' Union functions. It shows a hotly contested election, the settling of two grievances, and the negotiation of a new contract. Issues may not always be so clearcut or resolved with such comparative ease.

B. Filmstrips:

Filmstrips already described in the "Teaching Procedures" include the following:

"Labor in the News", 55 frames, 1949. *

"Labor's Challenge", 22 minutes, 62 frames, 1950. *

Other filmstrips which might prove helpful follow:

"Fifty Years of ILGWU History", 81 frames, 1950. * Introductory shots show what a strong union has done in the shops for members of the Garment Workers' Union. Flashbacks document conditions as they once were and picture the pioneer leadership which built the union. The filmstrip ends with comments on, and pictures of, the union's education and health programs. Rental is 50¢.

"Samuel Gompers—Man of Labor", color, 15 minutes, 48 frames, 1950. * Rental is \$1.00. Tells the story of Samuel Gompers' life and work as he developed the philosophy and structure of the AFL. It tells the story of a boy, born in the London slums, apprenticed as a cigarmaker in America, who was able to build a great labor movement at home and, as a delegate at Versailles, to realize the dream of forty years, by helping establish the ILO in the League of Nations.

"Men on the Job", 18 minutes, 81 frames, 1951. * Produced by the San Francisco Labor Council with the technical assistance of the University of California. The San Francisco Labor Council, which believes that race, creed and color are a man's own business and should not influence his job opportunity, explores minority group membership in local AFL unions. While labor generally displayed a good spirit of brotherhood, in some instances union members and leaders let personal fear shape a policy of discrimination. The Council is hard hitting in its criticism of these individuals. It concludes that a job of education must be done in the community as well as in the labor movement to "insure the acceptance of minority groups in all kinds of work on all levels." The rental is \$1.00.

In the above listing of films and filmstrips, * indicates that the film or filmstrip is available from the AFL Department of Education, while ** indicates that it is available from the CIO Department of Research and Education. Students should be made aware of the factor of bias in most of these presentations. Obviously, the makers of visual aids intend to create favorable attitudes toward unions as well as to provide information. Teachers will want to point this out to their students. They might even discuss the specific devices used to build favorable attitudes.

Teachers will be interested in securing the following catalogs:

Films for Labor, AFL Department of Education, 44 pp., 25¢.

Films for Labor and How to Use Them, CIO Department of Research and Education, 44 pp., 25¢.

In addition, they might wish to subscribe to the **News Letter** of the AFL Department of Education, \$1.00 a year. This monthly publication frequently contains lengthy and critical reviews of new labor films.

Unit Test—The Story of Labor in American History

- ____ 1. During the early part of the 1800's, children (a) were widely employed in textile mills; (b) were in school six hours a day; (c) were a serious problem since there were no schools and they could not work; (d) were forced to join labor unions.
- ____ 2. The usual effect of depressions on labor unions is to cause (a) higher wages; (b) an increase in union membership; (c) an improvement in employer-worker relations; (d) a decrease in union membership.
- ____ 3. Real wages are (a) money wages minus savings; (b) wages paid in goods; (c) what money wages actually buy; (d) the same as money wages.
- ____ 4. The principle that "the labor of human beings is not a commodity" was stated in: (a) the Clayton Act; (b) the Commonwealth vs. Hunt decision; (c) the 1912 A F L national convention; (d) the Norris-LaGuardia Act.
- ____ 5. The founder of the Knights of Labor was (a) Samuel Gompers; (b) Eugene V. Debs; (c) John L. Lewis; (d) Uriah Stephens.
- ____ 6. The court case resulting from the Haymarket Riot of 1886 is a good example of (a) the saying that "Crime does not pay"; (b) the increasing power of labor unions in America; (c) traditional American legal justice; (d) misguided democratic justice based on hysteria.
- ____ 7. The American Federation of Labor is a labor organization which places primary emphasis on (a) industrial union organization (b) craft union organization; (c) one big union; (d) political action.
- ____ 8. A device used by workers in which they exercise their power as consumers, rather than as workers, is called (a) a boycott; (b) a lock-out; (c) an open shop; (d) the blacklist.
- ____ 9. The group of men who were often hired by employers as labor spies, strikebreakers or factory guards were (a) Molly Maguires; (b) Wobblies; (c) Pinkertons; (d) Brotherhoods.
- ____ 10. The popular labor leader who spent six months in jail for contempt of court after the Pullman Strike was (a) John L. Lewis; (b) Eugene C. Debs; (c) Uriah Stevens; (d) Bill Haywood.
- ____ 11. The Wagner Act is especially important because of its provisions about (a) unemployment compensation; (b) pensions; (c) communistic unions; (d) collective bargaining.
- ____ 12. The American Federation of Labor differed from the Knights of Labor in that (a) it was a more radical labor organization; (b) it offered membership to all wage earners; (c) it was an organization of individual craft unions; (d) it favored the organization of a Labor Party for political activities.
- ____ 13. The "blacklist" was used by employers (a) to prevent Negro workers from securing employment in northern industries; (b) to prevent workers from taking part in strikebreaking activities; (c) to discourage the organizing activities of labor leaders; (d) to prevent workers from leaving their employers for better jobs.
- ____ 14. The clerks in the Brown company refused to go to work because the truck drivers were on strike and picketing the company entrances. The action of the clerks may be described as a: (a) jurisdictional strike; (b) general strike; (c) economic strike; (d) wildcat strike; (e) sympathy strike.
- ____ 15. Of the following types of union security which is presently the most common? (a) agency shop; (b) preferential hiring; (c) check-off; (d) open shop; (e) union shop.
- ____ 16. A basic difference between the Wagner and the Taft-Hartley Acts is with respect to: (a) the use of the blacklist; (b) union security; (c) the yellow dog contract; (d) the use of the union label; (e) the "one-month" rule.
- ____ 17. Unions seem to prosper best (a) in prosperous times; (b) in times of war; (c) in depressions; (d) when their money wage is increasing faster than the cost of living.

UNIT TEST (continued)

Matching Questions: Some names are used several times.

- _____ 1. As Grand Master of the Knights of Labor, he gave that organization secrecy and ritual.
- _____ 2. As Governor of Illinois, he opposed the use of federal troops in the famous Pullman strike.
- _____ 3. With the exception of one year, he was the President of the AFL from its founding in 1886 to his death in 1924.
- _____ 4. One of this country's younger labor leaders, he succeeded Philip Murray as president of the CIO.
- _____ 5. He emerged from prison following the Pullman Strike as a Socialist. When again in prison in 1920, he polled almost one million votes as Socialist candidate for President.
- _____ 6. A strike conducted by his union figured in the debate on the Taft-Hartley Act.
- _____ 7. Famous IWW ballad writer who, many believe, was "framed" in Salt Lake City and shot by a firing squad.
- _____ 8. This labor leader started to work in the mines of Illinois at the age of 12, joined the United Mine Workers at its organization in 1890, and at the age of 20 was its President.
- _____ 9. A Senator from New York who was the main author of the National Labor Relations Act of 1935.
- _____ 10. Successor of William Green as the President of the AFL.
- _____ 11. He read books and pamphlets to fellow workers in a cigar factory.
- _____ 12. He rose from the ranks (plumber) to become president of the AFL.
- _____ 13. He said, "Have your union, but remember that with power goes responsibility. You cannot conquer injustice with another form of injustice."
- _____ 14. In his pardon message, he claimed "that the bomb was, in all probability, thrown by someone seeking personal revenge; that a course had been pursued by the authorities which would naturally cause this; that for a number of years prior to the Haymarket affair there had been labor troubles, and in several cases a number of laboring people, guilty of no offense, had been shot down in cold blood by Pinkerton men, and none of the murderers were brought to justice . . ."

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| A. John P. Altgeld | H. Walter P. Reuther |
| B. Robert F. Wagner | I. Uriah Stephens |
| C. Samuel Gompers | J. The Preacher in How Green Was My Valley |
| D. John L. Lewis | K. John Mitchell |
| E. Bill Haywood | L. Eugene V. Debs |
| F. Joe Hill | |
| G. George Meany | |

Matching Questions: Some terms will not be used.

- _____ 1. Purposeful destruction of property — or slowing up of work—in order to injure the employer.
- _____ 2. A method used effectively by the Knights of Labor to achieve its ends.
- _____ 3. A method employed by labor to let the public know that a particular industry is unfair to organized labor.
- _____ 4. A method employed by the factory owner to see that labor leaders and union sympathizers are without jobs.
- _____ 5. A court order employed by the employer which would forbid workers from certain actions, such as the right to strike against the U. S. mails in the Pullman strike.
- _____ 6. The A F L favors this type of union.
- _____ 7. This type of union is not affiliated with other labor groups and it is usually dominated by the employer.
- _____ 8. What union in America once argued, "Abolish the wage system!"
- _____ 9. A method employed by the plant owner in which all work ceases.
- _____ 10. The worker pledges the employer that he neither belongs to, nor will join, a labor union while in that company's employ.
- _____ 11. Together they are known as the "Big Four."
- _____ 12. A device used by organized labor to inform the buying public that an article or service is made or performed by union labor.
- _____ 13. A controversy as to which union should represent a group of workers.
- _____ 14. Famous court decision which held that organizing by workers to improve their lot was a "criminal conspiracy."
- _____ 15. A plan proposed by unions in certain industries to assure workers of steady income.

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| A. Featherbedding | J. Injunction |
| B. Boycott | K. Lockout |
| C. Closed Shop | L. Picketing |
| D. Guaranteed Annual Wage | M. Sabotage |
| E. Company Union | N. Strike |
| F. Craft Union | O. Union Label |
| G. Industrial Union | P. Yellow Dog Contract |
| H. Blacklist | Q. Brotherhoods |
| I. Jurisdictional Dispute | R. IWW |
| | S. Cordwainers' Case |