

CHAPTER 6

Extractive Industries

ENGINEERS, NATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF COAL HOISTING

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1896 Organized.
- 1899 Affiliated with AFL.
- 1903 Expelled from AFL.
- 1904? Absorbed by United Mine Workers of America (*q. v.*).

II. PUBLICATIONS

- 1. Proceedings.
4th-8th ann., 1900-1902
- 2. Constitutions.
ann. 1899-1902
- 3. Journal.
Published as: (Danville, Ill.)
1901?-1904: *The Hoisting Engineer* (Ceased publication)

FISHERMEN AND ALLIED WORKERS OF AMERICA, INTERNATIONAL UNION OF

Address: Arcade Bldg., Seattle, Wash.

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1939 Organized as outgrowth of Federated Fishermen's Council.
Affiliated with CIO.

II. PUBLICATIONS

- 1. Proceedings.
1st, 1939
- 2. Constitutions.
1940

FISHERMEN'S UNION OF THE PACIFIC, UNITED

Address: Arcade Bldg., Seattle, Wash.

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1937 Organized as result of merger of Salmon Purse Seiners of the Pacific; Deep Sea and Purse Seiners' Union; and Herring Fishermen's Union of the Pacific.
- 1938 Affiliated with CIO.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
1st, 1938
2. Constitutions.
1937

LOGGERS AND LUMBERMEN, LOYAL LEGION OF

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1917 Organized. It was not strictly a labor union, as its membership included employers as well as workers.
- 1918 Reorganized.
- 1937? Disbanded.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Constitutions.
1919; 1921; 1929?; 1934?
2. Journal.
Published as: (Portland, Ore.)
1919-1925: *Four L Bulletin*
1926-May 1937: *The Four L Lumber News* (Ceased publication)

MINE, MILL AND SMELTER WORKERS, INTERNATIONAL UNION OF

(Address: 303 Railway Exchange Bldg., Denver

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1893 Organized in Butte, Montana, as Western Federation of Miners.
- 1896 Affiliated with AFL.
- 1898 Withdrew from AFL. Participated in formation of Western Labor Union which later became American Labor Union (*q. v.*).
- 1904 Absorbed Northern Mineral Mineworkers' Progressive Union of America.
- 1905 Participated in formation of Industrial Workers of the World (*q. v.*).
- 1907 Withdrew from Industrial Workers of the World.
- 1911 Reaffiliated with AFL.
- 1916 Adopted present name.
- 1935 Participated in formation of CIO.
- 1936 Suspended by AFL.
- 1938 Expelled from AFL.
- 1942 Absorbed National Association of Die Casting Workers (*q. v.*).

II. PUBLICATIONS (Code Numbers: M2)

- 1. Proceedings.
[1st-7th ann., 1893-1899]; 8th, 1900; 9th-20th ann., 1901-1912; 21st-24th bien., 1914-1920; 25th-28th ann., 1928-1931; 30th, 1933; 31st, 1934; 33rd-38th ann., 1936-1941 (8th *with journal*)
- 2. Reports.
President: 1914; 1918; 1920
Secretary-Treasurer: bien. 1916-1920
- 3. Constitutions.
1893; 1897; May 1901; Nov 1901; ann. 1902-1904; ann. 1907-1912; bien. 1914-1920; 1927; 1930; 1931; 1934; 1935; 1937
- 4. Journal.
Published as: (Denver)
1900-May 1921: *The Miners' Magazine* (Ceased publication)
Jan-Nov 1938: *People's Press. Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Edition* (Ceased publication)

Dec 1938-1941+: *CIO News. Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Edition*

(V. 11 of *Miner's Magazine* repeated; v. 16 omitted in numbering.)

Editors:

1900-Jan 1902: Edward Boyce

Feb-Jul 1902: Lem J. Smith

Aug 1902-1914: John M. O'Neil

1915-May 1921: Charles H. Moyer

Dec 1938: No editor listed

Jan 16, 1939-May 8, 1939?: A. S. Embree

Oct 2, 1939?-Sep 8, 1941: Harold Rossman

Sep 15, 1941+: Graham Dolan

III. CRITIQUE OF PUBLICATIONS

In January 1900, seven years after its inception, the Western Federation of Miners undertook the publication of a monthly journal, *The Miners' Magazine*, which was to stimulate the solidification and enlargement of its ranks and to shape into a mighty industrial and political army the scattered "wage slaves" of the United States. The monthly ran from January 1900 through August 1903 and devoted itself to problems of trusts and monopolies, militarism, capitalism, immigration, support of political candidates, appraisal of government officials, and the social repercussions of church policy and behavior. More strictly union precepts were embodied in strike reports and in descriptions by local unions of their difficulties or successes, but the technical aspects of unionism and collective bargaining were discussed only rarely and always with a sense of high purpose. A "What Others Say" section, an anthology of verse, and current political comment completed the issues.

As a result of a convention resolution in 1903 calling for a more effective paper, *The Miners' Magazine* was merged with two Colorado journals, *The Colorado Chronicle* and *The Colorado Socialist*, and published weekly. "Wealth belongs to the producer thereof; labor produces all wealth" was its declared principle, and a man of socialist convictions, John M. O'Neill, its editor. O'Neill was often accused by the membership of perverting their magazine to his own opinions and purposes, especially in his condemnation of the IWW convention of 1906 and his promotion of the Socialist party, and he was not always supported in his conception of the magazine as a "powerful tribune against the masked machinations of corporate conspirators." He expressed the temper and senti-

ments of his readers, however, in his assaults on the "no politics" attitude of Samuel Gompers and the craft organization of the American Federation of Labor; in his tirades against the injunction and the "injunction judge," the blacklist, the militia, the scab, and the labor spy; and in his championship of industrial unionism, the eighth-hour day, the union label, civil liberties, and the right to organize. Editorials and articles on such subjects constituted half of the fourteen-page journal, while communications and exchanges shared equally the remaining space. This arrangement was preserved from August 1903 to August 1914, but after 1909 more and more reprinted editorials and articles were used and the exchange section was enlarged. The communications increased somewhat in length and number and continued regularly to recite the dogma of class conflict.

In the earlier years there was extensive discussion of the Industrial Workers of the World and of the Haywood, Moyer, Pettibone affair. The Western Federation of Miners, with several international industrial unions, had convened the Chicago Industrial Convention of July 27, 1905, in the hope of creating a federation to replace the declining American Labor Union. William Haywood, secretary-treasurer of the Western Federation of Miners, was permanent chairman of the Convention's executive committee. President Charles Moyer and Editor John O'Neill were delegates to the convention. The new organization, named the Industrial Workers of the World, was launched in July 1905. Wracked by dissension from the outset, it was finally split in the convention of September 17, 1906, by a factional conflict over convention representation, convention powers, the election of officers, and accusations of grafting, beneath which lay deep-seated differences of political belief. Of the representatives of the Western Federation of Miners to this convention, two sided with the Trautmann-DeLeon-Socialist-Labor party faction, and three with the Sherman group. O'Neill, when not disapproving of the entire proceeding, tended to favor Sherman. After exhaustive debate in the WFM 1907 convention, per capita payments to the IWW were stopped and delegates were appointed to represent the Miners at a proposed meeting of both factions and interested industrial unions for the reconstruction of the IWW. The Industrial Workers of the World which emerged after the split was abhorrent to the Western Federation of Miners and relations with it were ended immediately.

Throughout the two years (1906-1907) of the Haywood, Moyer, Pettibone affair, *The Miners' Magazine* railed at "capitalistic

justice" and the "capitalistic press" and raised funds for the defense of the union's leaders. Steunenberg, an ex-governor of Idaho, who had helped to break the Coeur d'Alene strike, had been murdered. A Pinkerton detective employed by the state won from the accused assassin an admission of guilt which implicated the Western Federation of Miners and its officers. Colorado facilitated extradition of the accused conspirators by a covert arrangement with the Idaho authorities, and shipped President Moyer, Treasurer Haywood, and ex-Executive Board Member Pettibone from Denver on February 18, 1906. These officers, defended by Clarence Darrow, were tried on charges of preaching and practicing violence. Haywood was acquitted in July 1907, Pettibone in January 1908, and Moyer's case was dismissed on the day of Pettibone's acquittal. The journal acclaimed this result as a great labor victory.

In the period 1909-1914, *The Miners' Magazine* with characteristic energy defied William Randolph Hearst, denounced the Boy Scout movement, advocated woman suffrage, and applauded the Socialist-Labor government of Milwaukee.

At the end of 1914 the journal suffered a striking change. Overwhelmed by the weight of fourteen years of deficits, it survived only as a four page monthly (October 1914—July 1915). Its editor departed, its socialist fervor waned, and it devoted itself to the "bread and butter" aspects of unionism. Restored to eight pages in August 1915, *The Miners' Magazine* consisted thereafter mainly of clippings from the daily press, the labor press—especially that of the AFL and the United Mine Workers—and the Bureau of Mines. Most of the editorials were reprinted from other sources. Except for the strict surveillance of disputes by the National War Labor Board, World War I passed almost unnoticed through its pages. Texts of collective agreements appeared, usually without comment. Of its favorite topics of the past only occasional organizers' reports, important strike histories, and a campaign against the IWW persisted.

The scarcity of original material in these last issues of the journal enhances the usefulness of the convention proceedings after 1914. Delegates' discussions were recorded for only the 1907 and 1914 conventions, but the annual officers' reports reviewed strikes, organizing campaigns, litigation, and finances, and laid before the membership the main policy issues facing the union each year.

The Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers held no conventions from 1921 to 1927, but met again in 1928 and almost every year there-

after. Until 1938 the proceedings afforded only summaries of delegates' discussions and the progress of the union must be judged from the reports of the president and secretary-treasurer. Verbatim proceedings after 1938 pictured more vividly the revival of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union which began in 1934. The convention discussions recorded the metal miners' interest in the progress of the CIO, of which they were ardent affiliates; in the expansion and administration of their own union; in collective bargaining contests; in the enforcement of the National Labor Relations Act, Fair Labor Standards Act, and Public Contracts Act; in political candidates and in the national defense program.

A Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers edition of the *CIO News* was adopted as the official organ of the union in December 1938, seventeen years after the last issue of *The Miners' Magazine*. The paper consisted of approximately five pages of news stories, editorials, pictures and cartoons taken from the weekly *CIO News*, to which were added three pages of news of the metal miners. Strikes and cases before the National Labor Relations Board occupied two-thirds of the miners' space. In 1939 the union's drive for the prevention of silicosis received much attention. Early in 1940 the membership twice voted down, despite strong pressure by the union officers, a proposal to increase the monthly per capita dues from forty cents to seventy-five. While the proposal was before the membership the journal campaigned vigorously for it. After the second defeat, the journal announced the retrenchment of the international's organizing activity and attributed it to the refusal of the membership to provide adequate funds. Beginning in October 1939, President Reid Robinson contributed a regular column in which he usually attacked the AFL proposals for amendment of the National Labor Relations Act, the size of industrial profits under the defense program, and—until December 1941—the Selective Service Act, the lend-lease program, and United States participation in the European war. A correspondence section, "The Open Forum," was instituted in 1940. Most of the letters from members during 1940 and 1941 dealt with the second World War.

MINE WORKERS OF AMERICA, PROGRESSIVE

Address: 5th and Monroe Sts., Springfield, Ill.

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1932 Organized by seceding faction of United Mine Workers of America (*q. v.*) under name of Progressive Miners of America.
 1938 Affiliated with AFL under present name.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Journal.

Published as: (Marissa, Ill.)

1932-1941+ : *Progressive Miner*

(Nov 18, 1932 is v. 1, no. 10; next issue, Nov 25, 1932, is v. 54, no. 11.)

MINE WORKERS OF AMERICA, UNITED

Address: 15th and I Sts., N. W., Washington

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1890 Organized as result of merger of National Progressive Union of Miners and Mine Laborers (*q. v.*) with portion of Knights of Labor National Trade Assembly 135. Affiliated with AFL.
 1904? Absorbed National Brotherhood of Coal Hoisting Engineers (*q. v.*).
 1932 Seceding faction in Illinois district organized Progressive Miners of America (*q. v.*).
 1935 Participated in formation of CIO.
 1936 Suspended by AFL. Organized Gas and By-Product Coke Workers, District 50 of the United Mine Workers of America (*q. v.*).
 1938 Expelled from AFL.

II. PUBLICATIONS (Code Number: M6)

1. Proceedings.

1890; 1st, 1891; 2nd, 1892; 4th-13th ann., 1893-1902; spec., Jul 1902; 14th-17th ann., 1903-1906; spec., Apr 1906; 18th, 1907; 19th, 1908; 19th, reconvened, Mar 1908; 20th, 1909;

21st, 1910; spec., Mar 1910; spec., Aug 1910; 22nd, 1911; 23rd, 1912; 24th-26th bien., 1914-1918; 27th, 1919; 27th reconvened, 1920; 28th, 1921; 29th-31st trien., 1924-1930; 32nd-37th bien., 1932-1940 (2nd-5th, 7th-9th *with* journal)

2. Constitutions.

1892; 1896; ann. 1898-1912; bien. 1914-1924; 1927; bien. 1930-1940

3. Journal.

Published as: (Columbus, O.; Indianapolis; Washington)

Apr 16, 1891-1941+: *The United Mine Workers Journal*

Editors:

Apr 16-Oct 25, 1891: National Executive Board

Nov 1, 1891-Sep 23, 1897: John Kane

Sep 30, 1897-Jan 26, 1899: Thomas W. Davis

Feb 2, 1899-Apr 11, 1901: W. C. Scott

Apr 18, 1901: Chris Evans

Apr 25, 1901-Apr 2, 1908: S. M. Sexton

Apr 9, 1908-Mar 30, 1911: William Scaife

Apr 6, 1911-Mar 28, 1912: Michael Halapy

Apr 4-May 30, 1912: Joseph Poggiani

Jun 6, 1912-Oct 29, 1914: Edgar Wallace

Nov 5-Nov 26, 1914: Edgar Wallace and Joseph Poggiani

Dec 3, 1914-Dec 27, 1917: Edgar Wallace, Joseph Poggiani and Michael Halapy

Jan 3-Jan 24, 1918: Joseph Poggiani and Michael Halapy

Jan 31-Feb 7, 1918: Joseph Poggiani, Michael Halapy and Edgar Wallace

Feb 14-Mar 28, 1918: Edgar Wallace

Apr 4-Jun 6, 1918: Robert H. Harlin

Jun 13, 1918-1941+: Ellis Searles

III. CRITIQUE OF PUBLICATIONS

When the National Progressive Union of Miners and Mine Laborers and the Knights of Labor National Trade Assembly 135 met in joint convention in 1890 and established the United Mine Workers of America, they agreed that the new union was not to impair the sovereignty or jurisdiction of either organization. It would serve simply as a working alliance between these rival miners' unions to enable them to present a united front to coal operators in collective bargaining. Despite this agreement the Progressive Union identified itself with the United Mine Workers and was soon organizing locals in the name of the new union. The Knights protested vigorously but were overshadowed within a few years.

The growth and activities of the United Mine Workers were for some twenty years reported primarily in the reports of officers to union conventions. From about 1909 on the *United Mine Workers Journal*, established in 1891, provided an additional source of information on the activities of the international, and the news coverage of union affairs became even more complete after 1918. The content of the journal and the convention proceedings is discussed in greater detail below. The main theme running through the publications has been the attempt of the union to secure and maintain industry-wide collective agreements for both the anthracite and bituminous coal industries. The high points in this struggle, as reported in the publications, may be briefly noted.

Like its predecessors, the United Mine Workers faced numerous small coal producers in keen competition with one another. It was essential, therefore, for the union to organize the greater part of the operators in order to be able to bargain with any one of them. The Mine Workers constantly maintained campaigns to bring new areas—notably Alabama, Colorado, Kentucky, Western Pennsylvania, and West Virginia—under their control. Since the nature of the coal industry required industry-wide bargaining, the Mine Workers attempted from the beginning to negotiate master trade agreements for both the anthracite and bituminous regions. Master agreements, they contended, would benefit the operators by eliminating the competitive price cutting which could occur when operators were free to shift price reductions to wages. The technique of joint conferences with operators adopted by the Mine Workers had been used in the anthracite industry as early as 1869 and in the bituminous industry from 1886-1889.

In the bituminous industry, the Mine Workers from 1891 through 1927 placed primary emphasis on master agreements with the operators of the central competitive field, which included the leading bituminous producing states of that period: western Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. The terms secured from these operators, embodied in the so-called interstate agreement, determined the provisions of the agreements signed in other districts.

The first interstate agreement was secured in 1898, after industry-wide strikes in 1894 and 1897. Interstate agreements continued to be negotiated by joint conference until 1906, when Pittsburgh operators rejected the union's demands. The Mine Workers struck, but lost. A special convention then authorized national and district officials to make separate district or sub-district agreements for the two years beginning April 1, 1906.

Thereafter, with the exception of 1912, the Mine Workers were unable to revive the interstate agreement until 1916.

The United States Fuel Administration, under the authority of the Lever Act of 1917, participated in the negotiation of the 1918 interstate agreement, which was "to be extended during the continuation of the war, not to exceed two years from April 1, 1918." In 1919 the union struck for higher wages and shorter hours, which the operators refused on the ground that the 1918 agreement had not expired. President Wilson intervened in the dispute and appointed a special commission to draw up the basic provisions of a new interstate agreement, which remained in effect from 1920 through 1922.

After 1921, excess capacity in the coal industry and the growth of production in non-union fields produced a progressive breakdown of the master agreement system, which collapsed entirely in 1927. The agreement of 1922 was won only after a bitter and violent seven-months strike. Intervention by President Harding's Bituminous Commission was necessary in 1923 to secure a year's extension of the 1922 contract. In 1924 the central competitive field signed a three-year agreement, but before the end of 1924 operators in the Pittsburgh district cut wages. From December 1924 through December 1926 the United Mine Workers fought one wage reduction after another at a stated cost of eight millions in relief for striking and locked-out members. In 1927 the operators of the central competitive field refused to attend a joint conference. After further disastrous strikes, the United Mine Workers yielded and made whatever separate agreements it could.

Having failed to stabilize the industry through collective bargaining, the Mine Workers, which had already turned to state legislatures for safety inspection, certificate and anti-screen laws, workmen's compensation, and old age assistance, applied to Congress for aid in controlling output and prices. In 1928 it secured a Senate investigation of the Ohio, West Virginia, and Pennsylvania fields. In the same year it sponsored the Watson bill and in 1932 the Davis-Kelly bill, both of which permitted the formation of marketing pools under government supervision and protected collective bargaining. It lobbied vigorously for the National Industrial Recovery Act and, after its death, for the Bituminous Coal Conservation Act of 1935, the Bituminous Coal Act of 1937, and the National Labor Relations Act.

The National Industrial Recovery Act, by protecting collective bargaining and coming to the economic rescue of the coal industry, enabled the United Mine Workers to increase its membership and

regain the interstate agreement. From 1933 on the interstate agreement covered the operators of Ohio, central and western Pennsylvania, Michigan, West Virginia, Maryland, eastern Kentucky, Tennessee, and Virginia, which comprised the so-called "Appalachian area" and had displaced the central competitive field as the leading bituminous producer. The terms of this agreement formed the basis for agreements in surrounding districts. The interstate agreement was negotiated on an annual basis from 1933 to 1936 and on a biennial basis from 1937 through 1941. Strikes occurred in 1939 over the union shop and in 1941 over elimination of the North-South wage differential, both of which demands were eventually won by the union.

The anthracite producing areas were not substantially organized until late in 1899. In the next year the union requested a conference with the anthracite operators of Pennsylvania, but the request was refused. The union struck and won the ten per cent wage increase it had demanded. The operators' refusal to attend a joint conference in 1902 provoked a five-months industry-wide strike which ended when the operators accepted arbitration by President Theodore Roosevelt. The successful outcome of the strike swelled the anthracite membership of the United Mine Workers and brought glory to John Mitchell, young president of the union. October 29 was thereafter honored as "Mitchell Day."

The first tri-district agreement, based on the award of President Roosevelt's anthracite commission, was in effect from 1903 to 1906. The anthracite miners' determination to maintain the tri-district agreement involved them in six more industry-wide strikes—in 1906, 1912, 1922, 1923, 1925, and 1941—but they were never forced to negotiate separate agreements with individual operators.

Perhaps the most spectacular effort of the union to win its demands was the bituminous strike of 1919, mentioned above. Two federal injunctions issued under the Lever Act failed to halt the walkout; and despite the citation of eighty-four union officers for contempt, the strike did not end until President Wilson secured a promise of substantial wage increases from the operators.

Wage adjustments, demanded so vigorously during the 1919 strike, were uppermost in the miners' minds during the period of United States participation in the World War. Before 1917 scattered editorials in the *United Mine Workers Journal*, echoing the vote of the 1914 convention for an industry-wide strike in case of a declaration of war, opposed preparedness by the United States. After entry of the United States into the War, the journal insisted

on maintenance of pre-war labor standards and, emphasizing the sharp rise in living costs, argued for wage increases. At the same time the journal forcefully declared that the miners must support their country. It rebuked critics who accused the miners of absenteeism, draft evasion, profiteering on the war and "nouveau-riche behavior," and enumerated with pride the miners' contributions to the war effort.

Closely associated with the Mine Workers' attempts to negotiate master agreements was its insistence on the observance of contracts by its districts. Many an editorial urged the sacredness of contracts. As early as 1918 the interstate agreement provided that employers might levy fines on miners who struck during the life of the agreement. The union constitution also empowered the international officers to take punitive action against union members and officials involved in unauthorized strikes. In 1921, for example, the international executive board suspended the autonomy of the Kansas district because strikes were called at the Dean and Reliance mines without regard for grievance machinery stipulated in the district's contract.

The power of the international executive board to suspend the autonomy of districts and to appoint provisional governments for the duration of the suspension was exercised also for other types of offense. In 1929, for example, the international board revoked the charter of a sub-district of the Illinois district, charging embezzlement by sub-district officers of property belonging to locals under them. The officers of the Illinois district successfully enjoined the international executive board from revoking the district charter, a punitive measure aimed at the district's alleged insubordination and attempt at dual unionism.

The development of collective bargaining in the coal industry was carefully reported to the conventions of the United Mine Workers by its international officers. The reports of the president (1891-1927) and vice-president (1901-1927) both contained descriptions of strikes and organizing campaigns. The vice-president usually confined himself to these subjects, however, and his accounts of them were more detailed. The president also discussed such perennial problems as union membership, strike funds, mine accidents, child labor in the mines, injunctions and other litigation, the union label, support of political candidates, and also special issues existing at the time. The secretary-treasurer's report (1891-1927) contained a detailed statement of the union's financial position.

Beginning in 1930 the international officers presented joint reports summarizing events and problems between conventions. In 1930 and 1932 the economic characteristics and difficulties of the bituminous industry were stressed. In 1934 the coal codes under the National Industrial Recovery Act received the most attention. The joint reports included a summary financial statement as substitute for the extensive reports previously submitted by the secretary-treasurer.

In addition to officers' reports, the proceedings contained reports of the committees on officers' reports, resolutions, grievances, constitution, and wage scale. Discussion of these reports by delegates was recorded after 1905.

Sixteen months after its formation, the United Mine Workers introduced an eight-page weekly paper. From 1891 to 1904 the *United Mine Workers Journal* consisted almost entirely of letters. Members regularly exchanged notes on the quality of the veins they were working, the character of foremen and operators, the number of miners unemployed in their localities, mine hazards and accidents, wage scales, and, occasionally, social news. There were also longer letters complaining of company stores and faulty scales, and analyzing organizing and bargaining techniques. The miners' eight-hour campaign in 1891 stimulated general consideration of such tactical problems as maintaining an adequate treasury, coordinating district activities, and estimating the employer's power of resistance. Contributors to the journal, some of whom were Negro organizers, pointed out the desirability of organizing Negro and alien workers. During 1899-1902 two pages of the journal were printed in Slavonian.

Since the editor was careful to obey the mandate that the journal be a "trade union paper," letters of a controversial nature were segregated in the "Free Debate" column. Here members, limited only by the requirement that their letters be "scientific and non-partisan," discussed populist proposals, monetary theory, participation of labor unions in politics, and arbitration. The journal also contained editorials on organizing and bargaining problems, a summary of Congressional action on bills affecting organized labor and the working class, miscellaneous news items, and serial stories. The serial stories were the chief offering of the journal in the lean years from 1905-1907 and continued to be featured until 1911.

Although the journal reported the important strikes of 1894, 1897, 1902, and 1906, it did not provide a general news coverage of union affairs until 1909, by which time several pages of news appeared each week. In 1909, also, the name of the "Free Debate"

column was changed to the "Forum." Except for a long discussion of socialism among an ardent few, letters to the "Forum" usually expressed dissatisfaction with the state of the union and, directly or by implication, with the administration of President Thomas L. Lewis. The most frequent accusation was that President Lewis used the international organizers, who were appointed by him, to campaign for his re-election. In the 1910 convention Lewis was charged with having advised Kansas operators to refuse the miners the check-off. Although he was not convicted, the 1911 convention bowed him from the presidency with the gift of a pick and shovel.

Distrust of the presidential appointive power awakened by T. L. Lewis grew during subsequent administrations and found expression in resolutions to have the international and district executive boards review the appointment of organizers (1918) and to provide that organizers, field workers, and traveling auditors be elected (1919, 1921, 1924, 1930-1936). In each of these conventions, however, the resolutions committee opposed abolition of the appointive power, and its proponents were never able to muster sufficient votes to override the committee's recommendation.

A similar struggle arose over officers' salaries. On the recommendation of the resolutions committee, the delegates to the 1921 convention tabled a motion "to instruct the international officers to refund a certain portion of the salaries paid them." In 1927 there was bitter but unavailing opposition to a proposed salary increase, and the efforts made at the next two conventions to reduce salaries also failed. The 1936 convention approved a new increase which had been reported favorably by the resolutions committee.

Beginning in December, 1914, the *United Mine Workers Journal* numbered thirty-two pages. Despite this expansion, news coverage declined and correspondence and editorials again contributed most of the information. In a "News Exchange" section, members discussed strikes, mine accidents, cooperative ventures, business conditions, strike relief, and, occasionally, local political activities. Editorials during the period 1914-1918 dealt not only with the usual round of union problems but also with the special problems presented by the World War. Four pages of the journal were printed in Italian and four in Slavonian, a foreign section having been resumed after fourteen years as a result of repeated requests made at conventions.

The financial strain of almost four years of a thirty-two page weekly caused retrenchment to a twenty-four page semi-monthly

in August 1918. At the same time a professional newspaperman, Ellis Searles, was appointed editor and a newspaper format was adopted. Although the foreign language section was reduced to six pages, it was not discontinued until March 1933. A correspondence section, whose letters were brief and contained little analysis of the events and problems related, performed the function of the "News Exchange" in one page instead of several. After 1922 correspondence practically disappeared. For the first time districts had formal representation in a column made up of letters describing district wage scales, strikes, organizing campaigns, the adjustment of grievances, and elections; notices of district and sub-district conventions and the acquisition of property by the districts; and official letters to various districts from the international officers. "News from Districts" lasted from April 1918 to April 1919; it reappeared in June 1938—this time in "spot news" form. There were separate sections for the anthracite districts, from July 1935; for the Nova Scotia district, 1936-1938; and for District 50, March 1940-April 1, 1941. A women's page—with home, beauty and personality hints, recipes, and fashions—was included from 1918 through 1941. A jokes and sayings page, instituted at the end of 1923, also continued through 1941.

The most striking change in the journal after 1918 was a new emphasis on the international rather than its locals and districts. Members contributed less and less local news to the journal; and news reports of such events as the 1919, 1922, and 1925 strikes, the contempt cases under the Lever Act, and the Coronado cases focussed attention on the international and its officers rather than the districts or locals. Moreover, during the twenties and early thirties, when the United Mine Workers was troubled by dual unionism and internal dissension, the journal attempted to shield the international from criticism and the menace of rival unionism. In 1923 it "exposed" the "communist revolutionary movement to seize America." It denounced the Communist National Miners Union, organized in 1928. It branded as communistic the Save-the-Union and Pennsylvania-Ohio Relief Committees formed within the UMW in 1928 during the strikes resulting from the operators' scrapping of the 1924 interstate agreement. During the whole of 1930 the journal railed at the officers of the Illinois district. It credited communists with the 1932 secession movement in Illinois which established itself as the Progressive Miners of America. By the time the Progressive Miners affiliated with the AFL, however, that accusation had been abandoned.

From 1936 through 1941 the *United Mine Workers Journal* continued to cover its own organization and, in addition, printed a large amount of news of the CIO. Although discussion and praise of the industrial form of organization appeared in the journal only a few times, during World War I and in 1934 and 1935, the delegates to the 1936 convention unanimously approved the leadership of President John L. Lewis in organizing industrial unions. Subsequent conventions through 1941 reiterated their approval of and readiness to support the CIO.

MINERS AND MINE LABORERS, NATIONAL PROGRESSIVE UNION OF

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1885 Organized as National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers.
- 1888 Merged with faction of Knights of Labor National Trade Assembly 135 to form National Progressive Union of Miners and Mine Laborers.
- 1890 Merged with remainder of National Trade Assembly 135 to form United Mine Workers of America (*q. v.*).

II. PUBLICATIONS

- 1. Proceedings.
2nd-4th ann., 1886-1888; spec., Dec 1888
- 2. Constitutions.
1885; 1886; 1888

OIL WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL UNION

Address: 108 W. 8th St., Fort Worth

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1917 Organized by group of AFL federal locals as International Association of Oil Field, Gas Well, and Refinery Workers of America.
- 1918 Affiliated with AFL.
- 1935 Participated in formation of CIO.
- 1936 Suspended by AFL.

1937 Adopted present name.

1938 Expelled from AFL.

II. PUBLICATIONS (Code Number: 01)

1. Proceedings.

1st-4th bien., 1919-1924; [5th, 1926]; 6th, 1934; 7th, 1936;
8th-12th ann., 1937-1941 (3rd and 4th mimeographed)

2. Constitutions.

1919; bien. 1922-1926; bien. 1934-1936; ann. 1937-1940

3. Journal.

Published as: (Bakersfield, Cal.; Long Beach, Cal.)

1918-May 22, 1924?: *The California Oil Worker*

May 29, 1924?-Jul 1, 1925: *The Oil Worker*

Jul 23, 1925-Dec 3, 1925?: *The International Oil Worker*

Jul 12, 1926?-Sep 16, 1929?: *The Oil Worker*

Apr 27, 1934?-Dec 13, 1935: *The International Oil Worker*

1938-1941+: *CIO News. Oil Workers' Edition*

(Volume enumeration very confused. No material found for following periods, possibly indicating suspension: Jan-Jun 1926; Aug 1926-Jun 1928; Oct 1929-Mar 1934. Ceased publication Dec 1935; NS, 1938.)

Editors:

Jan-Feb 1923: E. B. Daniels

Mar-Dec 1923: William McClellan Cook

Dec 20-Dec 27, 1923: Harvey C. Fremming

Jan-Jul 1925: Harvey C. Fremming

Jul 25-Dec 1925: Fred W. Jackson

Jul 12, 1926: No editor listed

Jul 13, 1928-Sep 16, 1929: Harvey C. Fremming

Apr 27, 1934-Dec 13, 1935: Franklin E. Wolfe

III. CRITIQUE OF PUBLICATIONS

In 1918 a number of AFL federal locals in the California oil fields, which had been organized in the preceding year, were chartered by the AFL as the International Association of Oil Field, Gas Well, and Refinery Workers of America, with jurisdiction over "all bona fide wage earners of the oil industry." After making substantial gains in both California and Texas, the union was almost destroyed by a serious factional conflict which broke into the open at the 1920 convention and by the loss of an important strike called to secure recognition from the Oil Operators Association in the fall of 1921. On their return to work after an eight-week strike, more than half of the strikers found themselves black-

listed. Union membership dwindled rapidly. Of the fifty-five locals represented at the 1920 convention, only ten were represented in 1922. Organizing efforts were resumed in 1925, authority was centralized in the international instead of being distributed among the districts, and the union began to revive. Not until 1934, however, did it reach the level of membership achieved in 1920.

President Fremming of the Oil Workers supported John L. Lewis in pressing for industrial unionism and revision of jurisdictional boundaries at the 1935 AFL convention. The Oil Workers had had frequent jurisdictional disputes with craft unions, especially the Boiler Makers, and the AFL Metal Trades Department had attempted to have the Oil Workers' charter revoked. The union was one of the initial members of the Committee for Industrial Organization and was consequently suspended by the AFL. In 1938 its charter was revoked and it continued as a CIO affiliate.

During 1939 the union waged important strikes against the Mid-Continent Petroleum Company at Tulsa and the Gulf Oil Company at Toledo, both of which involved recognition of the union and were much discussed in the union journal. The Mid-Continent strike was still unsettled in 1941 and was causing a considerable loss in membership; the Gulf Oil strike ended in an agreement to abide by the results of a National Labor Relations Board election.

The history of the Oil Workers was reported in the various journals of the union. All of these used a newspaper format. The *California Oil Worker* of 1923 usually contained four or six pages. Much of the space was filled with articles reprinted from the *American Federationist* and from local labor papers. Editorials dealt usually with such general subjects as the flaws in the capitalist system, the causes of radicalism, the value of industrial unionism, and the philosophy of the IWW, or with current issues in the labor world, such as the administration of the railroads, Henry Ford's labor policies, and outstanding strikes. Editorials confined to interests of the Oil Workers' Union were infrequent. In addition, the journal contained many short items of local news, including comments on organizing campaigns, wage conferences and negotiations with employers, local meetings, initiations, results of elections of officers, and social events. The journals of 1925 to 1929 were very similar to those of 1923, though they were published irregularly and the name varied between the *Oil Worker* and the *International Oil Worker*. An organizers'

section, inaugurated in 1925, suggested arguments which an organizer should employ in urging men to join, and also contained general comments on organizing technique, the philosophy of unionism, and the attitudes of the non-union worker.

The *International Oil Worker* of April 1934—December 1935 contained a considerable number of articles and editorials on the National Industrial Recovery Act and on other government activities and legislation affecting the union. There were also frequent articles on such general labor subjects as labor saving devices, the use of strikes, labor spies, communist activities within unions, foreign labor movements and foreign affairs, and the effects of fascism on the labor movement. Local news items continued to appear, as did columns of comment on current events and developments in the labor movement. Another column appearing regularly was "Time and the Hour," which dealt almost exclusively with communism, communists, and the activities of the Communist International.

The *CIO News. Oil Workers' Edition*, established in 1938, contained about two and one-half pages of news pertaining to the Oil Workers' union. In these pages were brief lists of local secretaries, negotiations pending, policies adopted by the executive council, referendums to be held by the union, lists of cases before the National Labor Relations Board, and also paragraphs of local news and short articles on conditions in particular companies.

Convention proceedings were published verbatim only in 1920, 1934, and 1937-1941, though partial reports of the discussions were published in some of the other years. One of the subjects most frequently discussed in conventions was how to ensure democratic control of the union. Proposals to elect officers by referendum vote, to vest control of organizers in the district councils instead of the president, to expand the powers of the district councils in other ways, to impose restrictions on the exercise of power by the president, and to empower the executive council to remove administrative officers were debated at length. From 1934 on, and especially during the 1940 convention after the failure of the international officers to settle the Mid Continent strike, the delegates were critical of the officers and desirous of curtailing their power and increasing that of the district councils.

An itemized statement of receipts, expenditures, cash on hand, and the position of each of the union funds was presented to each convention, though this was variously entitled the report of the auditing committee, the secretary-treasurer, the secretary, and

the finance committee. The main report on the current condition of the union was presented sometimes by the president, sometimes by the executive council. This report dealt with such matters as union finances and membership, organizing progress, wage changes and wage policies, contracts negotiated with employers, legislative accomplishments, relations with the AFL or CIO, and the economic condition of the oil industry.

In 1920 and from 1936 on the vice-presidents gave brief accounts of their activities in connection with organizing campaigns, negotiations, and strikes. From 1937 on the district councilmen reported briefly on council activities in their district, including conferences held, wage increases secured, the condition of the various locals, new locals chartered, organizing drives, legislative gains made by the district, CIO activities in the district, business conditions, and special problems of the area. These reports provided a detailed picture of the union's problems, activities and accomplishments in each part of the country.

SLATE WORKERS, AMERICAN BROTHERHOOD OF

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1904 Organized as result of merger of International Union of Slate Quarrymen, Splitters and Cutters with AFL federal locals under name of International Union of Slate Workers.
- 1905 Affiliated with AFL.
- 1911 Changed name to American Brotherhood of Slate Workers.
- 1916 Disbanded.

II. PUBLICATIONS

- 1. Proceedings.
 - 1st-6th ann., 1904-1909
- 2. Constitutions.
 - 1904; 1906; 1911

STONE AND ALLIED PRODUCTS WORKERS OF AMERICA, UNITED

Address: Scampini Bldg., Barre, Vt.

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1903 Organized as Quarry Workers' International Union of North America. Affiliated with AFL.
- 1938 Withdrew from AFL and affiliated with CIO.
- 1940 Adopted present name.

II. PUBLICATIONS

- 1. Proceedings.
2nd, 1929; 3rd, 1940
- 2. Constitutions.
1903; 1905; 1906; 1911; 1914; 1920; 1926; 1929; 1930;
1934; 1941
- 3. Journal.
Published as: (Barre, Vt.)
1904-Feb 1938: *Quarry Workers' Journal*
(Ceased publication. Vs. 23, 24 repeated in numbering.)

TENANT FARMERS UNION, SOUTHERN

Address: 66 S. Third St., Memphis

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1934 Organized.

II. PUBLICATIONS

- 1. Proceedings.
2nd-7th ann., 1936-1941
- 2. Constitutions.
1935; 1940
- 3. Journal.
Published as: (Memphis)
Apr 1935-Sep 1937: *The Sharecroppers' Voice*
Apr 1938-? : *S. T. F. U. News*
1941+ : *The Tenant Farmer*

TIMBERWORKERS, INTERNATIONAL UNION OF

I. CHRONOLOGY

- 1917 Organized. Affiliated with AFL.
1918 Merged with International Shingle Weavers of America (*q.v.*).
1923? Disbanded.

II. PUBLICATIONS

1. Proceedings.
[1st, 1918]; 2nd-4th ann., 1919-1921
2. Constitutions.
ann. 1917-1921
3. Journal.
Published as: (Aberdeen, Wash.)
Feb 3-Apr 14, 1917?: *American Timberworker*
Mar 23-Jun 15, 1918: *The Timberworker*
Jun 22, 1918-Apr 1921?: *Timberworkers' Department*
(Feb 3-Apr 14, 1917?; Jun 22, 1918-Apr 1921? in *Seattle Union Record.*)