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Abstract

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Comments
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CHAPTER 10
Clothing and Textiles

BOOT AND SHOE CUTTERS' NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, KNIGHTS OF LABOR

I. CHRONOLOGY

1907 Organized.
1912 Absorbed by United Shoe Workers of America, 1909 (q. v.).

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
   1st-4th ann., 1907-1910
2. Constitutions.
   ann. 1907-1910

BOOT AND SHOE WORKERS' UNION

Address: 246 Summer St., Boston

I. CHRONOLOGY

1889 Organized under name of Boot and Shoe Workers' International Union by seceding locals of Shoe Workers' National Trade Assembly, Knights of Labor (organized 1884). Affiliated with AFL.
1895 Merged with Lasters' Protective Union of America (q. v.) and other locals of Shoe Workers' National Trade Assembly under present name.
1899 Seceding faction in Haverhill, Mass., organized Shoe Workers' Protective Union (q. v.).

II. PUBLICATIONS
   (Code Number: B2)

1. Proceedings.
   1894; 1st-3rd ann., 1895-1897 (2 edns); 4th, 1899; 5th-7th bien., 1902-1906; 8th-15th bien., 1907-1921; 16th, 1925; 17th, 1929; 18th, 1939; 19th, 1941 (9th, 12th-17th with journal)
2. Constitutions.
   ann. 1889-1893; ann. 1895-1897; 1899?; bien. 1902-1906; bien. 1907-1921; bien. 1925-1929; 1933; 1939

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Published as: (Boston)
1900-Jun 1902: The Union Boot and Shoe Worker
Jul 1902-1941+: The Shoe Workers’ Journal
(Suspended 1934-Mar 1935 and 1938-1940.)

Editors:
1900-Mar 1902: Horace M. Eaton
Apr 1902-Jan 1931: Charles L. Baine
Feb-Dec 1931: E. W. A. O’Dell
1932-1941+: John J. Mara

III. Critique of Publications

The Boot and Shoe Workers’ International Union was organized in 1889 by locals which had seceded from the Shoe Workers’ National Trade Assembly of the Knights of Labor. Six years later this union merged with the remaining locals of the Knights of Labor Assembly and with another early organization in the industry, the Lasters’ Protective Union of America, to form the Boot and Shoe Workers’ Union. Both the Boot and Shoe Workers’ International Union and the Lasters’ Protective Union had held charters from the AFL, and the new union immediately affiliated with the federation.

Under the leadership of John F. Tobin, who carried many of his supporters into office with him when he became president in 1897, the union strengthened its organization and was soon securely established. Tobin and his following revealed themselves in the union’s journal as idealists whose primary concern was to increase wages and decrease hours of work, but who advocated cooperative rather than antagonistic attitudes toward the employer. They expressed sympathy for the manufacturer’s problems and spoke of their membership as partners in his business.

There was at first strong pressure within the Boot and Shoe Workers’ Union for support of the Socialist Labor party, but a majority of delegates to the conventions was always unwilling to pledge votes. The dominant philosophy rejected the ideas of this party, but at the same time condemned competition as the scourge of civilization and envisioned a cooperative commonwealth.

In 1898 the union developed a collective bargaining policy to which it has adhered in general ever since. In that year W. E. Douglas, a Massachusetts shoe manufacturer, suggested to the Boot and Shoe Workers a scheme of collective agreements with provision for arbitration of disputes. An employer was to be permitted to use the union label on condition that he sign a union shop agreement. The union undertook not to strike during the life of
the agreement. Grievances were to be submitted to arbitrators whose decisions would be binding. The employer was to be deprived of the label for any breach of contract, while local unions which violated the agreement were to suffer severe disciplinary action. No standard wages or working conditions were required of the label user. This was intended to facilitate the organization of substandard plants where conditions were worst and opposition to unionism strongest. The use of the label, union leaders argued, would increase the plant's sales and thus make higher wages and improved conditions possible in ensuing seasons. The union guaranteed a stable wage scale and uninterrupted operation for an entire year, and anticipated the advancement of its interests at a reasonable pace from season to season. The Douglas plan was compatible with the economic and social philosophy of the Boot and Shoe Workers, for it harmonized with their belief in the gradual attainment of their goals and their willingness to cooperate with the employer.

Although the basic policy adopted at that time was never repudiated, the union's attitude toward employers underwent a gradual transformation during the first decade of the twentieth century. Experience demonstrated that some manufacturers, who had signed an agreement when threatened with a strike, later ignored the provisions of the agreement while expecting the union to live up to its no-strike bargain. This behavior on the part of employers developed a rank-and-file cynicism which provoked much internal strife. Under pressure from the membership, union leaders finally adopted more militant tactics than they had previously used for the enforcement of union agreements. The union still maintained its policy of considering each employer's economic condition and cooperating with him to improve it, instead of attempting to standardize conditions rapidly throughout all union plants. There was a marked modification, however, of the early idealistic economic philosophy which condemned competition and foresaw a cooperative millenium. The union was strongly influenced by its affiliation with the AFL and soon absorbed many of the AFL attitudes.

The union's early years were beset also with internal problems, of which the most pressing were lack of funds and an undisciplined membership. In 1900 the international officers finally overcame the vigorous opposition of many years and secured high dues and increased power for the international. The centering of control in the international, the achievement of financial stability, and continued reliance on arbitration were viewed by the union's leaders as the chief pillars of its strength.
After 1903, the security of the international was again threatened by numerous factional conflicts and secessions. The 1907 election of union officers was bitterly contested. Officers were at this time elected by referendum, a system which frequently gave rise to charges of fraud. Several elections were taken to court, where the international officers were absolved of charges made by groups in the union. The 1907 election, however, was contested on the floor of the convention. Several members were penalized as a result of the contest and the international officers, their majority affirmed, again absolved. In spite of the seriousness of the struggle the international apparently suffered no permanent injury. Locals which had seceded as a result of the controversy returned and new ones joined. Soon after the 1907 difficulties, however, the union abandoned the referendum system and substituted convention elections to prevent recurrence of such disputes.

In 1909 factions and secessions began to reappear. Many seceders turned to the Knights of Labor in hope of a more militant policy than that of no strikes and collaboration with the employer. The IWW seems also to have contributed to the growth of internal conflict. Its competition evoked from the journal strong criticisms of its radical philosophy. Some of the seceding groups and factional critics within the union now declared that the election of officers by conventions was undemocratic. Other members, however, recalled the previous difficulties under the referendum system and also argued that it had operated to give disproportionate power to the large locals. Factional strife continued to characterize the history of the Boot and Shoe Workers’ Union, as well as other unions in the shoe industry, for many years. After 1924 reports of conflict were less frequent in the journal, but the fact that the union had a long history of internal dissension helped to provide an opening in later years for rival organization by the CIO.

When the journal was young, its editorials, articles, and letters were concerned mainly with discussion of social and economic problems. Its only material from other sources was general information distributed by trade unions and the federal government. During the election controversies many of the members exchanged personal insults in the columns of the journal. After about a decade of social and economic idealism, the journal began to devote more space to articles on the duties of members and criticisms of particular independent unions. The journal also strongly supported the union label movement.

The Boot and Shoe Workers’ Union accepted World War I with patriotic declarations accompanied by a “Let’s not forget ourselves” attitude. It clamored for army contracts and complained
bitterly when non-union and prison-labor firms received them. Otherwise it commented little on the war. The journal inveighed against the great anti-union drive of the twenties and such accompaniments of this drive as the injunction and the yellow-dog contract. During this period the journal frequently explained and defended the policies of the AFL. In the twenties and thirties it constantly condemned Bata, the Czech manufacturer, for his labor policies and his practice of dumping shoes on the American market. During the depression of the thirties the journal carried original and reprinted articles which attempted to explain unemployment and offer remedies for it. The journal itself felt the effects of the depression. It was suspended for three years, but reappeared in time to criticize the National Recovery Administration on the ground that it had not benefited the shoe workers.

The union's journal was more informative than its convention proceedings. The reports of the president and the secretary-treasurer, which were conducted in 1917, reviewed for each convention the problems which the union had to solve and gave an account of its financial condition; but the discussion of delegates was usually only summarized or omitted altogether. The journal often reported decisions made at the conventions and included, with rebuttal comment, criticisms of both the union and its officers which it found published elsewhere.

Delegates to the 1941 convention voiced their belief in the necessity of working as a political pressure group, their opposition to the National Labor Relations Board—which they considered prejudiced—and to the CIO, which had raided their organization. They reiterated their demands for a high tariff on shoes, but no tariff on hides. No important changes in the policy of cooperation with employers were accepted by the convention.

CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA, AMALGAMATED

Address: 15 Union Square, New York

I. CHRONOLOGY

1914 Organized by seceding faction of tailors' and cutters' locals of United Garment Workers of America (q. v.). Absorbed Tailors' Industrial Union (q. v.).

1915 Tailors' Industrial Union withdrew and adopted name of Journeymen Tailors' Union of America (q. v.).

1933 Affiliated with AFL.
1935 Absorbed Journeymen Tailors' Union of America. Participated in formation of CIO.
1936 Suspended by AFL.
1938 Expelled from AFL.

II. Publications
(Code Number: C5)

1. Proceedings.
2. Constitutions.
   1914; ann. 1916-1918; 1922; 1940
   Published as: (New York)
      Mar 1917-1941+: Advance
      Editors:
      Mar 1917-Oct 8, 1926: Joseph Schlossberg
      Oct 15, 1926-1941+: J. B. S. Hardman

III. Critique of Publications

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America was formed by the secession of cutters' and tailors' locals from the United Garment Workers of America. At the 1914 convention of the UGW, the union officers refused to seat delegates from the cutters' and tailors' locals on the ground that the latter were in debt to the international. The representatives of these locals claimed that the bills against their locals were fraudulent and manufactured by the national officers to disfranchise them. After they were refused a hearing, they assembled elsewhere and held their own convention. Their second convention was held in December 1914, at which time the new group assumed its present name.

The Advance was first published in 1917, but the Amalgamated had previously published Fortschrift in Yiddish and Lavore in Italian. The form and content of Advance rarely varied. Emphasis was placed on editorials and original articles, and the journal seldom reprinted articles from other trade union publications. A frequent contributor was Charles W. Ervin, editor of the New York Call, who wrote several series of articles on political and world affairs. The editor or a member of the staff paralleled Ervin with such columns as "So This Is the Week" and "In the Labor Movement, Home and Abroad." Advance also offered many articles on art, the theatre, and other cultural subjects, as well as book reviews and biographies of famous men. Although these
occupied most space when there was a dearth of union material, as for example in the middle twenties, they appeared frequently enough to indicate that they were a part of a well-defined policy of workers' education. A short-lived correspondence column was discontinued towards the end of 1925 and letters from members were published only occasionally thereafter.

The editorials were usually of substantial length and extended from Amalgamated affairs to current events, politics, activities of other unions, world affairs, and the international labor movement. *Advance* constantly stressed the need for a labor party which would embrace the entire labor movement in the United States. In 1924, the Amalgamated sent delegates to both the Conference for Progressive Political Action and the Farmer-Labor party convention.

During the early years of the union, editorials and convention speeches had a socialist character. Though they gave some consideration to proposals for reforming capitalism, they stressed the complete elimination of the capitalist system, and were echoed by many articles on the class struggle, the evils of capitalism, and the social, political, and economic structure of the United States and other countries. In the 1918 convention official endorsement of the Socialist party was proposed. Despite the fact that the Amalgamated had worked for and supported the Socialists, the majority of the delegates felt that official endorsement should not be extended while some members opposed it. Unwilling, however, to oppose endorsement, they referred the resolution back to committee. In 1932 members were urged to voice the workers' protest with a Socialist vote.

At various times, particularly during 1926-1927, 1929, and 1932-1933, the Communists (Workers' party) attempted to capture the Amalgamated or secure its support. The conflicts which developed within locals between Socialists and Communists were firmly stamped out by the international officers, who would not risk the weakening of their organization by political factions. More criticism seems to have been leveled at the Communists, however, than at the Socialists.

As the Amalgamated grew older, the socialist fervor of *Advance* waned. It printed fewer and fewer discussions of class conflict and finally declared that the true aim of the trade union movement should not be the overthrow of capitalism. The change in the union's attitude may be illustrated by a comparison of its constitutions of 1914 and 1940. The preamble to the constitution of 1914 read, in part:
"The class owning those means [of production] is the one that is ruling, the class that possesses nothing but its labor power, which is always on the market as a commodity, is the one that is being ruled. . . . The industrial and inter-industrial organization, built upon the solid rock of clear knowledge and class consciousness, will put the organized working class in actual control of the system of production, and the working class will then be ready to take possession of it.”

The constitution of 1940 has no preamble, but it presents a list of objects, among which are:

"To improve the wages and hours of work, to increase the job security and to better the working and living conditions of its members; to establish and maintain collective bargaining throughout the trades and industries within its jurisdiction; to defend and extend democratic institutions and procedures and the civil rights and liberties of its members and all others.”

For some time after its secession from the United Garment Workers the Amalgamated felt the consequences of dual unionism. The Amalgamated frequently accused the UGW of strike-breaking, and Advance reported many instances in which the UGW provided workers for plants where Amalgamated members were on strike and even signed agreements with the employers involved.

The problem of administering a large industrial union, made up of such different craft groups as tailors, cutters, pressers, pants makers, shirt makers, and coat makers, has been reflected in the union journal. The Amalgamated early adopted a system of government under which local unions in a particular market send representatives to a joint board, which organizes, coordinates, and supervises the activities of its affiliates. Centralization of administration and protection of the principle of industrial unionism are secured by a rule which gives precedence to the by-laws of the joint board over those of a local union in case of conflict. The activities of the joint boards have been reported in the journal. From 1929 to 1932 many editorials stressed the need for increased centralization in union management and cited as an example of effective centralized management the control department in New York, which acts for all locals to prevent the letting out of work to non-union contractors. In many cases editorials suggested the merging of two or more local unions—for example, two tailors’ locals in the same area.

The Amalgamated is well known for its broad view of the clothing industry and its close attention to problems of production, pricing, and marketing. As early as 1924 it began to study working
methods, labor efficiency, and costs in union plants in order to assist management in meeting the competition of non-union employers.

In many plants it has taken over most of the work of making time-studies and setting wage rates for piece-work operations. In 1939 it introduced a stabilization plan, designed to equalize labor costs among competing manufacturers, which involved a large amount of union control over production and competition. Although the stabilization plan was announced in the journal, it was not labeled "union-management cooperation" nor was this interpretation emphasized. Conflict of opinion within the membership concerning the functions of a trade union, and particularly concerning the extent to which unions should cooperate with management, seems to have been the reason for the officers' wariness of this term. Letters to the editor in 1925 had accused the international officers of "class collaboration" because they had negotiated an agreement with "Golden Rule" Nash of Cincinnati, whose firm was known for its welfare plan, efficiency system, and bonus scheme. Other letters during 1925, the only period in which the journal had a correspondence section, charged union officials with incipient conservatism and provoked the editor's rebuttal that the labor movement was not an instrument for revolutionary change.

Because of the Amalgamated's concern with all aspects of the clothing industry, much information on the economic characteristics and problems of the industry appeared in articles on the difficulties involved in setting wage rates, the question of piece-work versus time-work, the characteristics of particular firms in the industry, and the economic structure of the industry as a whole.

The contracting and sub-contracting system has presented serious control problems for the union. Even union employers attempt to send out work to non-union contractors if the union is not watchful. The greatest single problem is to locate the contractors, whose small size and high mobility make them difficult to trace. In 1927 the Amalgamated made an arrangement whereby members of the New York Express Drivers' local of the Teamsters' Union reported to the union the names and addresses of firms sending work to non-union contractors. The effectiveness of the control department in this connection has been mentioned above.

The Amalgamated has developed many auxiliary activities, and the journal has devoted a great deal of space to them. The union has financed a large cooperative housing project in New York, established credit unions, and founded banks in Chicago and New York. After an extended lockout in 1928 in Milwaukee, the
Amalgamated opened a shop of its own to give employment to the strikers; the Hart, Schaffner and Marx firm provided work for the shop on a contract basis. In 1932 this shop closed because of business conditions, and a cooperative enterprise was set up by individual workers. In 1921 the Amalgamated underwrote several thousand dollars' worth of securities for a Baltimore firm, made concessions in labor cost to enable the firm to continue in operation, and participated for years in the management of the business. The New York Amalgamated Bank loaned money to a Rochester clothing manufacturer after which other banks followed. During the early twenties the Amalgamated collected substantial sums of money for Russian famine relief. In 1923 it formed the Russian-American Industrial Corporation, to which members subscribed one million dollars and received shares in nine clothing and textile factories in Russia. The corporation participated in the management of these factories and was given preference in orders placed by the Russian government in the purchase of raw materials and in the export business of Russia.

The Amalgamated has always conducted a varied program of workers' education. The journal has frequently run correspondence courses in trade unionism, history, and economics; the union has published books for distribution to members; and sponsored such cultural activities as dramatics and music clubs. Most of the local union headquarters have recreational facilities and a library.

The main feature of the Amalgamated's convention proceedings has been the report of the general executive board. The report gives a detailed account of union activities since the last conventions, including a history of all strikes, organizing campaigns, agreements, injunction proceedings, and activities of the locals in each market. It includes also a discussion of such union problems of dues and assessments, and of labor legislation, and national affairs. Speeches by officers of the union, by officers of other unions, by public officials such as the Secretary of Labor, and by friends of the union occupy a large part of the time of conventions. Discussion by delegates is not extensive and rarely indicates differences of opinion. The proceedings of 1922, 1924, and 1926 included appendixes prepared by the research department of the union, which contained statistics of membership, strikes, lockouts, agreements, and arbitration decisions.
FUR AND LEATHER WORKERS UNION OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA, INTERNATIONAL

Address: 251 Fourth Ave., New York

I. Chronology

1939 Organized as result of merger of International Fur Workers Union of the United States and Canada (q. v.) with National Leather Workers' Association, each of the former organizations forming a division of the new international. Affiliated with CIO.

II. Publications

1. Proceedings.  
   1st, 1940 (Leather Division)

2. Constitutions.  
   1939 (Fur Division); 1940 (Leather Division)

   Published as: (New York)  
   1939-1941+: Fur and Leather Worker

FUR WORKERS' UNION OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA, INTERNATIONAL

I. Chronology

1912 Organized.

1913 Affiliated with AFL.

1927 Expelled faction of New York locals organized Fur Workers' Industrial Union, a department of Needle Trades Workers' Industrial Union, affiliated with Trade Union Unity League.

1935 Absorbed Fur Workers' Industrial Union.

1937 Withdrew from AFL and affiliated with CIO.

1939 Merged with National Leather Workers' Association to form International Fur and Leather Workers Union of the United States and Canada (q. v.).

II. Publications

1. Proceedings.  
   [1st, 1913; 2nd, 1915]; 3rd, 1917; 4th, 1919; 5th, 1922; 6th, 1924; 8th, 1927; 9th, 1930; 11th-13th bien., 1935-1939
2. Constitutions.
   1913; bien. 1918-1924; 1927; 1936; 1938

   Published as: (Long Island City, N. Y.)
   Nov 1930-Apr 1931: The Fur Workers' Hope
   Jul 1937-Jul 1939: The Fur Worker
   (Suspended May 1929-Jan 1930; May 1931-Jun 1937. NS,
   Jul 1937. Ceased publication Jul 1939.)

FUR WORKERS OF UNITED STATES AND CANADA
INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF

I. CHRONOLOGY

1904 Affiliated with AFL.
1911 Withdrew from AFL.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
   [1st, 1904; 2nd, 1905]; 3rd, 1906; 4th, 1908 (3rd, 4th with
   journal)

2. Constitutions.
   ann. 1904-1906; 1908

   Published as: (Toronto, Ont.)
   Dec 1905-1908?: Furrier's Journal

GARMENT WORKERS OF AMERICA, UNITED

Address: 45 Astor Place, New York

I. CHRONOLOGY

1891 Organized as result of merger of Tailors National Protective
   Union with District Assembly No. 231, Knights of Labor.
   Affiliated with AFL.

1903 Merged with Special Order Clothingmakers' Union.

1909 Shirt workers in Shirt, Waist and Laundry Workers Interna-
   tional Union (q. v.) transferred to United Garment Workers.

1914 Seceding faction organized Amalgamated Clothing Workers
   of America (q. v.).
II. Publications
(Code Number: G1)

1. Proceedings.
   1892; 5th, 1895; 6th-13th ann. 1897-1904; 14th-18th bien.,
   1906-1914; 19th, 1918; 20th, 1922; 21st, 1927; 22nd, 1937
   (5th, 7th, 8th, 10th-12th with journal)

2. Reports.
   Secretary-Treasurer: 1897; ann. 1899-1903

3. Constitutions.
   1891; ann. 1898-1904; bien. 1906-1914; bien. 1918-1922;
   1927; 1935; 1937

   Published as: (New York)
   Apr 1893-Aug 1903: The Garment Worker
   Feb 18, 1903-Oct 18, 1912: The Weekly Bulletin
   Oct 25, 1912-1941 + : The Garment Worker
   (Until Sep 2, 1903 The Weekly Bulletin was jointly spon-
   sored by United Garment Workers and other clothing
   trades unions, but thereafter was published solely by United
   Garment Workers.)

   Editors:
   1895-Jul 15, 1904: Henry White
   Jul 22-Oct 7, 1904: No editor listed
   Oct 14, 1904-May 18, 1906: J. W. Sullivan
   May 25, 1906-1909: S. L. Landers
   1910-Jun 22, 1928: B. A. Larger
   Jun 29, 1928-Jun 8, 1934: J. L. Wines
   Jun 15, 1934-1941 + : T. A. Rickert

III. Critique of Publications

The United Garment Workers of America was formed in 1891
by a convention of some fifty local unions of cutters and tailors
from the Knights of Labor and the Tailors National Protective
Union. The Garment Worker, official journal of the union, was
established in 1893. The most outstanding feature of the journal
was the absence of news and discussion of UGW affairs. The
greater part of the journal consisted of news articles reprinted from
other sources and lists of union label firms. Original material
appeared chiefly in three or four editorials of substantial length in
each issue. Both editorials and news articles were concerned pri-
marily with developments in the American labor movement as a
whole rather than with the activities and problems of the garment
workers.
With respect to the subject matter of editorials, the journal's history may be divided into four periods: 1902-1909, 1910-1919, 1920-1926, and 1927-1940. During the first period, editorials were devoted largely to a defense of trade unionism. *The Trade Record*, published by the garment manufacturers' association, conducted during this period a campaign of vilification against trade unions in general and the United Garment Workers in particular. Practically every issue of the *Garment Worker* contained an editorial answering the charges of the trade journal. There were also articles attacking the anti-union tactics of employers and their associations.

From 1910 to 1919, editorials discussed a wide variety of subjects of interest to the labor movement, including prison labor, the union label, immigration, tariffs, industrial accidents, the income tax, legislation (state maximum hour laws for women, workmen's compensation, seamen's legislation, mothers' pensions), child labor, the McNamara and Mooney-Billings cases, injunctions, court decisions in the Danbury Hatters and Buck Stove and Range cases, the Colorado coal strikes and other major strikes, and such World War developments as government operation of railroads and means of communication, the National War Labor Board, and the attempt to prevent strikes in wartime.

After the war, editorials were once more concerned mainly with meeting the open shop drive carried on by employers and employers' associations during the early twenties. There was frequent discussion of the philosophy and objectives of trade unionism, the duties of union members, the need for "organization, agitation, education," the necessity of maintaining wage rates, such employer tactics as the hiring of private detectives and promotion of company unions, and Supreme Court decisions which were viewed as injurious to labor. Editorials were more militant in their attitude against the anti-union employer than they had been in the period 1902-1909.

After 1926 the journal began again to discuss a wider range of subjects, including strikes of various unions, the nomination of Judge Parker for the Supreme Court, the southern organizing campaign of the AFL, arguments against wage reduction during the 1929-1933 depression, the National Industrial Recovery Act, the Social Security Act, taxation of the rich, and the problem of unemployment. During this period, however, editorials tended to become shorter and fewer. This was particularly true from 1933-1940, during which time reprinted articles frequently appeared on the editorial page. During this period, also, there appeared
what might be termed "report" materials, such as summaries of speeches by political and labor leaders, reports of government agencies, provisions of proposed legislation, and AFL Executive Council reports. Two columns of comment on politics and world affairs also appeared on the editorial page.

The types of material reprinted from other sources reflected the policy of the journal, which was that of a general labor publication rather than a journal confining itself to the affairs of a particular union. From 1910-1920, general labor news was taken from newspapers, other trade union journals, and The Federationist. Reports of government agencies, such as state factory inspection departments and the Commission on Industrial Relations, and court decisions were also printed in full. From 1921-1934 almost the entire journal consisted of news items provided by the International Labor News Service. In 1935 the International Labor News Service was supplanted by the AFL News Service.

Discussion of union affairs in the journal was confined largely to promotion of the union label, strikes, jurisdictional disputes, and dual unionism. Until about 1910 the union's organizing activity consisted very largely of selling the label to employers and advertising the label to consumers. Label advertising in street cars and on bill boards was abandoned in 1905 as a result of opposition from members who felt that the money should be used to hire organizers. Not until about 1910, however, was there much evidence in the journal of direct organizing activity, and even after this date the journal reported only an occasional organizing drive. In 1910 the workers at Hart, Schaffner and Marx were organized by direct methods, and in 1912 a large mass meeting was held in New York for organizing purposes.

Strikes of the garment workers were not described in detail. They were seldom headlined in the general news section of the journal and were mentioned chiefly in editorials. Strike news was often taken from local newspapers, and frequently a strike was not mentioned until it had been in progress for a month or more. The strikes of other unions received more attention in the editorial section than did the strikes of the garment workers.

Serious jurisdictional disputes occurred between the UGW and the Journeymen Tailors' Union. In spite of this fact, a proposal to amalgamate the two unions was rejected in 1906 by a referendum vote of the membership. From 1905-1908 there were jurisdictional disputes with the Shirt, Waist, and Laundry Workers Union, which ended when this organization affiliated with the UGW in 1908.
The organization of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America by a group of seceding locals in 1914, and the dual unionism which resulted, were discussed extensively in the journal. The United Garment Workers charged that the secession resulted mainly from raising of the racial issue by a faction among the tailors. It also charged the Amalgamated with breaking its strikes with the aid of "thugs and hired gunmen." The countercharges of the Amalgamated have been noted in the description of its publications. The letters from locals contained in the journal consisted chiefly of personal and social notes, though there was occasional brief mention of union meetings and elections of officers.

Union conventions were held annually from 1891 to 1904, biennially from 1906 to 1914, and subsequently in 1918, 1922, 1927, and 1937. The proceedings included reports of union officers, summaries of reports from local unions, speeches to the convention, texts and discussion of resolutions, and reports of the committees on grievances, resolutions, and officers' reports. Committee reports were always printed verbatim and remarks by the president were usually printed in full. Speeches and discussion by delegates were summarized briefly until 1922, and were published partly verbatim and partly by summary in 1927 and 1937.

The president's and secretary's reports were short until 1903. They contained an account of these officers' journeys about the country to promote use of the union label, brief reports on strikes, and recommendations for convention action on constitutional amendments and other matters. Between 1904 and 1912 the reports were somewhat fuller, containing, in addition to the above matters, remarks on child labor, prison labor, union benefit plans, and jurisdictional disputes. Between 1914 and 1937 the reports contained even more discussion of union problems and activities, including reports on collective bargaining negotiations, texts of agreements, discussions of legislation, and accounts of factional conflicts, relations with locals, and the secession movement. The president's reports during this period contained lengthy discussions of the events preceding the convention of 1914, at which the secession took place, the events of the convention itself, and the results of the secession. The proceedings of the 1914 convention were not recorded verbatim, and what actually occurred can be judged only by comparing the statements of the two parties to the dispute. The published proceedings merely mentioned that certain delegates requested the floor during the reading of the report of the credentials committee, and that some delegates had left the hall.
The secretary's reports, except in 1927 and 1937, contained a detailed account of the union's receipts and disbursements. The financial reports for 1927 and 1937 contained only the balance on hand at the time of the preceding convention and at the time of the report, and an inventory of assets. In addition, itemized reports of receipts and disbursements appeared monthly in *The Garment Worker* from 1898-1903.

Summaries of reports from local unions appeared in the proceedings for 1898 and 1904-1914. These gave brief accounts of the condition of the local, the state of trade in the area, and strikes in which the local was involved. Such matters as relations between locals and the allocation of money for organizing purposes were also mentioned occasionally.

Reports of the executive board were published from 1910 to 1922. They discussed such subjects as initiation fees, tariffs, the union label, collective bargaining, and jurisdictional disputes. In 1927 and 1937 a single officers' report was submitted to the convention, which contained the material previously included in the reports of the president, the secretary, and executive board.

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**GARMENT WORKERS' UNION, INTERNATIONAL LADIES'**

Address: 3 W. 16th St., New York

I. CHRONOLOGY

1900 Organized by group of cloak unions, principally United Brotherhood of Cloak Makers of New York. Affiliated with AFL.

1935 Participated in formation of CIO.

1936 Suspended by AFL.

1938 Withdrew from CIO.

1940 Reinstated in AFL.

II. PUBLICATIONS

(Code Number: G2)

1. Proceedings.

   [1st, 1900]; 2nd-9th ann., 1901-1908; 10th-17th bien., 1910-1924; 18th, 1925; 19th, 1928; 20th, 1929; 21st, 1932; 22nd, 1934; 23rd, 1937; 24th, 1940

2. Reports.

   President and Secretary Treasurer: 1904
   General Executive Board: 1920-1940 (in conv. years)
3. Constitutions.
   1902; 1903; ann. 1909-1912; bien. 1914-1918; 1922; 1924;
   1932; 1934; 1937; 1940

   Published as: (New York)
   Apr 1910-1918: The Ladies' Garment Worker
   1919-1941+: Justice
   (NS, 1919)
   Editors:
   Apr 1910-Jun 1914: John A. Dyche
   Jul 1914-1918: No editor listed
   1919-Dec 11, 1925: Saul Yanofsky
   Dec 25, 1925-Feb 22, 1929: Max D. Danish
   Mar 15-Apr 12, 1929: A. Rosebury
   May 24, 1929-1941+: D. B. Hoffman

III. Critique of Publications

The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union was formed in 1899 by a merger of existing locals in New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Chicago. The official organ of the union was entitled The Ladies' Garment Worker from 1910 to 1918 and Justice from 1919 through 1941.

The Ladies' Garment Worker, a monthly magazine, contained editorials; signed articles by union officers, organizers and members of the magazine staff; reports of the monthly meeting of the general executive board; occasional letters from members; and a section devoted to the problems and activities of local unions. The articles, though based on current developments in the union, were analytical discussions rather than news reports. Accounts of strikes, for example, emphasized the issues involved, the employer's labor policies, the union's position, and the significance of the strike; the actual events of the strike were mentioned only briefly if at all. Again, organizers' reports were usually lengthy discussions of union policy rather than itineraries of the organizers' movements.

Since the entire journal had an editorial aspect, the subjects discussed in editorials cannot be separated from those discussed in other sections. Among the issues most frequently mentioned were representation in union conventions, dues, the negotiation and enforcement of collective agreements, strikes, the merits of piecework as compared with time-work, the desirability of equal division of work, contracting and subcontracting, conservative versus radical unionism, and other aspects of trade union philosophy and tactics.
Justice was published as a weekly newspaper except from 1928 to 1934, during which period the format and frequency of publication were changed several times. Editorials, a news section, and feature articles were the main elements in the journal throughout.

From 1919 to 1930 editorials were lengthy and analytical. They discussed the provisions of a collective agreement, the results of an organizing drive, the advisability of a strike or the technique of conducting it, the relative merit of piecework and time-work, overtime rules, the right of employers to discharge workers, the contracting system and other problems of the industry, the factional conflict in the union, activities of other unions, and national and international affairs. During this period the union was struggling to establish itself in the industry and faced large problems which were common to most of the locals. Strikes were almost always general strikes of cloakmakers, suitmakers, dressmakers, or some other group rather than strikes against a particular shop. The contracting problem and the controversy over piecework affected all members of the union. Almost every local was rent by factional strife. By the thirties, however, the union had entrenched itself more securely in the industry, factionalism had been checked, and the number of controversial issues had declined. From 1931 on, therefore, editorials were shorter and were largely reviews of union activities which were reported in news form elsewhere in the journal. They tended to be congratulatory remarks on union achievements rather than analyses of problems. Editorial discussion of national and international affairs also declined.

The general news section of Justice was used in the early years to report major developments in the union—a general strike of cloakmakers or skirtmakers, a development in the factional conflict, a bargaining conference with employers' associations. The only local union reporting in the journal was the cutters' local, which discussed such problems as discharge cases, grievance machinery, violation of union rules by members and the imposition of penalties on them, and also the larger problems facing the international. Beginning about 1926, reports from locals and joint boards began to appear intermittently, and from 1930 on they were a regular feature of the journal. These reports included details of organizing progress, strikes, agreements, and National Recovery Administration codes. By the middle thirties the union had become firmly established in the large eastern cities and was attempting to organize shops in the small eastern towns and in the cities of the West. From 1937 on entire pages were devoted to progress reports on organizing campaigns in the out-of-
town shops, the Eastern cotton garment area, and the Southwest. From the middle thirties on the journal also contained many pictures, and described at length the sports, educational, and cultural activities of the union.

Each issue of *Justice* has normally included a long feature article, usually written by a non-member of the union, but sometimes by a union officer or a member of the editorial staff. The subjects have varied with the times, including such matters as international relations, imperialism, cooperation, the Socialist party, labor's legal status, foreign labor movements, major strikes of other unions, the history of the American labor movement, social insurance, national politics, and government ownership of industry. The writers have included, among many others, Juliet S. Poyntz, Robert Morss Lovett, Scott Nearing, and Norman Thomas. *Justice* has also ordinarily carried one or more columns of comment on current political and labor developments.

The Ladies' Garment Workers held annual conventions from its formation in 1900 until 1908, and biennial conventions from 1910 through 1924. Subsequent conventions have been held in 1925, 1928, 1929, 1932, 1934, 1937, and 1940.

The proceedings of the conventions from 1901 to 1910 were short, containing only reports by the president and secretary-treasurer, brief reports from locals, and a list of resolutions considered with no record of the discussion on them. The president's and secretary-treasurer's reports contained short summaries of strikes, organizing activities, label promotion, and internal union problems; the secretary-treasurer's report also contained a financial statement. In 1912 and 1914 the officers' reports were more detailed and the report of proceedings was longer, containing speeches to the convention and a summary of the delegates' remarks on resolutions and committee reports.

The reports of conventions since 1916 have maintained the same general form, including a long report by the general executive board, a detailed financial report, and a record of speeches and discussion in the convention. The report of the general executive board frequently exceeds two hundred pages. It is in essence a history of the international, containing long accounts of particular strikes and negotiations, with lists of the union's demands, copies of letters exchanged between the union and employers, and the texts of agreements obtained. It discusses also the activities and problems of particular locals or areas, relations among locals and between locals and the international, factional conflict in the union, educational activities, political action and legislation, developments
in the general labor movement, union-management cooperation, and economic problems of the garment industry. Membership statistics, wage statistics, and other industrial data are also frequently included. The financial report has been long and detailed from the first report in 1901, which listed expenditures as small as four cents for stationery, to the 1941 report, which contained forty-two pages.

Committee reports, remarks by the president, and speeches to the convention have been recorded verbatim since 1916. Discussion of delegates was summarized from 1916 to 1922, partly summarized and partly reported in full from 1924 to 1928, and reported verbatim from 1929 to date. The summaries for the earlier years were extensive, however, and indicated the speaker's argument as well as his conclusions. The factional conflict in the union was aired at length in the 1924 and 1925 conventions, with the "right wing" regularly outvoting its opponents by about three to two. The conventions of 1928, 1929, and 1932 saw extensive discussion of the use of the initiative and referendum in electing international officers. Factional feeling was evident in these discussions and also in the discussions of proportional representation, which was proposed at every convention from the late twenties through the thirties. By the middle thirties, however, the factional conflict had been largely resolved and the union had become more securely established in the industry. From this time on there was less discussion of union problems by the delegates and many more addresses to the convention by guest speakers.

The presence of a "radical element" in the union had been mentioned in *The Ladies' Garment Worker* between 1910 and 1918. This faction dominated several of the locals, and the journal frequently discussed the advisability of permitting the continuance of local periodicals which were used to oppose policies of the international. In the early twenties a more acute conflict developed between communist elements in the union and the international officers. Editorials and articles in *Justice* discussed the positions of the two groups in detail. Between 1919 and 1922 the editorials, though critical of the communist faction, were conciliatory in tone; at the peak of the struggle, between 1923 and 1929, they denounced the opposition in strong terms.

Crises in the dispute occurred in 1923, 1925, and 1926. In 1923, the international determined after a trial that the Trade Union Educational League could be considered an organization of garment workers, and that it was under the direct control of the Communist party. Since the Ladies' Garment Workers' constitu-
tion provided that no member of the union could belong to another organization in the trade, members were ordered to withdraw from the League or be expelled from the union. In 1925, the executive boards of locals 2, 9, and 22 were suspended from holding office for five years on charges of attempting to “bring our organization into disrepute, to sabotage its constructive work, and to malign and besmirch its chosen leaders and representatives.” A few months later, however, a peace agreement was reached between the opposing factions; new elections were held by the locals concerned, and all of the suspended officers were reelected. In 1926 the New York Cloak Joint Board, which was dominated by communists, refused to accept an arbitration decision of a special commission appointed by Governor Smith. A strike was called, which lasted for twenty weeks and was managed by the communist faction. The journal supported the strike, but after the strikers had failed to achieve many of their demands, it “exposed” the poor leadership of the communists. The communist faction was discredited and the officers of the Joint Board resigned their positions, some of them leading in the formation of a dual union in 1928. By the early thirties the communists had lost control of locals which they had previously dominated, and factional conflict declined.

The publications have devoted a great deal of space to the economic characteristics and problems of the industry. The system under which the outside manufacturers bid against each other to secure contracts from jobbers was naturally conducive to price-cutting, wage-cutting, and poor working conditions. The union attacked this problem in the early twenties by attempting, through agreements with the jobbers, to limit the number of contractors from whom each jobber might buy and to specify the minimum number of machines which each contractor must have. The New York cloakmakers established a jobbing department in 1923 to check on the shops to which each jobber sent his work. The garment codes under the National Recovery Administration contained strict regulations over the jobber and assisted the union in its effort to control the jobber-contractor relation. Most agreements with jobbers since the middle thirties have made the jobber responsible to the union for wages and conditions in the contracting shops to which he gives work. The union has claimed that these restrictions on the jobber have stimulated the development of large independent shops in the industry.

In recent years the union has cooperated with employers in efforts to stimulate demand and regulate production. Immediately after the invalidation of the NRA it joined with employers'
associations to form the National Coat and Suit Industry Recovery Board. This Board was to carry on the work of NRA in controlling unfair competition, controlling sources of production—particularly those from which some chain stores purchased—and maintaining a consumers’ sanitary protection label. In the latter part of 1940 the union instituted a plan to promote the New York dress industry. The plan called for a million-dollar fund to be raised by the industry, to which the union contributed $100,000, and for an additional $500,000 to be raised by retailers, textile firms, and banking interests. The object of the plan was to increase the sale of New York dresses by advertising New York as a fashion center and by increasing production efficiency sufficiently to win back business from low-cost producers in other areas.

Certain other activities and problems of the union, described in its publications, may be noted more briefly. Some craft groups in the union, including the cutters and embroiderers, are organized in separate locals, centralization of policy being effected through industrial joint boards. At various times, and particularly during the twenties, there has been controversy over the way in which locals should be grouped together, and over the extent to which authority should be centralized in the joint boards.

There has also been extensive discussion of the question of piece-work versus time-work. During the twenties, President Schlesinger favored time-work on the ground that the union would have more control over wages if a weekly minimum were established. Many of the older workers, accustomed to the “bundle” system, were reluctant to accept time-work, and many editorials were written in an effort to convince them. Time-work was established rather extensively during the twenties, but in the thirties piecework again became the dominant method of wage payment.

The Ladies’ Garment Workers’ union has spent a great deal of money and effort on educational and cultural activities. The education department, founded in 1917, has been expanded considerably since that time. The union sponsors courses in trade unionism, history, English, public speaking, arts and crafts, and dramatics. In addition, it has an extensive athletic program and maintains a health center. The health center, organized by several locals in 1913 and taken over by the international in 1934, has a medical and dental staff and devotes primary attention to preventive medicine. Justice has usually contained at least one page devoted to these activities, and the space accorded them has increased greatly since the middle thirties.
The Ladies' Garment Workers' union was a charter member of the CIO and cooperated with it in organizing other industries, particularly the textile industry. Its refusal to withdraw from the Committee caused its suspension by the AFL in 1936. It declined, however, to take part in the constitutional convention of the CIO in 1938 on the ground that, while it approved the Committee's attempt to organize hitherto unorganized workers, it did not approve the creation of a dual federation of labor. The Ladies' Garment Workers' continued as an independent union from 1938 until 1940, when it was readmitted to the AFL.

GLOVE WORKERS' UNION OF AMERICA, INTERNATIONAL

Address: P. O. Box 352, Kewanee, Ill.

I. CHRONOLOGY

1902 Organized by group of AFL federal locals. Affiliated with AFL.
1937 Seceding faction of New York locals affiliated with CIO.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
   [1902]; 2nd, 1903; 3rd, 1905; 5th, 1907; [7th, 1911; 8th, 1913; 9th, 1916]; 10th, 1931; 11th, 1934; 13th, 1937; 14th, 1938; 15th, 1940

2. Constitutions.
   1902; 1903; 1907; 1911; 1913; 1916; 1934; 1937; 1940

   Published as: (Gloversville, N. Y.; Chicago; Milwaukee)
   1905-1906+: Glove Workers' Journal
   Oct 1911-Aug 1918: Glove Workers' Monthly Bulletin
   Nov 1937-1941+: Monthly Bulletin
   (Suspended 1918-1937. NS, 1911, 1937.)
HAT, CAP AND MILLINERY WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL UNION, CLOTH

I. Chronology

1901 Organized as United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North America.
1902 Affiliated with AFL.
1918 Suspended by AFL.
1924 Reinstated in AFL.
1925 Changed name to Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union.
1934 Merged with United Hatters of North America (q. v.) to form United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union (q. v.).

II. Publications

1. Proceedings.
   2nd, 1902; 8th-10th bien., 1911-1915; spec., 1917/1918; 12th-17th bien., 1919-1929; 18th, 1933; 1934 (1934, joint conv. with United Hatters of North America (q. v.). Spec., 1917/1918, 12th with journal.)

2. Reports.
   Secretary: 1911

3. Constitutions.
   1901; 1913; 1917; 1923; 1927; 1929

   Published as: (New York; Long Island City, N. Y.; New York)
   May 1903-Apr 1906?: The Cap-Makers' Journal
   Sep 1916-Feb 1917: Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' Journal
   Mar 1917-Sep 1929: The Headgear Worker (Ceased publication)
HAT FINISHERS' ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, WOOL

I. Chronology

1869 Organized.

II. Publications

1. Proceedings.
   7th, 1875; 11th, 1879; 13th-17th ann., 1881-1885
2. Constitutions.
   1884; 1888; 1911

HAT FINISHERS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, NATIONAL TRADE ASSOCIATION OF SILK AND FUR

I. Chronology


II. Publications

1. Proceedings.
   1885
2. Reports.
   Officers: 1883

HAT MAKERS' ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED STATES, NATIONAL

I. Chronology

1883? Organized.
1896 Merged with International Trade Association of Hat Finishers of America to form United Hatters of North America (q. v.).

II. Publications

1. Proceedings.
   1st, 1883; 2nd, 1885; spec., 1886
HATTERS, CAP AND MILLINERY WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL UNION, UNITED

Address: 245 Fifth Ave., New York

I. CHRONOLOGY

1934 Organized as result of merger of Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union (q. v.) with United Hatters of North America (q. v.). Each of the former internationals constituted a department of the new organization.

1936 Departments abolished.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
   Cap and Millinery Dep't: 1st, 1934; 2nd, 1936 (1st with proceedings of 18th conv. of Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers International Union (q.v.)). Men's Hat Dep't: 1st, 1934; 2nd, 1936 (1st with proceedings of joint conv. of Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union and United Hatters of North America (q. v.).)

2. Constitutions.
   1934; 1936; 1939

   Published as: (Harrisburg, Pa.; New York) 1938-1941+: The Hat Worker

HATTERS OF NORTH AMERICA, UNITED

I. CHRONOLOGY

1854 Organized as National Trade Association of Hat Finishers of the United States of America.

1884 Changed name to National Trade Association of Hat Finishers of America.

1886 Changed name to Hat Finishers' International Association of North America.

1889 Changed name to International Trade Association of Hat Finishers of America.

1896 Merged with the National Hat Makers' Association of the United States (q. v.) to form the United Hatters of North America.

1934 Merged with Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union (q. v.) to form United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union (q. v.)
II. Publications

1. Proceedings.
   spec., 1882; bien., 1884-1888. After merger: 1900; 1903; 4th-9th quad., 1907-1927; spec. 1933/1934; 1934 (1934, joint conv. with Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union (q. v.).)

2. Constitutions.
   1863; 1886; 1888; 1892; bien. 1896-1900; 1903; 1906; 1907; 1911; 1920; 1923/1926; 1927

   Published as: (Orange, N. J.; New York)
   Feb 1926-Mar 1927?: The Hatter
   (NS, 1926)

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HOSIERY WORKERS, AMERICAN FEDERATION OF

Address: 2319 N. Broad St., Philadelphia

I. Chronology

1913 Organized as a craft group within United Textile Workers of America (q. v.) under name of American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers.

1915 Seceded from United Textile Workers of America and functioned as independent union.

1922 Reaffiliated with United Textile Workers as an autonomous craft group within the parent body. Adopted present name.

1939 Became an autonomous branch of Textile Workers' Union of America (q. v.).

II. Publications

1. Proceedings.
   9th-13th ann., 1920-1924; 15th-17th ann., 1926-1928

2. Reports.
   Officers and Executive Board: ann. 1939-1941

3. Constitutions.
   1921; 1928; 1934; ann. 1936-1939

   Published as: (Philadelphia)
   1920?-1941+: The Hosiery Worker
   (v. 16 marked v. 15, nos. 53-92)
KNIGHTS OF ST. CRISPIN, ORDER OF

I. Chronology

1867 Organized in Milwaukee, Wis.
1875 Reorganized after a period of inactivity.

II. Publications

1. Proceedings.
   2nd, 1869; 3rd, 1870; 5th, 1872
2. Constitutions.
   ann. 1869-1872
   Published as: (Hopkinton, Mass.)
   1872-Jan 1873?: Journal of the . . .

LACE OPERATIVES OF AMERICA, AMALGAMATED

Address: 545 W, Lehigh Ave., Philadelphia

I. Chronology

1892 Organized as Chartered Society of Amalgamated Lace Curtain Operatives of America.
1894 Affiliated with AFL.
1903? Dropped "Curtain" from name.
1919 Expelled from AFL.
? Adopted present name.

II. Publications

1. Proceedings.
   bien., 1914-1918; bien.,'1922-1926
2. Constitutions.
   1902; 1903; 1905; 1909; bien. 1912-1916; 1920
   Published as: (Mt. Morris, Ill.)
   1925-1941+ : The American Lace Worker
LASTERS' PROTECTIVE UNION OF AMERICA

I. Chronology

1879 Organized.
1887 Affiliated with AFL.
1895 Merged with Boot and Shoe Workers' International Union (q.v.) and locals of Shoeworkers' National Trade Assembly, Knights of Labor to form Boot and Shoe Workers' Union (q.v.).

II. Publications

1. Proceedings.
   ann. 1888-1890; 1892; 1893; 1895
2. Constitutions.
   1890; 1892
   Published as: (Boston)
   1888-May 1894: The Laster (Ceased publication)

SHOE AND LEATHER WORKERS UNION, UNITED

I. Chronology

1933 Organized as result of merger of National Shoe Workers Association; Shoe Workers' Protective Union (q.v.); Shoe and Leather Workers' Industrial Union; and some local organizations. Seceding faction of Shoe Workers' Protective Union continued under previous name.
1937 Merged with Shoe Workers' Protective Union to form United Shoe Workers of America, 1937 (q.v.).

II. Publications

1. Constitutions.
   1934?
2. Journal.
   Published as: (Boston)
   Jul 1934-Oct 1935: United Shoe and Leather Worker (Ceased publication)
SHOE WORKERS OF AMERICA, UNITED, 1909

I. CHRONOLOGY

1909 Organized.
1912 Absorbed Boot and Shoe Cutters' National Assembly, Knights of Labor (q.v.) and Stock Fitters' Assembly, Knights of Labor.
1924 Merged with the Shoe Workers' Protective Union (q.v.).

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
   2nd, 1911; 3rd, 1913; 4th, 1919
2. Constitutions.
   bien. 1909-1913; 1919

SHOE WORKERS OF AMERICA, UNITED, 1937

Address: 917 15th St., N. W., Washington

I. CHRONOLOGY

1937 Organized as result of merger of United Shoe and Leather Workers Union (q.v.) and Shoe Workers Protective Union (q.v.) Affiliated with CIO.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
   1939
2. Constitutions.
   1937; 1939
   Published as:
SHOE WORKERS' PROTECTIVE UNION

I. Chronology

1899 Organized by seceding faction of Boot and Shoe Workers' Union (q. v.).
1901 Absorbed another seceding faction of Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.
1924 Absorbed United Shoe Workers of America, 1909 (q. v.).
1933 Merged with other unions in the industry to form United Shoe and Leather Workers' Union (q. v.), but a substantial faction soon withdrew from the merged union and continued under name of Shoe Workers' Protective Union.
1937 Merged with United Shoe and Leather Workers' Union to form United Shoe Workers of America, 1937 (q. v.).

II. Publications

1. Proceedings.
   2nd, 1926; 3rd, 1933
2. Constitutions.
   1926; 1933

SPINNERS' UNION, INTERNATIONAL

Address: 53 Howard St., Holyoke, Mass.

I. Chronology

1858 Organized as Benevolent and Protective Association of the United Operative Mule Spinners of New England.
1861? Changed name to Amalgamated Mule Spinners' Association.
1881 Participated in formation of AFL.
1887 Reorganized as National Cotton Mule Spinners' Association of America.
1889 Reaffiliated with AFL.
1899 Changed name to National Spinners' Association of America.
1906 Adopted present name.
1919 Expelled from AFL.
1937 Reaffiliated with AFL.
CLOTHING AND TEXTILES

II. Publications

1. Proceedings.
   3rd, 1892; 4th, 1893; 9th-15th semi-ann., Apr 1894-Apr 1897; 20th-22nd ann., 1899-1901; 23rd-30th semi-ann., Apr 1902-Oct 1905; 31st-44th ann., 1906-1919

2. Constitutions.
   1890; 1895; 1907

TAILORS' UNION OF AMERICA, JOURNEYMEN

I. Chronology

1883 Organized as Journeymen Tailors' National Union of the United States by group of locals which had continued to function after the disintegration of Tailors' National Trades Union.
1887 Affiliated with AFL.
1889 Changed name to Journeymen Tailors' Union of America.
1913 Changed name to Tailors' Industrial Union.
1914 Merged with Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America (q.v.).
1915 Seceded from Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America and resumed name of Journeymen Tailors' Union of America.
1935 Merged with Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

II. Publications

1. Proceedings.
   [2nd, 1884]; 3rd, 1885; 4th-7th bien., 1887-1893; 8th-11th quad., 1905-1917; [12th, 1921]; spec., 1928 (4th-11th, spec., 1928 with journal)

2. Constitutions.
   [1884]; 1885; 1887; 1888; bien. 1889-1893; 1896; bien. 1900-1910; quad. 1913-1921; 1928 (1884, 1885 with proceedings)

   Published as: (New York; Chicago; Bloomingdale, Ill.) 1887-Jan 1936: The Tailor (Merged with Advance, organ of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers (q.v.).)
TEXTILE OPERATIVES, AMERICAN FEDERATION OF, 1900

I. Chronology,

1900 Organized as result of merger of group of national textile craft organizations (weavers, carders, mule-spinners, loom-fixers and slashertenders) with National Federation of Textile Operatives (q.v.).

1901 Merged with other textile unions to form United Textile Workers of America (q.v.).

II. Publications

1. Proceedings.
   1st, 1900
2. Constitutions.
   1900

TEXTILE OPERATIVES, AMERICAN FEDERATION OF, 1919

I. Chronology

1916 Organized as National Amalgamation of Textile Operatives by seceding faction of United Textile Workers of America (q.v.).

1919? Changed name to American Federation of Textile Operatives.

II. Publications

1. Proceedings.
   1st-3rd ann., 1916-1918; 5th-16th ann., 1920-1931
2. Constitutions.
   1916; 1917; 1924; 1927; 1933
   Published as: (New Bedford, Mass.)
   May-Sep 1919?: Textile Operatives Journal
TEXTILE OPERATIVES, NATIONAL FEDERATION OF

I. Chronology

1895 Organized as Massachusetts State Federation of Weavers.
1897 Changed name to New England State Federation of Textile Workers.
1898 Changed name to National Federation of Textile Operatives.
1900 Merged with a group of national textile craft organizations to form American Federation of Textile Operatives (q.v.).

II. Publications

1. Proceedings.
   ann. 1897-1900
2. Constitutions.
   1900

TEXTILE WORKERS, INTERNATIONAL UNION OF

I. Chronology

1891 Organized.
1896 Affiliated with AFL as National Union of Textile Workers.
1900? Changed name to International Union of Textile Workers.
1901 Merged with other textile unions to form United Textile Workers of America (q.v.).

II. Publications

1. Proceedings.
   11th, 1900
2. Constitutions.
   1900; 1901

TEXTILE WORKERS OF AMERICA, AMALGAMATED

I. Chronology

1919 Organized by seceding faction of United Textile Workers of America (q.v.).
1925 Disbanded.
II. Publications

1. Constitutions.
   1919

2. Journal.
   Published as: (Lawrence, Mass.; New York)
   Apr 12-Aug 23, 1919: The Textile Worker
   (Suspended Oct 1921-1922)

TEXTILE WORKERS OF AMERICA, UNITED

Address: 9th and Mt. Vernon Pl., N. W., Washington

I. Chronology

1901 Organized as result of merger of American Federation of Textile Operatives (q. v.); International Union of Textile Workers (q. v.); and a group of AFL federal locals. Affiliated with AFL.

1915 American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers (q. v.), craft union within United Textile Workers of America, seceded.

1916 Seceding faction organized National Amalgamation of Textile Operatives (q. v.).

1919 Seceding faction organized Associated Silk Workers of America. Another seceding faction, mainly in Massachusetts, organized Amalgamated Textile Workers of America (q. v.).

1922 American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers reaffiliated with United Textile Workers of America as an autonomous branch under name of American Federation of Hosiery Workers (q. v.).

1928 Seceding faction of National Loom Fixers’ Association merged with United Textile Workers of America.

1931 Associated Silk Workers of America reaffiliated with United Textile Workers of America as an autonomous branch under name of American Federation of Silk Workers.

1935 Participated in formation of CIO.

1936 Cooperated with CIO-sponsored Textile Workers Organizing Committee. Suspended by AFL.

1938 Expelled by AFL. A faction, retaining name of United Textile Workers of America, withdrew from CIO and reaffiliated with AFL.

1939 CIO faction merged with Textile Workers Organizing Committee to form Textile Workers’ Union of America (q. v.).
II. Publications
(Code Number: T3)

1. Proceedings.
   1st-22nd ann., 1901-1922; 23rd-30th bien., 1924-1938; spec., 1939; spec., 1941 (21st-29th with journal)

2. Constitutions.
   1902; 1904; 1905; 1908; ann. 1911-1913; ann. 1916-1918; ann. 1920-1922; bien. 1924-1938; 1941

   Published as: (New York)
   1912-Mar 13, 1937: The Textile Worker
   1939-1941+: Textile Worker
   (Suspended publication Apr 1917-Jan 1918 and Mar 1937-1939; NS 1935, 1939.)
   Editors:
   1912-Aug 1915: Albert Hibbert
   Sep 1915-Jun 1921: John Golden
   Jun 1921-Jan 1937: Thomas McMahon
   Feb-Mar 13, 1937: Francis Gorman
   (1939-41 not indexed.)

III. Critique of Publications

For eleven years after its formation in 1901, the United Textile Workers of America used a privately published paper, The Laborer and Journeymen, as its official organ. In 1912, however, The Textile Worker was established as the official monthly magazine of the union.

From its inception until 1923, The Textile Worker consisted mainly of AFL releases and articles reprinted from other trade union publications, newspapers, and magazines. The other principal feature was a president's column, instituted in 1915, to which the president-editor contributed articles on such subjects as strikes, dues and assessments, secession of locals, the objectives of the union, the need for organization, contemporary labor legislation, and the tariff question.

After 1923 the volume of original contributions increased and reprinted material became relatively less important. News stories and articles on union affairs appeared, and organizers were given a column in which to discuss their assignments. While their letters were at first mainly descriptions of their itineraries, they gradually broadened into general discussions of the conditions and union problems encountered in each area. The journal reflected the increased activity of the union during the period of the Na-
ational Industrial Recovery Act when a great many new members were recruited, widespread strikes were called, National Recovery Administration codes instituted, and wage increases secured. At this time also a research department was created under Francis Gorman, who later succeeded Thomas McMahon as president. In October 1935 the monthly journal was replaced by a semi-monthly newspaper and continued in this form until the union transferred its allegiance to the CIO in March 1937.

*The Textile Worker* devoted a great deal of space to the economic characteristics and problems of the textile industry. The depressed state of the industry after 1923 and the migration of firms from New England to the South were frequently discussed in editorials and special articles, with the union placing much of the responsibility for these difficulties on inefficient management and absentee ownership. The condition of southern workers and the unsuccessful attempts made to organize them were discussed extensively in the journal.

Independent unions and seceding groups were active during the twenties, particularly in Massachusetts, and *The Textile Worker* devoted much space to this problem. It bitterly accused the IWW of instigating many of the secessions and of engaging in strike-breaking activities. Another much discussed subject was the introduction of incentive systems accompanied by a "stretch-out" of work loads. The union opposed this movement fairly successfully until 1929, but it made marked headway during the depression years of 1930-1932 and has continued since that time.

The proceedings of the union's conventions consisted until 1921 almost exclusively of officers' reports. The president, vice-president, secretary-treasurer, and organizers summarized their activities since the last convention. In addition, the president and vice-president usually dealt more generally with the progress of the union and the labor movement, pending legislation, the child labor problem, the use of injunctions in strikes, and similar matters.

From 1921 to 1935 the proceedings were published in the journal, beginning in the September issue. Most of the discussion in the conventions of 1922, 1924, and 1926 was recorded verbatim. The convention of 1928, however, ordered that convention reports be printed in book form and distributed to locals. After 1928 only officers' reports, texts of resolutions passed, and a brief summary of the convention discussions appeared in the journal.

In March 1937 the United Textile Workers turned over its affairs to a Textile Workers Organizing Committee created by the CIO. The new organization held a constitutional convention in
1939, at which the Textile Workers Organizing Committee was amalgamated with the United Textile Workers under the name of the Textile Workers Union of America. There remained in existence, however, a faction of the United Textile Workers led by Francis Gorman, who had refused to adhere to the CIO and had in consequence been suspended from his position as international president. A number of locals followed Gorman and in 1938 were readmitted to the AFL under the original name of the union.

TEXTILE WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA

Address: 15 Union Square, New York

I. CHRONOLOGY

1939 Organized by merger of CIO faction of United Textile Workers of America (q. v.) and Textile Workers Organizing Committee. Affiliated with CIO.

II. PUBLICATIONS

(Code Number: T5)

1. Proceedings.
   1st, 1939; 2nd, 1941
2. Constitutions.
   1939
   Published as: (Philadelphia; New York)
   1939-1941+: Textile Labor
   Editor:
   1939-1941+: Richard Rohman

III. CRITIQUE OF PUBLICATIONS

In March 1937 the United Textile Workers of America turned over its affairs to the CIO-sponsored Textile Workers Organizing Committee, which thenceforward issued charters to new locals. As a result, the United Textile Workers was expelled from the AFL. Soon afterwards, a faction of the Textile Workers withdrew from the new international, resumed the name of United Textile Workers, and reaffiliated with the AFL. In 1939 a convention was held, at which the remaining locals of the United Textile Workers merged with locals of the Organizing Committee
to form a new international, the Textile Workers Union of America.

*Textile Labor* was published from February to May 1939 as the official organ of the Textile Workers Organizing Committee, and thereafter as the organ of the Textile Workers Union. Originally an eight-page monthly newspaper, it was enlarged in August 1941 to twelve pages. It consists almost exclusively of news stories, with one editorial or in some cases several short editorials. Except for the addition of a "News Summary" in August 1941, the content of the journal has remained uniform from 1939 to date.

The news stories include accounts of organizing drives, strikes, collective bargaining negotiations, provisions of collective agreements, decisions and elections of the National Labor Relations Board, and minimum wage hearings under the Fair Labor Standards Act. The main activity of the union during the period 1939-1941 was organization, particularly in the South, and most of the news stories were reports on the progress of organizing campaigns. The news stories are strictly descriptive and contain no discussion or comment on problems of union policy. The editorial is short and is usually a discussion of one of the main news items.

The union held two conventions between 1939 and 1941, and verbatim proceedings were published in both cases. The president's and executive board's reports were submitted to delegates but did not appear in the proceedings. Summaries of these reports were contained in the report of the committee on officers' reports. In 1941 the committee's report included a short financial statement which classified disbursements under such general headings as administrative expenses and organizing expenses. An auditing committee's report, which itemized disbursements in greater detail than the 1941 report, was included in the 1939 proceedings.

The proceedings of both conventions contained addresses of officers and guests, discussion of resolutions by delegates and officers, committee reports and discussion of committee reports. The principal committees were those on education, organization, and legislation. The 1939 proceedings were largely devoted to details of the merger of the United Textile Workers with the TWOC and the drafting of a constitution for the new union. In 1941 the delegates were most concerned with labor legislation and with the problems arising out of organizing drives in the South.
WEAVERS, NATIONAL FEDERATION OF CLOTH

I. Chronology

1906. Organized as National Federation of Weavers.
1909. Changed name to National Federation of Cloth Weavers.

II. Publications

1. Proceedings.
   1st-4th ann., 1908-1911; 6th-12th, 1913-1919
2. Constitutions.
   1906; 1909; 1916