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Part 1. 1893–1924 (with Vote Books, 1892–1924)

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INTRODUCTION

In 1886, the founding convention of the American Federation of Labor (AFL) elected five men to lead an organization of fewer than two hundred thousand members. Sixty-nine years later, on the eve of another convention, nineteen men—seventeen vice presidents, a secretary treasurer, and President George Meany—studied the proposed constitution of the unified American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO) and discussed whether it met the needs of the federation membership, now numbering well over nine million. The AFL had grown from a weak and financially strapped organization, whose prospects of surviving its first year seemed dim, to a large, well-funded bureaucracy and influential political lobby.

During the period in which the United States became the world's leading industrial power, home to the international economy's leading megacorporations, and the globe's dominant power, the AFL alone claimed to speak for and represent American workers. Despite recurrent challenges from more radical and revolutionary organizations on its left, only the AFL survived the periodic economic depressions and spasms of political repression to embody the broader interests of American labor. Even after another national labor center, the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), emerged in 1935 as a competitor, the AFL withstood this new challenge to its hegemony in the labor movement.

From 1886 to 1955, the AFL discussed and acted on virtually all the major problems confronting American labor, most often through its Executive Council. The council directed the process by which labor's agenda was set, and it led the drive to overcome legal and legislative obstacles to union success. As the central coordinating body for the federation, the Executive Council interpreted the AFL constitution and implemented convention decisions. In the minutes of council meetings and in its vote books (which contain the decisions of council members on matters arising between meetings, along with related correspondence and supporting documents), the researcher finds unique and important insights into the growth, transformation, successes, and failures of the modern American labor movement.¹

The survival of the AFL in its difficult first years resulted in large part from the work of the Executive Council, in particular the diligent and committed efforts of its president, Samuel Gompers. Those who served on the council found themselves divided between service to the particularistic needs and interests of their own craft and service to an organization that asked them to put aside narrower concerns. This tension, clearly evident in council records, persisted from the founding convention of the federation to the 1955 merger with the CIO.

In the late nineteenth century, skilled workers who formed craft unions enjoyed

the greatest success of those building labor organizations. Whether printers, plumbers, glassblowers, machinists, or of other skilled trades, they possessed abilities their employers could not do without. Their relative scarcity in the labor market and their irreplaceability gave them bargaining power. The unions that they formed admitted members based on their skill, not on who employed them or in which industry they toiled. Such realities prompted the craft unions to seek firmer control of the labor market in order to maintain wages, set the pace of work, and regulate mechanization. While the separate crafts had common interests (such as reducing the hours of labor), protection of its own trade was each craft's most basic concern. Sectionalism undermined the ability of the various crafts to cooperate and had even caused the disintegration of the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions, immediate predecessor to the AFL. The rise of the Knights of Labor in the 1880s constituted a fundamental challenge to craft beliefs and trade union organization. Opposition to the Knights of Labor was a cause around which trade unionists could rally. Leading the fight against the Knights was, indeed, the most immediate and important task for the Executive Council during the AFL's first decade.

By December 1892, when the official records of the Executive Council begin, the federation had established itself as a forum for coordinating national drives to reduce the hours of labor and other such union activities. It used its limited financial resources to organize workers who lacked a national craft union into directly affiliated local unions and to assist national unions in their labor struggles. The federation advised new national unions on how to become self-sustaining. It publicized the names of firms that discriminated against union labor and urged workers to boycott those companies.

Centralizing authority and establishing routine procedures soon occupied the council's attention. The effects of this process are perhaps most clearly evident in the policies adopted for the directly affiliated federal labor unions (FLUs), over which the council had direct control.² By the mid 1890s, the council had set up procedures by which it investigated boycott requests from its directly affiliated unions, offering the firm accused of unfair practices a chance to present its case or correct the difficulty. FLUs sent their negotiated wage scales to the Executive Council for approval. Local unions also had to follow specified steps to receive strike support. Prior to authorizing benefits, council members would investigate the situation and determine if a strike was justified and if the demands were reasonable. This sort of policing prevented what federation leaders saw as ill-advised job actions so common among the newly organized and less-skilled workers. Without such controls, the Executive Council feared that its unions would gain a reputation for reckless actions and extravagant demands. The Executive Council's persistent monitoring of the FLUs provides a wealth of information on wages and hours in different trades and localities, specific labor conditions and job descriptions, and the numbers of unskilled workers organized in unions.³

The process of centralizing control and professionalizing labor leadership grew apace. As stability and security became their primary concerns, many national unions also reduced the autonomy of local branches. Formal written contracts became more common, and efforts to achieve national trade agreements proliferated. Gompers and other Executive Council members participated in the National Civic Federation and worked to convince businessmen that unionization would benefit them, since organized workers would be more responsible. The tendency of the Executive Council to portray unions as a stabilizing factor and "marketing unionism to business," often associated with William Green's presidency of the AFL, actually began years before Gompers' death in 1924.⁴

Finances were always a sore point for the Executive Council. Most unions were reluctant to aid other organizations in their strikes or organizing drives. Although the council had the power to call mandatory assessments to support specific objectives, it rarely did so because such assessments were unpopular. Calls for voluntary contributions were less unpopular, primarily because they could be evaded. When a union was in serious financial trouble and could not pay its per capita dues to the federation, it risked losing its representation at the convention. In such instances, the Executive Council could forgive the debt or donate funds, as it did for the coal miners in 1894, 1922, and 1928, the ladies' garment workers in 1904 and 1905, and the textile workers in 1924. The council sometimes denied aid requests on financial grounds, but refusal might also be a subtle but effective way to convey its disapproval of an affiliate's strategy or stance on a particular issue. When turning down the aid requests of unions with low membership dues, for instance, Gompers urged the organizations to raise their dues and set up a defense fund as a means of becoming financially self-supporting.⁵

As part of its efforts to maintain unity within the labor movement, the Executive Council urged affiliates to settle amicably their disagreements about where the authority of one union ended and that of another began. These jurisdictional conflicts were most common in closely related crafts or after technological innovation altered the work process. Rapid growth in an industry controlled by a weak union might also lead to conflict, as more powerful unions tried to seize control of the field. Likewise, in times of contraction, unions fought each other to keep their own membership employed in a shrinking economy. Conflicts over jurisdiction were common; they were also among the most intractable of the problems faced by the Executive Council.

One early clash came between the printers and the machinists, over who would control the linotype machine. The typographical union used its members' skill and leverage in the industry to force machinists to join the printers' union or lose their jobs. The printers challenged the Executive Council's authority to intervene, and they refused to obey any decision that went against them.⁶ This instance was not unique. The power of the council to regulate jurisdictional conflicts was limited. It could merely arrange and mediate conferences between disputants. When it suggested compromises, it always tried to avoid infringing on the highly valued autonomy of national affiliates. Solutions to jurisdictional disputes were frequently short-lived, with one or both of the contending parties ignoring or reinterpreting agreements reached after months or years of discussion. If negotiations failed, the Executive Council could do little to compel a powerful union to respect the jurisdiction of a weaker one.

In some cases, the council determined that the best solution to a serious and persistent jurisdictional conflict was amalgamation of the contending parties. As the work done by the plumbers' and steamfitters' unions became more similar after

1900, both the council and the AFL convention decided that amalgamation was the only answer. The steamfitters resisted, insisting on the distinctiveness of their craft. In this case, the AFL resorted to drastic action, expelling the steamfitters for refusal to amalgamate and for organizing general pipe fitters who rightly belonged to the plumbers.⁷

One of the longest and most convoluted of the many jurisdictional disputes that came before the council occurred in the brewing industry. When the brewers' union entered the federation in 1887, it did so as an industrial organization that claimed jurisdiction over all workers in breweries, regardless of their skills or occupational titles. This caused conflicts with various craft unions. In 1898, the Executive Council made the first in a long series of decisions against the brewers' union, and in 1900 it instructed the union to cease organizing operating engineers and stationary firemen in breweries. The brewers tenaciously defended their jurisdiction. Their union was powerful and influential, especially in the Midwest, and was able to pressure employers to hire only its members. By 1904, both the engineers' and firemen's unions demanded the revocation of the brewers' charter. At first the Executive Council opposed such action, but gradually a majority shifted its position. Comments in the vote books in early 1907 reveal deep divisions within the council over the proposed suspension. The council revoked the brewers' charter in June 1907. Gompers, however, had consistently opposed such a measure and led a successful drive to restore the charter at the next convention.

After a few years of relative calm, a new conflict arose in the brewing industry. This time the contest concerned the teamsters' union, which sought control over brewery drivers. The Executive Council, in an ambiguous 1913 decision, stated that most brewery drivers wanted to stay in the brewers' union, and it saw "no justification for the transfer of these men." A showdown seemed likely, had not Prohibition intervened. Although given jurisdiction over soft drink and yeast workers in an effort to save their organization, the brewers' union dwindled during the 1920s. With the repeal of the 18th Amendment in 1933, the fight with the teamsters resumed. The brewers pleaded with the Executive Council to sustain the 1913 decision. But times had changed; the brewers were weaker, the teamsters stronger. The Executive Council awarded jurisdiction to the teamsters, and the convention upheld its decision. The brewery workers not only refused to abide by the ruling but also got a court injunction to prevent the council from suspending them for noncompliance. As soon as the injunction was lifted and the brewers' appeal to the Supreme Court had failed, the Executive Council suspended the union. The brewers remained outside the AFL, eventually joining the CIO in 1946.⁸

Involvement in international activities was limited in the first decades of federation history. In 1903, the Executive Council financed a trip by leading West Coast unionist Ed Rosenberg to Hawaii, China, Japan, and the Philippines. Rosenberg's lengthy reports provide an interesting look into labor conditions and union activity, particularly in the Philippines.⁹ Other than exchanging fraternal convention delegates with the British Trades Union Congress, the AFL did not regularly attend European labor conferences until 1909. In that year, it joined the International Secretariat, which in 1913 became the International Federation of Trade Unions (IFTU). At the conclusion of World War I, which had torn the old IFTU apart, European unionists reconstituted it. Although the AFL attended the new IFTU's first convention, it withdrew from participation within a year, charging it with forcing members to support a "revolutionary viewpoint."¹⁰ Despite repeated entreaties and assurances of their noncommunism by IFTU leaders, the AFL did not rejoin until the late 1930s. Federation involvement with Latin American trade unionists was also sporadic. Santiago Iglesias became the first AFL organizer in the region, sent to Puerto Rico in 1900. The federation helped organize Puerto Rican agricultural laborers and financially aided their strikes.¹¹ In early 1917, the AFL led the formation of a Pan American Federation of Labor, which for several years functioned as an investigative body, exposing labor abuse throughout Latin America. After Gompers' death, however, it quietly disappeared from the scene. Not until 1948 did the AFL help found a successor organization, the Inter-American Confederation of Workers.

The Executive Council had little patience with organizations that distracted workers from day-to-day struggles or promised alternatives to "business unionism." Irritation turned to confrontation when more radical organizations sought to influence AFL unions. Although socialists inside the federation sought to win converts, the Executive Council remained skeptical of radicalism. The council seemed to have even less tolerance for syndicalism, seeing it as the absurd notion of a few intellectuals without experience in the labor movement or the machinations of discredited former unionists seeking new power bases. It dispatched an observer-spy to the founding convention of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) in June 1905. This observer sent in reports of the week-long gathering, including a list of all the federation affiliates and other unionists present. His colorful account of the proceedings detailed the multiple divisions that tore the IWW apart. From the standpoint of the Executive Council, which had no interest in seeing the rival organization succeed, it was just as well that their observer was able to report that the IWW convention saw the "fantastical" schemes of men who knew nothing of union organization win out over more practical and constructive ideas.¹²

Most members of the Executive Council believed that partisan political involvement would divide and weaken the federation. Nonpartisanship, however, did not mean political inaction; the AFL persistently lobbied for specific pieces of legislation. In the 1890s, the federation supported the passage of an eight-hour law for government employees and enforcement of the Chinese Exclusion Act. After the AFL headquarters moved to Washington, D.C., in 1897, federation activity in support of legislation and of politicians favorable to labor increased and became formalized. The federation established a legislative committee. By the turn of the century, Executive Council members met regularly with political leaders. In the election of 1906, the AFL managed a coordinated drive to defeat enemies of labor. As a general rule, council members primarily sought legislation that liberated labor from judicial regulation. For instance, the federation lobbied for legislative relief from the use of injunctions against labor unions, centering its efforts on revising the antitrust law. Most Executive Council members, along with many federation affiliates, preferred to negotiate with employers directly and desired minimal government intervention in labor-management relations. This approach to politics, which came to be known and characterized as "voluntarism," asserted that unions needed neither paternalistic intervention to protect them nor interference in their ability to negotiate freely.

Organized labor's preoccupation with judicial intervention against unions was rooted in its own experience. Two cases in particular took up a considerable amount of the time, energy, and financial resources of the federation. In 1902 the United Hatters of North America began a boycott of Loewe and Company in an effort to pressure the firm into unionizing. This boycott was declared illegal under the Sherman Anti-Trust Act, and the union was ordered to pay treble damages to the firm. The case was not finally disposed of until 1915, when the Supreme Court upheld the judgment. The Executive Council lent money from the recently created legal defense fund and ordered assessments on the affiliated unions to aid the union in its costly legal fight. The 1915 AFL convention issued an urgent appeal for funds when it became evident that the union was unable to pay the damages and its members faced seizure of their homes.

In 1907, the federation itself became party to a suit when the AFL put the Buck's Stove and Range Company on its published boycott list. When an injunction ordered the federation to remove the firm's name, the official journal of the AFL criticized the judge's decision. As a result, federation President Samuel Gompers, Secretary Frank Morrison, and Vice President John Mitchell were charged with contempt of court. The AFL officers chose to defend their action from the high ground of freedom of speech. The case was never decided on its merits. The Supreme Court eventually vacated the jail sentences of Gompers, Morrison, and Mitchell due to technical errors in the proceedings. These two cases depleted the federation's treasury, led the Executive Council to adopt a more cautious attitude on boycotts, and caused it to stop publication of the "We don't patronize" list.

The trend toward more favorable consideration of labor's needs gathered momentum in the Democrat-controlled 62nd Congress and continued with the election of Woodrow Wilson. President Wilson created a Department of Labor and put former United Mine Workers' official William Wilson at its head. Executive Council members found access to the president much easier. The Clayton Anti-Trust Bill became law in 1914, as did a long-sought act regulating the conditions of employment for seamen. The council pinned great hopes on the Clayton Act, which proved unable to protect labor from court injunctions.

At the beginning of World War I, the Executive Council did its best to distance the AFL from the European conflict. This became increasingly difficult as the American government moved toward war with Germany. At a special Executive Council meeting in March 1917, which Secretary of Labor Wilson attended, Gompers announced that organized labor must cooperate with defense preparedness efforts "in order that we may exercise a beneficent guidance rather than be forced to submit to emergency measures."¹³ Although federation leaders worried that enemies of organized labor might take advantage of the war to pass hostile legislation, most council members were satisfied by government policy. Most wartime government boards established policies favorable to the AFL's affiliates and to the principle of collective bargaining. Federation membership increased from 2.3 million just before American entry into the war to 3 million in the fall of 1918, and to 3.7 million in October 1919. Reservations about the justness of the war disappeared with these gains. As the Executive Council announced in a 1918 statement, "Either the principles of free democracy or of Prussian militaristic autocracy will prevail. There can be no

compromises.... This is labor's war...."¹⁴

The AFL did not hold the membership gains it had made during the war into the immediate postwar period. The government-sponsored Red Scare, the continued use of injunctions against labor, and the prosperity and so-called normalcy of the 1920s all contributed to an anti-union atmosphere. The Executive Council responded to the new realities ineffectively. It did not sponsor or encourage worker militancy and grassroots activism. Rather than attempting to mobilize radical impulses among workers with an aggressive and well-funded organizing drive, the council reduced expenses and organizing efforts.¹⁵ It refused to support the Plumb Plan, which called for government purchase and ownership of railroads, despite the fact that AFL railroad unions strongly backed the plan, as did the nonaffiliated railroad brotherhoods. Yet the Executive Council did support the coal miners in 1919 when it appeared that union President John L. Lewis would defy a federal injunction in the bituminous coal strike. The council seriously considered calling a general strike to protest the injunctions issued during the 1922 railroad shopmen's strike, although ultimately it rejected the idea.¹⁶

Because the Republican Party controlled the presidency, Congress, and the courts, the 1920s witnessed a decline in the impact and importance of the federation's lobbying activities. One success was the passage of a law greatly restricting convict labor. A law limiting child labor, however, was overturned by the Supreme Court. In 1924, the Executive Council rejected both the Republican and Democratic presidential candidates, throwing its support behind the third-party effort of Robert LaFollette. In 1930, the council led a successful fight to block the appointment of Justice John Parker to the Supreme Court. Parker had authored the *Red Jacket Consolidated Coal* decision upholding yellow-dog contracts. After this success, the federation used its revived political clout to support passage of the Norris-LaGuardia Bill, which, after its enactment in 1932, curtailed the use of injunctions by federal courts against labor unions.

The Executive Council led the fight against Communists in the labor movement, showing its antagonism from the moment of the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917. Reports generated by the American government and by Russian expatriates seem to have been the chief sources of information on which the council based its condemnation of Soviet policies. The intransigent anticommunism of the Executive Council diluted rank-and-file radicalism, stifled debate, and counteracted the influence of those who differed with policies favored by federation leadership. The council's intransigence was such that it even condemned trips to investigate conditions in the Soviet Union as being pro-Communist. The council denounced a trip that Timothy Healy, president of the firemen and oilers union, and leaders of the unaffiliated railroad brotherhoods planned in 1926. It also ordered the trade assemblies in Seattle, Minneapolis, Detroit, Butte, and Tacoma to either disavow support for Communist-promoted policies or lose their AFL charters.

Throughout much of the 1920s, the Communist party followed a strategy of working within existing unions and trying to convince workers of their sincere commitment to bread-and-butter issues. This strategy enabled Communists to maintain a real, if limited, following within the labor movement and caused the Executive Council endless worry. In 1927, the council sent federation Vice President

Matthew Woll to New York to reorganize the fur workers local there and to exclude from power the Communists then controlling it. Woll arranged with employers to replace Communist strikers with AFL men. Since the council did not consider Communists to be legitimate trade unionists, it maintained that such action normally anathema in the labor movement—was justified. In 1928, the Communist Party abandoned its policy of working within existing unions and entered the militant "third period," during which it attacked existing unions at every opportunity and set up dual organizations. Thereafter, the Executive Council relaxed its anticommunism fight somewhat since the new Communist policy effectively ended party influence among most trade unionists.¹⁷

The onset of the Great Depression forced the Executive Council to reconsider its opposition to legislative remedies for economic problems. The Executive Council was seriously divided on how best to meet the economic crisis. A majority of the council continued to view shorter hours without wage cuts as the best solution to unemployment. When, in 1932, employers continued to cut wages, however, the council reluctantly concluded that redress would have to come from the government.

The passage in 1933 of the National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA), with its Section 7a that protected the rights of workers to select representatives of their own choosing, raised hopes for great membership gains. But, as it happened, few national unions made large gains, and federation-directed efforts to unionize mass production workers proved ineffective. The willingness of government boards to accept company unions as legitimate representatives of workers were partly to blame for this failure, as were serious problems in creating and enforcing industrial codes. The internal problems of the AFL were also real stumbling blocks. The council records graphically portray the inability of the AFL to capitalize on the initial reforms of the New Deal.

A series of jurisdictional disputes coincided with the first years of the New Deal, impairing the federation's ability to respond effectively to new opportunities for organization. The brewers/teamsters jurisdictional dispute revived at this time. More important, a long-standing quarrel over erecting machinery between the carpenters' and machinists' unions flared anew. The 1914 AFL convention had awarded the work to the machinists, but subsequent conventions had failed to enforce this decision. After a long series of failed conferences, the machinists insisted that the Executive Council take action. The carpenters argued that the refusal of conventions to enforce the decision had annulled it. When the council began to comply with the machinists' request, the carpenters withheld per capita payments to the federation. The Executive Council, bowing to the power of the carpenters' union, ceased efforts to implement the decision. Exasperated, in 1943 the machinists finally decided to withdraw from the AFL, and took their complaints about the carpenters to the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB). The machinists did not reaffiliate until 1951.¹⁸ Thus, two of the largest unions in the AFL, instead of devoting themselves to organizing the unorganized, expended their resources fighting each other.

Another problem occupying the attention of the Executive Council during the early 1930s was conflict within the Building Trades Department of the AFL. This department had been controversial since its founding in 1907, when several council

members opposed its formation, thinking it a rival to central federation authority. In its first years, the department acted independently of council controls, issuing decrees on jurisdictional disputes, unseating unions that refused to abide by its decisions, and calling for general strikes. In 1914, the AFL convention restricted department authority, but problems persisted. The carpenters' union complained that the department's efforts to force compliance with its jurisdictional decisions violated union autonomy; consequently, the union spent much of the years between 1914 and 1933 refusing to participate in the department. Electrical workers and bricklayers also disagreed with department decisions and withdrew. In 1934, at the urgent request of federation President Green, the three unions applied for readmission. At this point, several of the smaller building trades' unions blocked their reentry, arguing that the method of apportioning representation in the department be changed to reduce the power of large unions like the carpenters. The majority of Executive Council members backed the excluded unions, and a court fight ensued. Not until early 1936 was Vice President George Harrison able to arrange a settlement that mollified both factions.¹⁹ Again, selfish jurisdictional disputes, which can be followed in the council's records, hampered the ability of the AFL to respond to the cry for organization from an angry and militant working class.

During the same year, a bitter clash developed within the federation over how best to organize nonunion workers. At the core of the fight was a struggle between craft-union traditionalists and those who wanted to organize those workers in the mass-production industries without clearly delineated craft identities or whose jobs did not fall within the jurisdiction of existing unions. In its first decades, the AFL tolerated all-crafts industrial unionism only in certain industries where it had a long history or where certain exceptional conditions prevailed. The most important federation union with the jurisdiction to organize all workers in an industry regardless of skill or job classification was the United Mine Workers. As technological change eradicated old skills, several craft unions sought to make their jurisdictions more flexible, and the 1911 convention voted to allow crafts to redefine their jurisdictions to include both craftsmen in various related fields and less-skilled production workers.

In practice, however, most craft unions rarely undertook organization drives among less-skilled workers, who composed between 75 and 85 percent of the labor force. Consequently, the percentage of workers belonging to trade unions fell from a high point of 15 to 20 percent in 1919–1920 to 10 percent in the era of the Great Depression and the New Deal. The unions especially lacked a presence in such mass-production industries as automobiles, steel, rubber, electrical goods, and petrochemicals. Few of the workers in those industries fell clearly within the jurisdictions of existing AFL unions. Owing to a combination of employer hostility, worker indifference, and craft-union lethargy, mass production industries remained nonunion. With the passage of the NIRA in 1933, however, workers in steel, auto, rubber, and other mass production industries flooded into unions. Despite William Green's plea that the AFL must "organize them or lose them," the federation failed to act decisively. Questions of jurisdiction hampered organizing efforts. The International Association of Machinists (IAM), for instance, refused to waive jurisdiction over tool-and-die workers, general machinists, and maintenance workers in auto plants. Green's proposal that these workers temporarily join inclusive FLUs, with jurisdictional decisions tabled provisionally, proved unsatisfactory to both the newly organized autoworkers and to the IAM.²⁰ The Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers retained jurisdiction over all workers in the steel industry, although since the failed steel strike of 1919, it had virtually no presence in steel mills. By the early 1930s, this national union was only a shadow of its former self—weak, fearful of militant action, and burdened with backward-looking leadership. Its response to union locals that called for aggressive action in organizing steelworkers was to suspend the locals.

At the 1934 AFL convention, the Metal Trades Department attacked the new mass production FLUs, charging them with incursions into the jurisdictions of existing craft unions. In an effort to engineer a compromise, the Resolutions Committee submitted a proposal that defended the craft unions' jurisdictions in most areas, but also proposed the creation of industry-wide unions where no clear demarcations among crafts existed. The convention instructed the Executive Council to issue national charters in certain mass production industries. Intentionally kept ambiguous to avert open conflict on the convention floor, this compromise gave wide scope for Executive Council interpretation.

The 1934 convention also increased the number of federation vice presidents from eight to fifteen. Among those who joined the council was John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers, one of the few unions that had taken advantage of Section 7a to increase its membership. Lewis persistently argued that, in the mass-production industries, questions of jurisdiction must be subordinated to the issue of organization. First, unionize the workers, demanded Lewis; only then worry about which AFL unions had jurisdiction over the workers. A great majority of the Executive Council repeatedly rejected Lewis's approach to organizing, preferring instead to defend their jurisdictional claims prior to unionizing the unorganized.²¹

By May 1935, it was clear that the Executive Council would not act to organize mass-production workers. Lewis became so impatient and angry that he refused to attend council meetings. By the summer of 1935, he was convinced that the organization of mass-production workers would have to be accomplished without the approval or participation of the Executive Council. When the 1935 convention defeated a minority report favoring industrial organization, Lewis established the Committee for Industrial Organization (which later became the Congress of Industrial Organizations, or CIO). Lewis's committee, while proclaiming its members' loyalty to the AFL, proceeded with its own plans to organize mass-production workers into industry-wide unions regardless of the craft unions' jurisdictional claims. The struggle between Lewis and the Executive Council over how best to unionize the unorganized can be followed in detail in the records of the Executive Council.²²

By the spring of 1936, a solid majority of Executive Council members favored suspension of those unions associated with the CIO. John Frey, head of the Metal Trades Department, presented the case against the CIO unions, spiking his charges of dual unionism with insinuations of Communist domination. The evidence Frey introduced did demonstrate that unions being organized by the CIO intruded on the theoretical jurisdiction of existing craft unions. What Frey left unsaid was that the

craft unions' jurisdictions existed largely on paper and that those unions had failed in practice to organize the mass-production workers. That reality notwithstanding, the Executive Council suspended ten affiliated unions associated with the CIO, effective September 5, 1936.²³

Executive Council members were astonished and unsettled by the amazing success of the CIO in the year that followed. Green reported his amazement that "the country seems to be filled with C.I.O. organizers." The AFL declared war against its dissenters, pressing state and local bodies to exclude the suspended unions. A special conference of national unions in May 1937 ordered a one cent per month per capita assessment to raise funds to fight the CIO. Council leaders decried the CIO's use of mass pickets and sit-down strikes. Ironically, competition with the CIO forced the federation to act more forcefully. Unions that had shown no interest in the unskilled now funded organizing drives. The AFL's membership figures tell the story. The first few years of the New Deal saw no major increase in federation membership, but once the AFL committed itself to fighting the CIO, its membership climbed steadily and rapidly: from just over 2.5 million in early 1937, to 3.9 million in early 1940, to nearly 6 million as the United States entered World War II.²⁴

The Wagner Act, which had been enacted after the Supreme Court struck down the NIRA, had passed almost unnoticed by federation leaders, distracted as they were by internal conflicts. A few officials had noted with alarm the NLRB power to make jurisdictional decisions. After the rise of the CIO, however, nearly every meeting of the Executive Council contained a report on alleged CIO manipulations of the NLRB. Council records provide insight into AFL clashes with the CIO over the right to represent workers at such places as Allis Chalmers, Kaiser Shipbuilding, and American Can Company, and also detail the fight for NLRB certification between AFL and CIO longshoremen's unions on the Pacific Coast. Council members felt that NLRB decisions treated the AFL as if it was "in the same status as company unions."²⁵ While the Roosevelt administration remained highly popular among union rank and file, federation leadership, as disclosed in Executive Council records, grew increasingly critical of it as the 1930s drew to a close.

During the World War II years, the federation experienced not only growth but also changes in its leadership. In 1940 Frank Morrison, secretary for more than forty years and secretary treasurer since 1930, retired. George Meany took his place. Almost immediately, Meany made his presence felt, quickly becoming one of the most active and influential council members. Over the next decade, William Green, already somewhat of a figurehead on a council dominated by a few powerful craft unions, grew increasingly incapacitated by age. Meany took on more and more of the investigative and political duties that had previously fallen to the president.

As the United States drew closer to war in 1941, AFL leaders cooperated with the defense preparedness effort. With American entry into World War II, Roosevelt created the National War Labor Board (NWLB) to regulate wartime industrial relations. Inflation became a serious national problem. Controls over wages tightened in the summer of 1942, when the NWLB began applying the "Little Steel formula," which curtailed wage increases and subjected labor-management negotiations to judicial settlement. In April 1943, Roosevelt issued an order to "hold-the-line" on wages, effectively stripping the NWLB of its powers to grant wage increases. Unlike

Lewis and the miners, the AFL did not use the wage freeze as a justification for ending the no-strike pledge, although it opposed the president's order and remained convinced that economic stabilization could be best maintained by collective bargaining. Roosevelt's plan to control price increases did not work, and the Executive Council repeatedly petitioned the NWLB for a relaxation of wage controls, but without success.²⁶

The struggle of labor to restrain employers and their congressional allies from using the war emergency as a pretext to dilute union standards and also enact antilabor legislation can be followed in the discussions of the Executive Council. The records show the rising apprehension among labor leaders about antilabor political trends.

At the end of the war, the federation faced its biggest challenge in the form of the Taft-Hartley Act. Taft-Hartley shifted the direction and attitude of government intervention toward labor relations. The Wagner Act had introduced systematic government intervention into the collective bargaining process for the first time, and although the AFL had frequently faulted decisions of the NLRB under the Wagner Act, it based its complaints not on the law itself but on what it saw as faulty and biased administration. After Taft-Hartley, the law itself became the problem. Taft-Hartley attempted to control and limit unions by redefining unfair labor practices to include union activities as well as those of employers. Among the restrictions it placed on labor were the prohibition of the closed shop in federal jurisdictions, a ban on the organization of supervisors, a ban on union political contributions, and a restoration of the government's power to use injunctions against unions. Its provisions prevented unions from ordering members not to work with nonunion men and from striking to extend jurisdiction over newly introduced processes.²⁷ One provision required union officers to sign non-Communist affidavits or lose their right to have their cases heard by the NLRB. John L. Lewis, whose union had rejoined the federation in January 1946, attempted to convince the Executive Council not to comply, stating the requirement "makes second class citizens out of every man around the Council table and every man he represents."²⁸ Lewis failed to persuade either the council or the convention of his position and led the miners back out of the federation in late 1947.

AFL unions, with good reason, dreaded the impact that Taft-Hartley provisions would have on their activities. The AFL counsel warned that "this punitive and prohibitive legislation was designed to destroy, and will be used exhaustively in an attempt to destroy, the trade labor movement of this country."²⁹ In an effort to counter antilabor propaganda and the Taft-Hartley Bill, the Executive Council launched an extensive public relations and lobbying campaign. When Congress passed the legislation over Truman's veto, the federation made its repeal and Truman's reelection its foremost goals. Initially the Executive Council committed itself to an outright repeal of Taft-Hartley, but by the early 1950s it was clear that repeal was unlikely in the near future. At the urging of several unions, the council collected suggestions for amendments that would mitigate the worst effects of the act. Although the federation never gave up its hope that Taft-Hartley would someday be repealed, the council pragmatically determined that, in the interim, organized labor would have to learn to live with the law.³⁰

Charges that its rival was Communist-dominated were among the weapons with which the AFL attacked the CIO. Executive Council records illustrate how the AFL's hardline anticommunism antedated the postwar Red Scare. During its struggle with the CIO in the 1930s, John Frey, representing the Executive Council, appeared before the House Un-American Activities Committee and provided it with the names of five hundred Communist leaders of the CIO. He reported to the Executive Council that his testimony would "give the CIO a blow." The council commended Frey's cooperation and praised the House committee for its "excellent beginning" in rooting out subversives, stating further, "The fact that charges presented against individuals and groups…have remained unanswered by those so charged, is convincing of the truth of the allegations made."³¹ The AFL's anticommunism efforts, in effect, fueled the postwar antilabor drive.

Its commitment to anticommunism also characterized AFL international policy. Federation leaders saw the wartime alliance with the Soviet Union as only a temporary necessity. Walter Citrine of the British Trades Union Congress failed to get the Executive Council to participate in an Anglo-Soviet-American Trade Union Advisory Committee.³² The Executive Council also refused to participate in the creation of a new World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU). The CIO joined the new organization, as did the Soviet Union. As the cold war developed, this sort of federation became increasingly difficult to maintain. Communist unions in the WFTU opposed American postwar recovery plans for Europe. When the WFTU refused to support the Marshall Plan, the CIO, along with the trade unions of several other western countries, withdrew from it and joined the AFL in forming a non-Communist organization, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.³³

Differences over strategy for dealing with Communists in the labor movement put a strain on AFL relations with the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress. The labor movements of the two nations had long been intertwined because U.S.-based unions had Canadian members. The president of the Canadian congress at the end of World War II, Percy Bengough, believed his organization should assert its independence from U.S. domination. Canadians participated in the WFTU. The wartime secretary of the Canadian organization was a Communist, and AFL leaders charged that its postwar secretary also made "Communist comforting" statements. Bengough denied that his organization supported communism, but he stated that it did not require its members to swear they were not Communists and that it had no power to set membership policies of its affiliated bodies.³⁴

Council records also disclose the AFL's sad history concerning race relations in the labor movement. In the first years after the founding of the AFL, Samuel Gompers endorsed a racially integrated labor movement. By the late 1890s, this standard had quietly been dropped. Many of the major affiliates excluded African Americans in practice, even if their constitutions made no mention of race. Others allowed African Americans only second class or nonvoting membership. The AFL directly chartered locals of African American workers in crafts where the existing national union refused to admit them.³⁵ In 1928 the African American sleeping car porters began to press the AFL to charter them as a federal labor union.³⁶

At the 1934 convention, the insistent voices of African American delegates, combined with demonstrations outside the convention hall, forced the AFL to

appoint a committee to investigate racial discrimination in unions. The Executive Council enraged African American unionists when it declined to present the report of this committee at the 1935 convention. At this same convention, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters (BSCP) received a national charter. The granting of a charter to one all–African American union hardly solved the problem of race discrimination in the federation. The persistent efforts of A. Philip Randolph, president of the BSCP, to gain equality for African American unionists were not always appreciated by AFL leadership. Bill Hutcheson, president of the carpenters' union, told a group of African American unionists in 1945 that their followers would benefit if Randolph ended his "antagonistic attitude" at federation conventions. Summing up the view of many council members, Hutcheson said, "If Brother Randolph would just consider what he is doing and talk about the good things that have been done by the organizations for the Negro membership he would do the Negro groups a great deal of good."³⁷ Not until the merger with the CIO did organized labor have a permanent Committee on Civil Rights.

The AFL faced other difficulties in the years after World War II. Jurisdictional conflicts continued to hinder federation unity. In 1954 the Executive Council set up a plan by which affiliates would enter into binding agreements on jurisdiction, yet left the decision about whether to participate in this plan up to each union. Racketeering and corruption proved an even more serious concern for the Executive Council. Charges of dishonest behavior among union officials were nothing new. In the past, the council had generally tried to remain uninvolved in the internal problems of its affiliates. In a few instances, where corruption had become public knowledge, the council had urged the affiliated union to take action itself. In 1952, long-standing problems on the New York waterfront involving the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) were publicized by the New York State Crime Commission. At the heart of the problem was the "shape up," a process by which day workers were selected by the dock foremen, a system that lent itself to creative abuse. The Executive Council took a far more active role than in past cases and directed the ILA to correct the situation, warning "no one should make the mistake of concluding that the AFL will sit by and allow abuse of autonomy on the part of any of its affiliates to bring injury to the entire movement." The ILA responded evasively, removing only a few individuals from leadership positions. Upon the recommendation of the Executive Council, the 1953 AFL convention revoked the ILA charter. The council quickly set up a new union on the docks, which, however, failed to win in NLRB elections.³⁸

Problems with the teamsters' union complicated the situation on the docks. In 1955, the teamsters claimed jurisdiction over the longshoremen, against the stated policy of the Executive Council. This defiant action was only one of several disagreements between federation leadership and the teamsters. The teamsters followed a policy of extending their jurisdiction into areas not sanctioned by the Executive Council. When George Meany investigated abuses in the administration of health and welfare funds by affiliates in the early 1950s, the teamsters protested, believing such action was aimed at them. These disagreements, combined with a congressional probe into corrupt practices in the union, culminated in a confrontation, leading eventually to the expulsion of the teamsters from the AFL-CIO in 1957.³⁹

Almost as soon as the CIO unions had been suspended in 1936, a few individuals on both sides began searching for a way to reunite the labor movement. Unity proved difficult to achieve. Each side distrusted the other. The CIO wanted all its unions, including those created since the split, admitted at once, with any jurisdictional conflicts to be worked out later. The federation wanted the newly created unions to be considered for admission on a case-by-case basis. Although the AFL moved slowly toward conceding the validity of industrial organization, it insisted that the CIO disband before its affiliates would be readmitted. The federation would not even agree to coordinate labor opposition to Taft-Hartley with the CIO.⁴⁰ As CIO leadership became increasingly anti-Communist, however, a rapproachment began. In 1949 the CIO left the WFTU and joined the AFL in founding the ICFTU. The CIO made a major concession in agreeing to link its voting in the ICFTU to the size of its membership, making it weaker than the AFL. Once the CIO completed the painful process of purging itself of Communist-dominated unions, the AFL Executive Council became far more receptive to negotiations. Serious discussions about a merger opened in early 1953, almost immediately after Meany assumed the federation presidency. Within a few months, the majority of CIO unions approved a no-raiding agreement with the AFL.⁴¹ Differences that had seemed irreconcilable for over fifteen years were settled amicably. The AFL conceded equality for industrial unions and created an industrial union department. Committees on ethical practices and civil rights, albeit with limited powers, were also established. Even the name of the merged federation was a concession. These were real compromises; the CIO had weakened considerably in the postwar years; it needed to merge with the AFL. Meany was strongly committed to reunification of the labor movement. A far more assertive and powerful figure than William Green. Meany overcame the objections and delaying tactics of some AFL affiliates. Just as the early years of the AFL are virtually unimaginable without Samuel Gompers, so, as these records disclose, George Meany put his own imprint on the postwar period and played a crucial role in engineering the merger of the AFL and CIO in December 1955.42

Marla J. Hughes

Notes

¹Philip Taft's two-volume history of the AFL (*The A.F. of L. in the Time of Gompers* and *The A. F. of L. from the Death of Gompers to the Merger*), written in the 1950s, is still the best secondary source on Executive Council activities. Taft had access to all federation records, including the council minutes and vote books. Although historians have reevaluated and overturned many of his interpretations, Taft's meticulous examination of the records is beyond reproach.

²The AFL distinguished between two types of direct affiliates. Directly affiliated local unions contained workers of a single trade who had no national union. FLUs were directly chartered unions that organized workers, often from a variety of trades, in a locality where no single trade had sufficient numbers to constitute a local union. FLUs also organized workers who lacked either recognized skills or failed to fall into a clearly designated craft. The term FLU came to be applied to both types of local unions by the early twentieth century, however, and here will be applied to both types of AFL-controlled local unions.

³This data is found in the vote books and is most prevalent for the years 1900–1912.

⁴The expression "marketing unionism to business" is taken from chapter 2 of Craig Phelan's *William Green: Biography of a Labor Leader* (Albany, 1989). The view of the evolution of AFL policy in this paragraph is consistent with that of Christopher L. Tomlins, *The State and the Unions: Labor Relations, Law, and the Organized Labor Movement in America,* 1990–1960 (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 68–92.

⁵An example of such action is found in the Executive Council minutes for December 17, 1903.

⁶For the printers-machinists dispute, see Executive Council minutes for October 19, 1899, and July 19, 1900, and vote books for July 13, 1899; August 17, 1899; April 16, 1900; May 12, 1900; and August 28, 1900. Please note that dates of vote book material refer to the cover letter from the Executive Council member (usually the president) circulating the document, not to the dates on the enclosed material.

⁷For the efforts to amalgamate the plumbers and steamfitters, see Executive Council minutes for July 17, 1900; April 15, 1902; April 23, 1902; September 13, 1904; November 9, 1904; March 14, 1905; June 21, 1906; June 15, 1908; January 12, 1912; and May 11–12, 1912.

⁸The Executive Council's consideration of the jurisdictional conflicts of the brewing industry are far too numerous to list here. For a few of the more important instances, see Executive Council minutes for March 23, 1906; September 18–19, 1906; July 23, 1913; April 24, 1933; and October 14, 1941; and vote books for May 19, 1906, and November 22, 1934.

⁹See Executive Council vote books for July 25, 1903, and October 24, 1903.

¹⁰Executive Council minutes for March 3, 1921.

¹¹Executive Council minutes for June 18, 1906, and March 17, 1915, and vote books for June 2, 1906. ¹²For the reports from the IWW convention, see Executive Council vote books for June 30–July 17, 1905.

¹³Executive Council minutes for March 9, 1917.

¹⁴Executive Council minutes for February 16, 1918. Membership figures are from the reports of the AFL secretary to the Executive Council, included as part of most Executive Council meeting minutes.

¹⁵On Executive Council efforts to reduce expenditures and cut back on the number of organizers, see Executive Council minutes for August 11, 1920, and November 18, 1920.

¹⁶On the 1919 miners' strike, see Executive Council minutes for November 9–12, 1919; on the railroad shopmen's strike, see Executive Council minutes for September 16, 1922.

¹⁷On the anti-Communist activities of the Executive Council in the 1920s, see, for example, Executive Council minutes for September 29–30, 1923; November 24, 1924; June 25 and 28, 1926; May 13, 1927; and January 23, 1928; and vote books for April 12, 1923; May 28, 1923; September 20, 1924; and July 23, 1926.

¹⁸For some highlights of the dispute between the carpenters and the machinists, see Executive Council minutes for September 4–5, 1930; July 19, 1932; May 2, 1933; January 17, 1942; October 15, 1942; May 21–22, 1943; and January 23, 1946.

¹⁹Executive Council minutes for September 28 and 30, 1934; October 4, 1934; November 13, 1934; February 14, 1935; June 7, 1935; and August 14, 1935; and vote books for May 26, 1935, and July 24, 1935.

²⁰William Green on need for response to NIRA, Executive Council minutes for September 8, 1933. ²¹Executive Council minutes for February 12–13, 1935; April 30, 1935; October 20, 1935; and January 27, 1936.

²²Executive Council minutes for October 20, 1935; January 21, 1936; and May 5–6, 1936; and vote books for November 23, 1935; December 11, 1935; February 24, 1936; and June 8–9, 1936.

²³The Executive Council proceedings on charges against CIO unions, August 3–5, 1935, are included with the Executive Council minutes for August 1935.

²⁴Green quoted from Executive Council minutes for April 20, 1937. See also minutes for February 9–10, 1937, and May 23, 1937.

²⁵Quote is from Executive Council letter to President Roosevelt, August 29, 1938. See also Executive Council minutes for April 29, 1938; August 22–31, 1938; January 18 and 20, 1943; and August 7, 1945; and vote books for December 21, 1942.

²⁶Executive Council minutes for August 4, 1942; May 21, 1943; August 14, 1943; and November 19, 1943.

²⁷For the effects of Taft-Hartley on the painters' union, see Executive Council minutes for February 1, 1950, and February 5, 1952. Also see Tomlins, *Supra* note 4, at 10–13.

²⁸Lewis quoted in Executive Council minutes for September 19, 1947.

²⁹AFL legal counsel J. Albert Woll, quoted in Executive Council minutes for May 12, 1948.

³⁰For the fight against Taft-Hartley, see Executive Council minutes for April 22–23, 1947; February 2, 1948; and November 14, 1948. On the decision to work for amendments to the law, see Executive Council minutes for February 1, 1952; May 22, 1952; and February 9, 1953.

³¹Frey is quoted in Executive Council minutes for August 23, 1938. Executive Council praise for the House Un-American Activities Committee is from Executive Council minutes for September 1, 1938.

³²Executive Council minutes for May 20–23, 1942, and January 19 and 27, 1943.

³³Executive Council minutes for January 17 and 25, 1944; December 1, 1944; May 4, 1945; May 16, 1949; and February 3, 1950; and vote books for April 21, 1949.

³⁴Executive Council minutes for May 1, 1945; May 17, 1946; October 6, 1946; November 15 and 19, 1948; February 7–8, 1949; and May 19, 1949.

³⁵FLUs did not receive equal treatment in the AFL. Their dues were low, but they were ineligible for sickness and death benefits. They could be parceled out to national unions without their consent. Their voting power at conventions was not linked to their size.

³⁶Executive Council minutes for January 20, 1928; April 25, 1928; October 19, 1928; and February 19, 1929.

³⁷Executive Council minutes for May 4, 1945.

³⁸Quote is from Executive Council letter to longshoremen's union, authorized in Executive Council minutes for February 2, 1953. See Executive Council minutes for May 21 and 25, 1953; August 10, 1953; September 20–21, 1953; October 14, 1953; and August 9, 1954; and addenda to February 1954 and May 1954 minutes.

³⁹For Executive Council conflicts with the teamsters, see Executive Council minutes for May 3, 1945; February 9, 1954; May 17, 1954; and August 9, 1954.

⁴⁰On pre-1950 efforts to reunify the labor movement, see Executive Council minutes for October 13–16, 1937; February 3, 1938; March 23, 1939; June 25, 1943; January 30, 1947; and September 9, 1947; and vote books for February 27, 1947, and March 18, 1947.

⁴¹Executive Council minutes for February 2, 1953; May 21, 1953; and February 9, 1954.

⁴²Executive Council minutes for February 10, 1955; May 3, 1955; August 10–12, 1955; October 24– 25, 1955; and November 30, 1955.

SCOPE AND CONTENT NOTE

This collection contains two separate but closely related series of American Federation of Labor (AFL) records. Reels 1 through 8 comprise minutes of the meetings of the Executive Council of the AFL that took place between January 1893 and December 1924. These minutes provide a panorama of the AFL over a period of three decades. Supplementing the minutes are a series of letterbooks called vote books. These books contain correspondence from the AFL president to the members of the executive board on matters of pressing business that needed to be resolved in the months between executive board meetings. The president summarizes the issues in letters that were sent to each executive board member. Board members were requested to respond in the affirmative or negative to the questions put to them in the president's letters. Their responses or votes are recorded in the vote books along with a copy of the president's letter. The vote books for 1892–1924 begin on Reel 9 and run through Reel 22. Because each vote book covers a tremendous number of topics, it is not possible to index them comprehensively. However, the major topics in the Executive Council minutes have been indexed. Minutes of the Executive Council for the period 1925–1955 and vote books for 1925–1944 are available as Part 2 of Minutes of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor as published in microform by University Publications of America.

The minutes and vote books of the Executive Council provide an unbroken record of procedural and structural changes within the AFL. They diligently record development of policies on a wide range of matters, including strike and boycott authorizations, relations with the internationals, relations with the directly affiliated locals (or federal labor unions), and amendments to the AFL constitution. One can trace the growth of the national organization, including the establishment of departments, local labor councils, and state federations of labor, through these pages.

Membership and financial reports are usually provided with each set of minutes especially after 1899. The membership reports are broken down to show the size of each of the international affiliates. Financial reports detail dues payments and delinquencies of the internationals, as well as expenses for strike funds, legal defense, and organizers' salaries.

Political issues both inside the labor movement and in the wider public arena are recurring topics in the minutes and vote books. Union politics include competition with rival labor federations, among them the Knights of Labor, the Socialist Labor Party, and the Industrial Workers of the World. A great amount of attention is given to federal, state, and even local political developments. Labor legislation, including Eight Hour Bill, seamen's and railway labor legislation, and workmen's compensation and employer liability bills are carefully monitored and aggressively supported. Other legislative matters that the AFL considered critical to the labor movement, such as immigration restriction, curbs on judicial power to issue injunctions, exemption of unions from the scope of antitrust laws, old-age pensions, the initiative and referendum, and the direct election of U.S. senators are also regularly covered. Meetings between AFL executives and political leaders as distinguished as U.S. presidents and cabinet officers are recorded. Various initiatives at forging an alliance with farmers are also covered.

Legal questions are also regularly brought up in the minutes, to include pending litigation, (usually adverse) judicial decisions affecting labor, injunctions, and appointments to the bench. Several of the court cases involve contempt charges against AFL leaders. Other cases are national *cause célèbres*, including the McNamara brothers and Mooney-Billings bombing cases in California. Other cases establish important legal precedents, notably the Danbury, Connecticut, *Hatters* case, which held individual union members liable for damage claims resulting from the economic impact of strikes. In the *Bucks Stove and Range Co.* case, the AFL challenged the right of a court to issue an injunction in a labor dispute. In addition to the legal actions themselves, the minutes shed light on different programs the AFL provided for working-class legal defense purposes, as well as legal defense causes the AFL supported through financial contributions. There are also references to strategies the labor movement used to contend with various state laws aimed at crippling the labor movement.

World War I labor conditions and government policies are well documented. There are protests against coercive labor laws, such as the "work or fight" conscription laws passed in some states. The AFL's effort to protect eight-hour workday provisions in laws and contracts is also amply documented, as is the federation's opposition to relaxing immigration restrictions on Mexican labor during the war. The AFL vigorously asserted the labor movement's interest in being represented both on war labor policy boards and in the various peace conferences.

The minutes and vote books show that the AFL took an early interest in foreign and offshore labor conditions, especially in neighboring Mexico and in the U.S. possessions. The AFL vigorously protested contract labor and the relaxation of federal immigration laws in Hawaii, Puerto Rico, the Philippines, and the Panama Canal Zone. It kept a keen interest in Mexican labor and political conditions. It networked with the European labor movement through the International Federation of Trade Unions and with the Latin American labor movement through the Pan American Federation of Labor and the Mexican Federation of Labor. It entertained labor delegations from Asia, particularly Japan, and it sent delegates to investigate conditions in China, Hawaii, and the Philippines in 1903, and to Russia in 1917.

One of the AFL's major functions was its role in adjudicating disputes between different unions within its ranks. Generally, these were disputes over the jurisdiction claims of two or more unions. In some cases, the disputes involved factional battles within a union. The jurisdictional disputes often shed light on technological and occupational change in American industries. In many cases, the leadership styles of union leaders is evident as they assert or defend their jurisdiction. Every major trade group and virtually every constituent international union is documented in some form of jurisdictional dispute. Factional disputes, including secession movements and expulsion of locals, are also scattered throughout the minutes. There are so

many references to jurisdictional and factional disputes that only the major disputes have been indexed in the user guide under the names of the unions involved. Beginning in 1901, the minutes include indexes that can be used to locate union disputes not listed in the subject index of the user guide.

EDITORIAL NOTE

The minutes and vote books of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor have been microfilmed in their entirety for the years 1893–1924 (1892–1924 for the vote books). A companion edition of AFL Executive Council minutes from 1925–1955 (1925–1944 for the vote books) is available from UPA as Part 2 of this publication.

SOURCE NOTE

The Executive Council Minutes and Vote Books of the American Federation of Labor are held by the George Meany Memorial Archives, 10000 New Hampshire Avenue, Silver Spring, Maryland. This edition was microfilmed from the original manuscripts at the Meany Archives.

REEL INDEX

Entries in this index refer to specific folders within the *Minutes of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, 1893–1955, Part 1. 1893–1924.* In the interest of accessing the materials within the folders, this index denotes significant issues, events, actions, and policy decisions under the heading *Major Topics.* The four-digit number on the far left is the frame number at which the file folder begins. AFL and ITU are initialisms for the American Federation of Labor and the International Typographical Union respectively.

Reel 1

Frame No.

Minutes of the Executive Council

0001	Meetings of January 27–28, 1893. 6pp. Major Topics: Central Labor Union of New York, New York meeting on rapid transit; injunction against Printers of Pittsburgh (ITU); Coeur D'Alene, Idaho, miners.
0007	 Meeting of March 5, 1893. 5pp. Major Topics: AFL petition for government control of telegraph and telephone systems; Homestead Defense Fund; strike sanction from AFL required for federal labor unions; plan for Chicago, Illinois, Labor Day celebration; federal union label legislation.
0012	Meeting of March 19, 1893. 5pp. <i>Major Topics:</i> Homestead defense strategy; Homestead Defense Fund; federal immigration law enforcement.
0017	Meeting of April 2, 1893. 3pp. <i>Major Topics:</i> New York antiboycott injunction case; New York Clothing Manufacturers Association.
0020	 Meeting of July 3, 1893. 16pp. Major Topics: Printers of Pittsburgh union injunction case; Homestead Advisory Board; enforcement of Chinese exclusion law; enforcement of federal Eight Hour Law; Gompers request for meeting with President Cleveland; Labor Day demonstration at Columbian Exposition in Chicago, Illinois; St. Louis Tobacco Workers boycott; Philadelphia Brewery Workers' Union boycott; Dayton Metal Polishers Union boycott.
0036	Meetings of October 22–23, 1893. 3pp. Major Topics: AFL petitions to President Cleveland: enforcement of Fight Hour

Major Topics: AFL petitions to President Cleveland; enforcement of Eight Hour Law.

Frame No.	
0039	Meetings of December 10, 14, 17, 19, 1893. 7pp.
0046	Meetings of January 13–15, 1894. 13pp. <i>Major Topics:</i> Compulsory public education; defer appointments of female and African American organizers; injunction against United Garment Workers; cooperation with English labor movement.
0059	Meetings of April 20–21, 1894. 9pp. Major Topics: United Mine Workers; Coxey's Army.
0068	Meetings of July 12–14, 1894. 22pp. <i>Major Topics:</i> American Railway Union (Pullman) strike; meeting with Eugene Debs; depression conditions.
0090	Meeting of August 7, 1894. 3pp.
0093	Meetings of December 9, 18, 1894. 5pp.
0098	Meetings of January 1–3, 1895. 12pp. <i>Major Topics:</i> Audit report; compulsory public education.
0110	Meetings of April 22–24, 1895. 13pp. <i>Major Topics:</i> Illinois state branch of AFL; Brewery Workers' National Union; AFL financial report.
0123	Meetings of December 6–7, 9, 12, 18, 1895. 7pp. <i>Major Topics:</i> Homestead prisoners; Brass Workers and Metal Polishers dispute.
0130	 Meetings of March 23–25, 1896. 42pp. Major Topics: Conflict with Knights of Labor in St. Louis, Missouri; AFL financial statement and membership statistics; Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance of the U.S. and Canada.
0172	Meetings of October 19–21, 1896. 33pp. <i>Major Topic:</i> Organizing strategies.
0205	 Meetings of December 13, 15, 20–21, 1896. 14pp. Major Topics: Leadville, Colorado, miners strike; Western Federation of Miners; Horseshoers organizing drive in New York, New York and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; request for federal cabinet-level labor representative.
0219	Meetings of April 19–21, 1897. 10pp. <i>Major Topics:</i> Federal Eight Hour Bill; federal seamen's labor bill; federal bill exempting labor from antitrust law; AFL meeting with President McKinley; AFL opposition to Terence Powderly appointment to Immigration Commission; Western Federation of Miners secession movement; depression conditions; immigration law reform; currency reform; government public works.
0229	Meetings of September 20–23, 1897. 18pp. Major Topics: United Mine Workers strike; Rochester, New York, Brewers Union competition with Knights of Labor; AFL political action; AFL financial report.
0247	Meetings of December 16, 21, 1897. 4pp.
0251	Meetings of February 21–23, 1898. 15pp. <i>Major Topics:</i> Eight-hour bill; meatpacking industry; organizing strategies; textile strike; convict labor bill; seamen's bill; immigration bill; Terence Powderly; brewing industry; affiliations and jurisdiction disputes.

0266	 Meetings of October 24–25, 1898. 15pp. Major Topics: AFL financial statement and membership statistics; affiliations; Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen boycott of Swift Packing Company.
0281	Meeting of December 20, 1898. 3pp.
0284	Meetings of February 13–17, 1899. 26pp. <i>Major Topics:</i> Federal Eight Hour Bill; AFL Legislative Committee; Massachusetts Boot and Shoe Workers Union strike; Chicago Musicians amalgamation.
0310	 Meetings of October 16–19, 1899. 12pp. Major Topics: AFL financial statement and membership statistics; Western Federation of Miners withdrawal from AFL; Idaho miners' strike; Eight Hour Bill; convict and contract labor in Hawaii; Massachusetts Boot and Shoe Workers' Union strike; conflict between Machinists and ITU.
0322	 Meetings of December 9–10, 14–15, 18–20, 1899. 30pp. <i>Major Topics:</i> Busch breweries and Brewery Workers' National Union; "We don't patronize" lists; printers' unions in Chicago, Illinois; aid to Farmers' International Union.
0352	 Meetings of March 19–23, 1900. 37pp. Major Topics: Involuntary servitude in Hawaii; Chinese labor in Hawaii; Hawaiian labor law; Brewery Workers conflict with Bottlers Union; Brewery Workers' National Union and Busch Company; conflict between ITU and Machinists; miscellaneous applications for affiliation, requests for organizing assistance, reports of amalgamation, and adjudications of jurisdiction disputes, boycott actions, and strikes; boycott of Swift Packing Company; Farmers' International Union.
0389	Meetings of July 16–21, 1900. 41pp. <i>Major Topics:</i> AFL financial statement and membership statistics.
0430	Meeting of December 16, 1900. 4pp.
0434	Meetings of February 18–23, 1901 42pp. <i>Major Topics:</i> Boycotts; jurisdiction disputes; immigration, labor legislation.
0476	Meetings of September 16–20, 1901. 46pp. <i>Major Topics:</i> AFL financial statement and membership statistics; dues assessment list; organizing expenses; freedom of speech.
0522	Meetings of December 15–16, 1901. 16pp. <i>Major Topics:</i> Boycotts; constitutions for federal labor unions and for trade unions; convict labor; local eight hour laws.
0538	 Meetings of April 14–19, 1902. 66pp. <i>Major Topics:</i> Amalgamation of common laborers; Boot and Shoe Workers Union dispute with counter workers; boycotts; Coal Belt Electric Railway Company; Brewery Workers' dispute with Stationary Firemen and Steam Engineers; Chinese exclusion legislation; United Garment Workers and special order clothing industry; injunctions; Plumbers' dispute with Steamfitters; AFL financial statement and membership statistics.

0604 Meetings of July 22–26, 1902. 37pp.

Major Topics: Boycotts; Marine Cooks and Stewards organization; Coal Miners strike; Railway Employees.

0641 Meetings of October 6–7, 9–11, 1902. 36pp.

Major Topics: Team Drivers International Union admission of employers; Mine Workers Progressive Union; AFL financial report; New Jersey State Federation of Labor organization of United Textile Workers and Silk Weavers; Mine Workers strike.

0677 **Meetings of November 12, 14–15, 17–18, 20–21, 23, 1902.** 24pp. *Major Topics:* Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners jurisdiction matters; central labor unions policies on boycotts; labor legislation efforts in southern states.

0701 Meetings of January 19–24, 1903. 61pp.

Major Topics: Brewery Workers' Union jurisdiction matters with Steam Engineers and Stationary Firemen; state labor legislation; protest of importation of Puerto Rican laborers to Hawaiian sugar plantations; Brewery Workers' Union boycott of New York, New York brewers; resolution of United Mine Workers strike; federal labor legislation on Asian immigration; judicial injunctions; eight-hour workday; child labor; Alabama State injunction law; Electrical Workers jurisdiction agreement with Elevator Constructors; Machinists jurisdiction matters with Elevator Constructors; Teamsters agreement with Team Drivers International Union; AFL financial report; Carpenters' dispute with Woodworkers; statement regarding unions' honoring of contracts; anthracite coal strike.

0762 Meetings of April 20–25, 27, 1903. 82pp.

Major Topics: Union Pacific strike; Blacksmiths' dispute with Carriage Workers; boycotts; Brewery Workers' dispute with Steam Engineers and Stationary Firemen; Canadian labor movement; Carpenters Union internal dispute; Iron and Steel Workers convention; Paper Mills' dispute in Denver, Colorado; Plumbers' dispute with Steamfitters; Sheet Metal Workers; Woodworkers' dispute with Carpenters; AFL financial statement and membership statistics; AFL membership statistics; AFL organizers salaries.

0844 Meetings of June 19–20, 22–24, 1903. 51pp.

Major Topics: Boycotts; Brewery Workers' dispute with Steam Engineers and Stationary Firemen; Philadelphia Building Trades Council; labor legislation; textile workers; condemnation of unions striking against other unions; dispute over completeness of AFL convention minutes.

0895 Meetings of September 21–25, 1903. 39pp.

Major Topics: Alabama State Federation of Labor; boycotts; Brewery Workers' dispute with Steam Engineers and Stationary Firemen; federal jurisdiction over corporations; immigration; United Metal Workers' dispute with Allied Metal Mechanics; San Francisco Central Labor Council.

0934 Meeting of October 23, 1903. 11pp.

Major Topics: Vigilante violence against AFL organizer in Vicksburg, Tennessee; Brewery Workers' dispute with Steam Engineers and Stationary Firemen; Farmers' International Union; Alabama antiboycott bill.

0945	Meetings of November 8, 15, 17–18, 22, 1903. 13pp. <i>Major Topics:</i> Boycotts; AFL investigation of labor conditions in the Philippines; Bridge and Structural Iron Workers in New York, New York.
0958	 Meetings of December 14–17, 1903. 54pp. Major Topics: Boilermakers and Iron Shipbuilders internal dissension; boycotts; Brewery Workers' dispute with Horseshoers; immigration; labor legislation; vigilante violence against AFL organizer in Tennessee; Chinese and Japanese labor.
Reel	2
	Minutes of the Executive Council cont.
0001	 Meetings of April 18–23, 1904. 54pp. Major Topics: Blacksmith helpers; Boilermakers' dispute with Structural Iron Workers; boycotts; Brewery Workers' dispute with Steam Engineers and Stationary Firemen; Chinese exclusion; Denver, Colorado, labor movement; Electrical Workers; wage scales.
0055	Meetings of May 4, 21, 1904. 11pp. <i>Major Topics:</i> Jurisdiction disputes; applications for affiliation; requests for financial aid.
0066	 Meetings of September 12–15, 1904. 56pp. Major Topics: Allied Metal Mechanics' dispute with Machinists Union; boycotts; Brewery Workers' dispute with Steam Engineers and Stationary Firemen; International Pilots Association charter revocation; Western Federation of Miners; Women's International Union Label League.
0122	Meetings of November 9–10, 12–13, 27, 30–December 2, 1904. 19pp. <i>Major Topics:</i> Boycotts; building trades; uniform laws for central labor unions; labor legislation; Western Federation of Miners; Textile Workers.
0141	Meetings of March 13–18, 1905. 52pp. <i>Major Topics:</i> Blacksmiths jurisdiction disputes; boycotts; Brewery Workers' dispute with Steam Engineers and Stationary Firemen; Womens International Label League; United Garment Workers; Woodworkers jurisdiction disputes.
0193	 Meetings of June 12–17, 1905. 36pp. Major Topics: Boycotts; Brewery Workers' dispute with Steam Engineers and Stationary Firemen; immigration law amendments; International Union of Flour and Cereal Mill Employees' dispute with Washburn-Crosby Milling Company in Minneapolis, Minnesota.
0229	 Meetings of September 18–22, 1905. 37pp. Major Topics: Boycotts; Brewery Workers' dispute with Steam Engineers and Stationary Firemen; United Garment Workers; immigration law; Industrial Workers of the World; Longshoremen's dispute with Seamen's Union; Woodworkers' dispute with Carpenters.
0266	Meetings of November 11, 24, 26, 1905. 18pp. <i>Major Topics:</i> Boycotts; Bridge and Structural Iron Workers; immigration; Chicago Federation of Labor.

0284 Meetings of March 19–24, 1906. 77pp.

Major Topics: Blacksmiths' dispute with Carriage and Wagon Workers; boycotts; Brewery Workers' dispute with Steam Engineers and Stationary Firemen; Bridge and Structural Iron Workers' dispute with Teamsters; Eight Hour Law violations and President Theodore Roosevelt; anti-injunction legislation; initiative and referendum; union label campaign; Steamfitters Union; women workers; Woodworkers' dispute with Carpenters.

0361 Meetings of June 18–22, 1906. 86pp.

Major Topics: AFL financial statement and membership statistics; Boilermakers and Iron Shipbuilders charter application; boycotts; Chicago Building Trades; industrial workers in Butte, Montana; Brewery Workers' jurisdiction disputes; Eight Hour Law violations; immigration; initiative and referendum; union label campaign; labor legislation; trade unionists in state legislatures; Los Angeles Central Labor Council; Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen; political action; Puerto Rico; pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers; state laws re beneficial features of fraternal societies; Steamfitters Union; wage scales; Women's Protective Union.

0447 Meetings of September 17–20, 1906. 58pp.

Major Topics: Boycotts; Flint Glass Workers; William Randolph Hearst; Newsboys Union dispute with Teamsters Union; Women's Trade Union Label League; AFL financial statement and membership statistics.

0505 Meetings of November 11–12, 17–19, 22, 25, 1906. 40pp.

Major Topics: Anti-injunction legislation; boycotts; Bell Telephone and Telegraph Company; Box Makers Union; Chinese seamen; Citizens' Alliance; Flint Glass Workers.

0545 Meetings of March 18–23, 1907. 98pp.

Major Topics: Alabama antiboycott law; boycotts; Brewery Workers' dispute with Steam Engineers and Stationary Firemen; Bridge and Structural Iron Workers; Building Trades Conference; Chinese exclusion; United Garment Workers label; Japanese immigration; Pulp and Sulphite Workers; railroad brotherhoods; AFL financial statement and membership statistics.

0643 Meetings of August 19–24, 1907. 78pp.

Major Topics: Boycotts; Telegraphers strike; Western Federation of Miners; AFL financial statement and membership statistics.

0721 Meetings of November 9–10, 1907. 25pp.

Major Topics: Initiative and referendum; women organizers.

0746 Meetings of January 20–25, 1908. 147pp.

Major Topics: Boycotts; Brewery Workers' dispute with Steam Engineers and Stationary Firemen and Teamsters; Bridge and Structural Iron Workers; building trades unions; private detective agencies; Farmers; Hebrew trade unions; League of Navy Yard, Arsenals, and Naval Station Employees; Paper Makers' dispute with Pulp and Sulphite Workers; Western Federation of Miners.

0893 Meetings of March 16–17, 20, 1908. 27pp.

Major Topics: Union label campaign; labor legislation; League of Navy Yard, Arsenals, and Naval Station Employees; Sherman Anti-Trust Act amendment.

0920 Meetings of April 16–18, 1908. 22pp.

Major Topics: White Rats Actors' Union; Brooklyn Central Labor Council; building trades unions; Ladies Garment Workers; Bridge and Structural Iron Workers; Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen.

0942 Meetings of June 13–19, 1908. 60pp.

Major Topics: Chicago Federation of Labor; Hammond, Indiana, Central Labor Council; injunction suit; Ladies Garment Workers; AFL legislative agenda; Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen; Paperhangers' dispute with Painters and Decorators; anti-injunction and antitrust exemption for labor organizations; AFL financial statement and membership statistics.

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Minutes of the Executive Council cont.

0001 Meetings of July 6–10, 1908. 16pp.

Major Topics: Injunctions; Jewish immigration; AFL legislative agenda; Plumbers' dispute with Steamfitters.

0017 Meetings of September 9–12, 1908. 80pp.

Major Topics: League for Conservation of Natural Resources; Jewish immigration; Philadelphia Central Labor Union; Plumbers' dispute with Steamfitters; political action in elections; political refugees from Russia.

0097 Meetings of January 11–16, 1909. 52pp.

Major Topics: Building trades unions; Secretary of Commerce Oscar Straus conference with AFL; Electrical Workers Union; Elevator Constructors Union; legal defense; New York Central Federated Union; political refugees; Jewish Newspaper Writers; AFL financial statement and membership statistics.

0149 Meetings of April 12–19, 1909. 89pp.

Major Topics: Brewery Workers' dispute with Steam Engineers and Stationary Firemen and Teamsters unions; workmen's compensation legislation; Farmers conventions; farm labor; industrial education; initiative and referendum; Italian immigrants; Jewish Newspaper Writers; Longshoremen of Pacific Coast; Louisiana child labor law; Immigration Commissioner Daniel J. Keefe communication to AFL; Sherman Anti-Trust Law.

0238 Meetings of June 15–19, 1909. 77pp.

Major Topics: Brewery Workers; Workmen's Compensation Act; Hod Carriers Union; immigration; Legal Defense Fund; AFL financial statement; Woodworkers' dispute with Carpenters.

0315 Meetings of October 18–23, 1909. 78pp.

Major Topics: AFL financial statement and membership statistics; Brewery Workers' dispute with Stationary Firemen and Teamsters Unions; Cleveland, Ohio, Central Labor Union; Electrical Workers Unions' central bodies; Flint Glass Workers Unions' central bodies; United Garment Workers; organizers for Georgia and Colorado; Hod Carriers Union; Iron and Steel Workers Union strike; Los Angeles labor movement; Ohio State Federation of Labor; public health; St. Louis Central Labor Union; Supreme Court decisions; "We don't patronize" list; Woodworkers Union; Francisco Ferrer execution.

0393 Meetings of November 6–7, 12, 14–15, 20–21, 1909. 28pp.

Major Topics: Brewery Workers' dispute with Stationary Firemen and Teamsters; U.S. Children's Bureau; Cherry, Illinois, mine disaster; Elevator Constructors' dispute with Machinists.

0421 Meetings of January 10–15, 1910. 125pp.

Major Topics: Brass Molders Union; Buffalo, New York, Central Labor Council; Electrical Workers Union; Elevator Construction Union dispute with Machinists; employers liability law; hotel and restaurant employees; industrial education; Newspaper Solicitors Union, San Francisco; Puerto Rico; Sherman Anti-Trust Law; Syracuse, New York, building trades unions; Switchmen's strike; AFL financial statement and membership statistics.

0546 **Meeting of January 25, 1910.** 12pp.

Major Topics: Labor Sunday; organizer for Texas.

0558 Meetings of March 23–26, 28–29, 1910. 59pp.

Major Topics: Eight-Hour Bill; Electrical Workers Union; *Danbury Hatters* case; Hod Carriers Union; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, labor strike; AFL political action; AFL financial statement and membership statistics.

0617 Meetings of June 20–29, 1910. 89pp.

Major Topics: Brass Workers; Building Trades Department; Railway Carmen charter application; Cleveland, Ohio, Federation of Labor; Electrical Workers Union; Los Angeles, California, strike; Metal Trades Department; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, AFL membership; Western Federation of Miners charter application; AFL financial statement and membership statistics; American Medical Association Committee on Vital Statistics.

0706 Meetings of November 11–13, 23, 27–28, 1910. 21pp.

Major Topics: Electrical Workers Union; wage scales; negro membership; Western Federation of Miners.

0727 Meetings of January 16–21, 23–26, 1911. 106pp.

Major Topics: Blue Stone Cutters Union; Carpenters Union; Colorado miners sentences protested; Colorado Anti-Injunction League; Electrical Workers Union; Farmers; immigration; AFL initiation fees; Los Angeles, California, strike; Louisville, Kentucky, Central Labor Union; Marine Engineers; Metal Trades Department; Mexican and migratory labor; United Mine Workers; prison labor reform; Railroad Employees Department; Tampa, Florida, labor movement; Women's Label League of Waycross, Georgia; Western Federation of Miners; AFL financial statement and membership statistics.

0833 Meetings of June 12–17, 1911. 63pp.

Major Topics: Carpenters' disputes with Steamfitters; Carpenters' dispute with Plasterers; Industrial Workers of the World; McNamara case; Mexican Liberal Party; Sherman Anti-Trust Law; Supreme Court decision in contempt cases; White Rats Actors' Union; Workmen's Compensation Act; AFL financial statement and membership statistics.

 Meetings of October 16–21, 1911. 63pp.
 Major Topics: Electrical Workers Union; Homestake Mining Company, South Dakota; industrial accidents; organizer for New Mexico; Newsboys Union; AFL financial statement and membership statistics.

0959 **Meetings of November 12, 27, 1911.** 5pp. *Major Topics:* Injunctions; Homestake Mining Company.

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Minutes of the Executive Council cont.

0001 Meetings of January 8–13, 1912. 95pp.

 Major Topics: Bakers and Confectionary Union; Washington, D.C., Building Trades Council; Amalgamation of Carpenters and Woodworkers Unions; labor legislation; Cost of Living Commission; AFL delegate to Farmers Convention; Hod Carriers Union; McNamara defense; migratory labor; Plumbers' dispute with Pipefitters; organizer to Seattle, Washington; antitrust indictments against Jacksonville, Florida, Longshoremen's Union; Socialist Party; organizer for West Virginia; Report on Women and Child Labor; workmen's compensation constitutional amendment proposal; Carriage and Wagon Workers expanded jurisdiction.

0096 Meetings of May 9–11, 13–17, 1912. 137pp.

Major Topics: Bakers and Confectionery Union; Boilermakers' dispute with Iron Workers; McNamara Defense Fund; Western Federation of Miners' dispute with Steam Engineers Union; AFL relations with major political parties; pure food laws; Warren Bill re rifle clubs; Women's Trade Union League; Workman's Compensation Bill; AFL financial statement and membership statistics; AFL legislative program.

0233 Meetings of August 12–17, 19, 1912. 143pp.

Major Topics: Steamfitters Union in New York, New York, Chicago, Illinois, and Cincinnati, Ohio; Building Trades Department; Democratic Party; Furriers' Union strike in New York, New York; retrial of *Danbury Hatters* case; Hod Carriers; railway strike; industrial education; injunction bill; Labor Forward Movement; U.S. Congress Labor Group; AFL legislative program (limitation of antitrust laws and injunctions; convict labor; workmen's compensation; contempt of court; Department of Labor Creation; eight-hour legislation; immigration restriction; Industrial Commission; seamen's legislation; popular election of Senators); AFL role in electoral campaigns; Steam Shovel Men's Union amalgamation; White Rats Actors' Union; Workmen's Compensation Law; AFL financial statement.

0376 Meetings of October 18–19, 21–23, 1912. 46pp.

Major Topics: Organizer for Carriage and Wagon Workers; Flint Glass Workers charter application; McNamara case; Women's International Union Label League; White Rats Actors' Union; AFL financial statement and membership statistics.

0422 Meetings of November 10, 18, 24, 1912. 25pp.

Major Topics: Brick Makers' dispute with Steam Engineers; Chinese exclusion extension to Asians; convict labor; immigration; industrial unionism; Industrial Relations Commission; Newspaper Carriers' Union; old age pension legislation; amendment to Sherman Anti-Trust Act; New York women's minimum wage; workman's compensation.

0447 Meetings of January 20–25, 1913. 79pp.

Major Topics: Amalgamation encouraged; Bakers and Confectionery Union struggle with bread trust; organizer for Birmingham, Alabama; Boilermakers' dispute with Bridge and Structural Iron Workers; Brick, Tile, and Terra-Cotta Workers' dispute with Steam Engineers; Carpenters cooperation with Metal Trades strike; Gompers-Mitchell-Morrison contempt case; cooperation with Farmers; Immigration Commissioner appointment; Industrial Relations Commission; AFL legislative agenda; organizing drive at General Electric Company, Lynn, Massachusetts; organization of migratory labor; New York minimum wage bill for women; Charles P. Neill appointment; organizing sugar refining industry; White Rats Actors' Union; Workmen's Compensation Bill; AFL financial statement and membership statistics.

0526 Meetings of July 21–26, 28–29, 1913. 105pp.

Major Topics: Boilermakers' dispute with Iron Workers; Bookbinders' dispute with ITU; Carriage, Wagon, and Automobile Workers' disputes with Blacksmiths and Machinists; organizer for Cuba; Steam Engineers' dispute with Brick and Tile Workers; Firemen dispute with Steam Engineers; Building Trades in Hartford, Connecticutt; Hod Carriers; National Urban League request for cooperation of AFL; Newsboys Union; Sailors Union of the Atlantic dispute with Seamen's International Union; amalgamation of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen Unions; Vardaman constitutional amendment abridging suffrage; Women's Trade Union League; workmen's compensation legislation; AFL financial statement and membership statistics.

0631 Meetings of September 22–27, 1913. 89pp.

Major Topics: Bookbinders' dispute with ITU; Brewery Workers' dispute with Teamsters; Building Trades Department; Carriage and Wagon Workers' disputes; convict labor U.S. Department of Labor; Copper Miners strike in Calumet, Michigan; minimum wage legislation; National Urban League; federal role in abolition of poverty; AFL conferences with President Wilson; White Rats Actors' Union; breakdown of strike benefits paid to unions.

0720 Meetings of November 8, 23, 1913. 33pp.

Major Topics: Women Bindery Workers; Organization of City Firemen; Colorado Miners strike; convict labor law; amendment to Eight-Hour Law; AFL cooperation with Farmers; injunction limitation bills; U.S. Labor Department appropriations; municipal legal aid services; indictment of West Virginia miners; organizing migratory and Mexican labor; organizing Shingle Weavers, and Sawmill Workers; amalgamation of Tunnel and Subway Constructors Unions; industrial conditions in West Virginia; prohibition of woman labor in employ of Asians; workmen's compensation.

0753 Meetings of January 19–24, 1914. 92pp.

Major Topics: Injunction limitation bill (Bacon-Bartlett); Carpenters' dispute with Plasterers; Carriage and Wagon Workers various disputes; Organization of Civil Service Employees; cooperation with Farmers; industrial education; establishment of AFL legal department; request for congressional investigation of miners strikes in Calumet, Michigan, Colorado, and West Virginia; organization of office workers; Plumbers Union various' disputes; government unemployment insurance; vagrancy laws; John P. White; Organization of Women Workers; proposed prohibition of female employment by Asians; workmen's compensation; AFL financial statement and membership statistics.

0845 Meetings of May 11–16, 1914. 76pp.

Major Topics: Bricklayers' dispute with Marble Workers; Calumet Miners strike; Carpenters refusal to affiliate with Building Trades Department; Bakers and Confectionery Workers; Lithographers' dispute with Printing Pressmen; West Virginia United Mine Workers; Iron Molders' dispute with AFL; Railroad Employees Department; amendments to Sherman Anti-Trust law; Tunnel and Subway Constructors amalgamation; AFL financial statement and membership statistics; AFL protest injunction ruling by Federal Judge Charles Hough.

0921 Meetings of July 13–18, 1914. 83pp.

Major Topics: Building Trades Department; United Mine Worker's Union dispute with Carpenters; rules for AFL departments; amalgamation of Elevator Constructors and Machinists; Mexican political situation; seamen's bill; recommendations to Supreme Court; Rockefeller attitude toward organized labor; opposition to European war; vagrancy laws; AFL financial statement and membership statistics.

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Minutes of the Executive Council cont.

0001 Meetings of October 12–17, 1914. 67pp.

Major Topics: Clayton Anti-Trust Act; AFL departments' organization; Commission on Industrial Relations; Theatrical Stage Employees' dispute with Electrical Workers; woman suffragists request to address AFL convention; employment of women and minors constitutional amendment; workmen's compensation; AFL financial statement and membership statistics.

0068 Meetings of November 7–8, 12–16, 21–22, 1914. 11pp.

Major Topics: Commission on Industrial Relations; union label; tuberculosis agencies; Chicago Federation of Labor; Colorado Coal Miners strike.

0079 Meetings of January 11–16, 1915. 88pp.

Major Topics: Financial assistance for Belgian workers; organizer for Alabama; amendment to Clayton Anti-Trust Act; organization of domestic workers; U.S. Employment Service; employment bureaus; Supreme Court decision in Danbury Hatters case; immigration bill; Japanese immigration; Machinists jurisdiction disputes; Organization of Office Workers; Panama Canal working conditions; vagrancy laws; World's Congress on Unemployment; Socialist Party unemployment demonstration; Women's Trade Union League; Women's Union Label Leagues; workmen's compensation; AFL financial statement and membership statistics.

0167 Meeting of February 19, 1915. 3pp.

Major Topics: Model labor legislation; National Association of Letter Carriers.

0170 Meetings of April 19–24, 1915. 173pp.

Major Topics: Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union; Bookbinders' dispute with ITU; Bricklayers agreement with Marble Workers; Butte, Montana, labor situation; Carpenters' dispute with Sheet Metal Workers; Carriage and Wagon Workers jurisdiction disputes; private detective agencies; employment agency problems; U.S. Employment Service; *Danbury Hatters* case judgment fund; United Hebrew Trades of New York; immigrants; Peace Congress; dues for federal unions; employment training for prisoners of Sing Sing; union label campaign; Women's Trade Union League; AFL financial statement and membership statistics; organized labor cooperation with vocational education in New York, New York schools.

0343 Meeting of July 28, 1915. 2pp.

Major Topics: War production; British Trades Union Congress.

0345 Meetings of September 20–25, 1915. 77pp.

Major Topics: Bridge and Structural Iron Workers; Carpenters Union jurisdiction disputes; central labor bodies regulations; restricting political rights of civil service employees; Dock Builders of New York, New York; Danbury Hatters judgment relief; industrial education; Industrial Relations Commission; amalgamation of Lithographers, Photoengravers, and Printing Pressmen; Mexican political situation; Amalgamation of Tunnel and Subway Constructors and Western Federation of Miners; AFL financial statement and membership statistics.

0422 Meetings of November 6, 18, 21, 1915. 33pp.

Major Topics: American Social Hygiene Association; detective agencies; employment bureaus; employers' liability; workmen's compensation; immigration bill; Industrial Relations Commission; minimum wage for federal employees.

0455 **Meetings of February 21–26, 1916.** 98pp.

Major Topics: Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen; AFL Bureau of Investigation; Compressed Air Workers' dispute with Plumbers; Dye Workers jurisdiction; French Workmen's Federation appeal; United Hebrew Trades of New York; immigration; Machinists jurisdiction disputes; organizing migratory workers; minimum wage legislation conference; seamen's law; AFL financial statement and membership statistics.

0553	Meetings of June 26–July 1, 3, 1916. 56pp. <i>Major Topics:</i> Acetylene Welders jurisdiction dispute; Mexican workers; immigration legislation; Marine Engineers charter application.
0609	 Meetings of July 24–29, 1916. 66pp. <i>Major Topics:</i> Immigration; Mexican labor; railroad brotherhoods eight-hour campaign; Teamsters' dispute with Retail Clerks; vagrancy laws; unemployment; AFL financial statement and membership statistics.
0675	Meetings of October 16–21, 1916. 32pp. <i>Major Topics:</i> AFL building; Western Federation of Miners; Workmen's Compensation Commission.
0707	Meetings of November 11–12, 25, 1916. 13pp. <i>Major Topics:</i> Teamsters Union.
0720	 Meetings of January 20–27, 1917. 86pp. <i>Major Topics:</i> Boilermakers' dispute with Western Federation of Miners; San Francisco, California, bomb explosion; Bridge and Structural Iron Workers; organizer for African American workers in Tidewater, Virginia; legislation to prohibit judicial review of legislation; Everett, Washington. murder; Japanese labor movement; African American workers in Chicago; Pan American Federation of Labor; White Rats Actors' Union; United Textile Workers amalgamation; eighthour legislation for women workers; Women's Trade Union League; AFL financial statement and membership statistics.
0806	Meetings of March 9–12, 1917. 107pp. Major Topics: Conference of representatives of international railroad lands; war mobilization of American industry; AFL conference with Secretary of Labor William B. Wilson.
0913	Meetings of April 20–21, 23–27, 1917. 84pp. <i>Major Topics:</i> Asian exclusion laws; baseball players and umpires fraternal organizations; standard wage for women at U.S. Bureau of Engraving; Carpenters' dispute with Machinists and with Bridge and Structural Iron Workers; AFL opposition to conscription; Cincinnati Central Labor Council; Council for National Defense statement on right to strike and proposal for a National Labor Adjustment Board; Metal Trades Association opposition to eight-hour codes in war production; national prohibition; White Rats Actors' Union; AFL financial statement and membership statistics.
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	Minutes of the Executive Council cont.

0001

Meetings of June 21–22, 1917. 6pp. *Major Topics:* Building Trades Unions of New York, New York; White Rats Actors' Union.

0007 Meetings of June 25–27, 1917. 43pp.

Major Topics: Clayton Anti-Trust Act under war emergency conditions; labor representation on Council of National Defense; financial relief for Danbury Hatters; suspension of immigration laws for Canadian and Mexican workers; national prohibition; United Textile Workers amalgamation proposed; West Virginia Federation of Labor; AFL financial statement and membership statistics.

0050 Meetings of October 18–20, 22–27, 1917. 50pp.

Major Topics: Bisbee, Arizona, deportations of miners; convict labor bill; immigration law suspension for Canadians and Mexicans; Japanese labor representatives; conscription; war mobilization of labor; Marine Engineers charter application; Navy yards; White Rats Actors' Union; Women's Trade Union League urges female delegates at state AFL conventions; AFL financial statement and membership statistics.

0100 Meetings of November 9–11, 25, 1917. 30pp.

Major Topics: Bridge and Structural Iron Workers reinstatement; Building Trades Department; Messenger and Newsboys Unions; AFL protest Secretary of Commerce interpretation of Seamen's Law; Teamsters' dispute with Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen; White Rats Actors' Union.

0130 Meeting of November 19, 1917. 4pp.

Major Topics: Brewery Workers jurisdiction issues.

0134 Meetings of February 10–17, 1918. 91pp.

Major Topics: Organizer for Alabama; British Labor Mission to the U.S.; Carpenters' dispute with AFL Building Trades Department; Carpenters' dispute with Shipbuilders; Retail Clerks; hearing on labor in Montana copper industry; war tax and finances; cost of living; distribution of labor; proposal for AFL Legal Bureau of Information; naturalization required for union membership; Ladies Garment Workers Union secession movement; government acquisition of natural resources; United Hebrew Trades; federal housing bill; labor representation on war boards and commissions; Longshoremen in Puget Sound; Lithographers amalgamation; Tom Mooney case; eight-hour workday in munitions industry; African American workers' representatives; Plumbers' dispute with Machinists; Railroad Trainmen; war declaration; White Rats Actors' Union; organization of women workers; AFL financial statement and membership statistics.

0225 Meetings of May 13–20, 1918. 41pp.

Major Topics: Compulsory labor laws; eight-hour workday in war work; AFL financial statement and membership statistics; naturalization required for union membership; United Mine Workers; seamen's bill.

0266 Meetings of June 9, 21, 1918. 21pp.

Major Topics: Oil Well Workers charter application; Maintenance of Way Employees amalgamation; labor turnover in shipbuilding industry; U.S. Labor Adjustment Board.

0287 Meetings of July 23–28, 1918. 80pp.

Major Topics: Cigarettes to American soldiers in France; deportation of AFL organizers from Birmingham, Alabama; Chinese exclusion; child labor bill; organizer for African American workers in Detroit; racially segregated AFL locals; private detective agencies; Federal Trade Commission attack on Photoengravers Union; federal labor union policies; war workers housing; immigration law; organizer for Ladies Garment Workers in Chicago; convict labor; Mooney case; postwar conversion; rent raises; war labor conditions inquiry requested; War Labor Policies Board; women's eight-hour legislation; workmen's compensation. AFL financial statement.

0367 Meetings of November 11–12, 14, 16–21, 1918. 82pp.

Major Topics: Brewery Workers jurisdiction extension to flour mills; electrical workers' dispute with Steam Engineers; eight-hour workday in war production; war labor adjustment committees; Metal Trades Board formation protested by AFL; Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers Union dispute; treatment of Mexican war labor protested; Mooney case; Motion Picture Actors and Actresses charter application; representation of labor on peace delegation; Peace Congress; national prohibition; Steam Engineers jurisdiction disputes; New Orleans Street Railway Workers; AFL conference with Secretary of Labor Wilson; Gomper's protest of wage reductions, longer work days, and deteriorating labor conditions; night employment for women; AFL finances and membership statistics.

0449 Meetings of December 27–28, 1918. 29pp.

Major Topics: AFL Peace Mission to Paris; Mooney and Billings case; International Workers Defense League; government ownership of railroads; Brewery Workers opposition to prohibition; Carpenters Union wage adjustment.

0478 Meetings of May 9–10, 12–19, 1919. 82pp.

Major Topics: Butte, Montana, labor situation; judicial review of legislation; United Mine Workers; Espionage Law convictions; Farmers National Council; AFL Committee Report on Social Insurance; International Association of Longshoremen; Mooney case; Newsboys Union; Plumbers Union jurisdiction dispute with Machinists; price controls on foodstuffs; Brewery Workers protest of prohibition; representation of women workers at Peace Conference; Sleeping Car Porters and Railroad Trainmen charter applications; Clayton Anti-Trust Act exemption for labor unions; picketing rights.

0560 **Meetings of June 7–8, 19–20, 24, 1919.** 42pp.

Major Topics: Actors Equity Association application for charter; White Rats Actors' Union; federal regulation of actors; war housing bill; immigration; initiative and referendum; League of Nations; Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers; Mexican agricultural labor; peace demonstration; Shipyard Laborers; Textile Workers of America; Motion Picture Players Union; Willys-Overland Company strike.

0602 Meetings of August 28–30, 1919. 25pp.

Major Topics: Actors Amalgamated charter application; actors strike; amendment proposed to Clayton Act indemnifying unions from damages by act of members; International Labor Conference; Mexican political situation; Steel Workers Organizing Committee; Pittsburgh Street Railway strike; Women's World Congress.

0627 Meetings of October 5–7, 9–12, 15–21, 1919. 103pp.

Major Topics: Army camp vocational schools protested; Brewery Workers protest of prohibition bill; Association of Railway Employees, Trainmen of America, Trainmen's Protective Association, and Workers Union of Panama applications for charters; constitutional amendment to curb powers of courts; Irving Fisher on purchasing power; Trade Union Information Bureau for Immigrants; National Industrial Conference; International Federation of Trade Unions; Longshoremen's strike and jurisdiction issues; Maintenance of Way Employees Union dispute with Railway Shop Laborers; Printing Trades Unions, strike and factions; Sims bill for government ownership of railroads; Railroad Brotherhoods Conference; Steelworkers organizing drive and strike; Women's World Congress; cooperation between progressive farmers and organized labor; Cummins antilabor bill; AFL financial statement.

0730 Meetings of November 9–12, 1919. 41pp.

Major Topics: Progressive Farmers cooperation on AFL legislative program; Women's Trade Union League; miners strike.

0771 Meetings of December 11–12, 15–18, 1919. 88pp.

Major Topics: Bakers and Confectionery Workers International Union protest regarding foreign bakers; Colorado involuntary servitude law; railway employees, Arkansas State labor organization, Trainmen's Protective Association, and Trainmen's Union; opposition of Progressive Farmers, railroad brotherhoods, and AFL to Cummins bill; cooperative movement; Farmer-Labor national conference; Immigrants Information Bureau; prohibition of railroad employees in political action; Textile Workers amalgamation; AFL financial statement.

0859 Meetings of February 24–28, March 1–3, 1920. 64pp.

Major Topics: American Legion intimidation of AFL locals; Arizona anti-injunction law; Brewery Workers demand for modification of prohibition; Myers Civil Service Retirement Bill; cooperative movement; Farmer-Labor Cooperative Congress movement; Cummins antilabor bill; Garment Workers and Women's Trade Union League; National League of Women Voters Industrial Program; AFL financial statement; social insurance.

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Minutes of the Executive Council cont.

Meetings of May 10–18, 1920. 58pp. *Major Topics:* Industrial accidents; Army reorganization bill; building service employees; Carpenters' dispute with Longshoremen and Oil Field, Gaswell, and Refinery Workers; Georgia Federation of Labor; Hotel and Restaurant Employees Union; political parties. Meetings of June 5–6, 12, 14–15, 20, 1920. 24pp.

Major Topics: Health insurance; Maintenance of Way Employees Union; labor demands presented to political parties; railroad brotherhoods; Switchmen's strike.

0083 Meetings of August 2–7, 9–11, 1920. 132pp.

Major Topics: Anti-Trust Act exemption of labor; African American workers; compulsory arbitration; compulsory military training; convict labor; Cummins-Esch Act repeal efforts; Espionage Act repeal Efforts; amalgamation of greater New York central labor unions; Hatters' dispute with Cap Makers; Hod Carriers' dispute with Marble Polishers; International Federation of Trade Unions; National Committee of Iron and Steel Workers; Jewelry Workers' dispute with Metal Polishers; Maintenance of Way Employees Union; misrepresentation of labor in motion pictures; government employees minimum wage bill; Mexican labor; salaries of AFL organizers; Boston police strike; political prisoners amnesty; AFL nonpartisan position; Theatrical Stage Employees Union dispute with Building Trades; veterans associations; AFL financial statement.

0215 Meetings of November 11–13, 15–19, 1920. 104pp.

Major Topics: Protest anti-Semitism of *Dearborn Independent;* extension of Chinese exclusion act to Asians; antilabor court decisions; Herbert Hoover discussion of labor questions; immigration; Machinists jurisdiction disputes; New York Building Trades Council; Oil Field Workers' dispute; federal labor unions; United Hebrew Trades interest in immigration; AFL financial report.

0319 Meetings of February 22, 25–26, 28–March 4, 1921. 116pp.

Major Topics: American Co-operative Commission; Americanization programs; cooperative banks and credit unions; Maintenance of Way Employees Union controversy with building trades; Catholic unions secession movement in Canada; Canadian labor movement; Chinese exclusion act extension to Asians; industrial espionage; immigration restriction; Russian situation; AFL financial statement.

0435 Meetings of May 5–7, 9–14, 1921. 75pp.

Major Topics: Building trades' dispute with Theatrical Stage Employee Union; Canadian labor movement; compulsory health insurance; conference on court decisions; injunctions against Ladies Garment Workers Union; Horseshoer's Union; U.S. Department of Labor; United Mine Workers court cases; railroad labor legislation.

0510 Meetings of June 6, 8, 10, 12, 20, 25, 27, 1921. 62pp.

Major Topics: Building trades' dispute with Theatrical Stage Employees Union; Chinese-Japanese exclusion and land laws; Everett, Washington Central Labor Body charter revocation; housing policy; immigration restriction; International Federation of Trades Unions; Sheppard-Towner maternity aid bill; Old-Age Pensions Bill; Peoples Legislative Service; railroad labor legislation; organizing timber workers in Washington State; Tacoma, Washington, Central Labor Body charter revocation; Volstead Act.

0572 Meetings of August 22–30, 1921. 173pp.

Major Topics: Bridge and Structural Iron Workers' dispute with Teamsters Union; building trades' dispute with Maintenance of Way Employees Union; Carpenters' disputes with Longshoremen; Carpenters Union relations with AFL Building Trades Department; unconstitutionality of child labor law; Chinese and Japanese exclusion; African American workers admission to AFL; disarmament; Electrical Workers' dispute with Steam and Operating Engineers; injunctions protested; Irish independence; Printing Pressmen suit against union president; Volstead Act; Textile Workers; cost of living; discrimination against women by AFL unions protested by Women's Trade Union League; AFL financial statement and membership statistics.

0745 Meetings of November 14–19, 1921. 116pp.

Major Topics: Bridge and Structural Iron Workers' dispute with Teamsters Union; Carpenters' disputes with Longshoremen, Maintenance of Way Employees Union, and AFL Building Trades Department; Chinese exclusion; martial law and wage reductions in Colorado; disarmament; United Mine Workers strike in Kansas; AFL financial statement and membership statistics; Theatrical Stage Employees and strike at Los Angeles studios; ITU; cost of living.

0861 Meetings of February 21–25, 1922. 73pp.

Major Topics: AFL protest of admission of Japanese to Hawaii; Bonus bill; U.S. Chamber of Commerce; immigration legislation; United Mine Workers Union; open shop movement; Volstead Act modification; AFL financial statement; beating of timber workers organizer in Alabama.

0934 Meetings of May 10–13, 15–18, 1922. 94pp.

Major Topics: Bridge and Structural Iron Workers' dispute with Teamsters Union; Carpenters Union disputes with AFL Building Trades Department and with Maintenance of Way Employees Union; Child Labor Amendment; protest admission of Chinese to Hawaii; United Mine Workers injunction case; AFL support for disarmament; constitutionality of Kansas Industrial Court; Tom Mooney case; AFL financial statement and membership statistics; ship subsidy bill.

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Minutes of the Executive Council cont.

0001 Meetings of June 10, 25, 1922. 10pp.

Major Topics: U.S. Supreme Court decision in Coronado case; Oil Field Workers strike.

0011 Meetings of September 9, 11–16, 1922. 143pp.

Major Topics: Impeachment of Attorney General Daugherty urged; Building Trades Department dispute with Carpenters; Railroad Brotherhood injunction suit; German economic progress; Railroad Shopmen's strike; Kansas Industrial Court law; Mexican Federation of Labor; One Big Union; AFL financial statement and membership statistics.

0154	 Meetings of November 18, 20–25, 1922. 119pp. Major Topics: Conference on impeachment of Attorney General Daugherty; disarmament; AFL Nonpartisan Political Campaign Committee; investigation of Seattle Central Labor Union; AFL financial statement and membership statistics; International Federation of Trade Unions.
0273	 Meetings of February 14–17, 19–20, 1923. 95pp. Major Topics: Bridge and Structural Iron Workers' dispute with Teamsters Union; Child Labor Amendment; Commission of Progress and Cooperation; immigration bill; Chinese exclusion from Hawaii; Newspaper Writers Union, Boston, Massachusetts; Railroad Shopmen's strike; conditions in Central Labor Union of Seattle, Washington; Ship Subsidy Bill; workmen's compensation legislation in Massachusetts; AFL financial statement and membership statistics.
0368	 Meetings of May 8–12, 14–15, 1923. 92pp. <i>Major Topics:</i> Commission of Progress and Cooperation; immigration restriction; textbook investigation; Farmer-Labor Party convention; Gompers court case; Hawaiian labor; railroads and merchant marine; Seattle Washington Central Labor Council; U.S. Shipping Board; women workers in District of Columbia; workmen's compensation legislation; AFL financial statement and membership statistics.
0460	Meetings of August 27–September 1, 1923. 39pp. Major Topics: President Coolidge visited by Gompers and Morrison; Ku Klux Klan; fascist activities; Seattle, Washington, Central Labor Council charter revocation; textbooks; Mexico; United Mine Workers' dispute with Anthracite Operators; organization of textile industry.
0499	Meetings of September 29–October 2, 12–13, 1923. 41pp. <i>Major Topics:</i> Coronado case; Hotel and Restaurant Employees' dispute with Bakers and Confectioners International Union; immigration restriction; injunction abuses; minimum-wage legislation; legislation to countermand judicial review of legislation; Volstead Act modification; workmen's compensation laws.
0540	 Meetings of February 11–16, 1924. 112pp. Major Topics: Carpenters' dispute with Building Trades Department; convict labor; antifascist movement; Mooney Defense Fund; labor conditions in Philippine Islands; African American Stationary Firemen application to join Railroad Shop Craft Unions; AFL financial report and membership statistics; Conference on Women in Industry; workmen's compensation legislation.
0652	 Meetings of May 9–10, 12–15, 1924. 70pp. Major Topics: Canadian Trades and Labor Congress; Carpenters' dispute with AFL Building Trades Department; Hod Carriers Union protest against Paul Vaccarelli; Volstead Act modification; AFL financial statement and membership statistics.

0722 Meetings of August 1–2, 4–9, 11, 1924. 165pp.

Major Topics: Bridge and Structural Iron Workers strike in New York, New York; building trades strike in Kansas City against Carpenters and Joiners; organization of Butte, Montana, unions; Mexican diplomacy; Carpenters and Joiners' dispute with Sheet Metal Workers; Hod Carriers protest against seating independent unions of New York, New York; International Longshoremen's Association; oldage pension legislation; AFL Nonpartisan Political Campaign Committee; AFL financial statement and membership statistics; industrial labor spies; Teamsters' dispute with Railway Clerks; West Virginia State Federation of Labor internal dispute; presidential political campaign of 1924; women in industry.

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    0887 Meetings of October 20–25, 1924. 104pp.

Major Topics: Hatters' dispute with Cap Makers; immigrants detained because of

quota restrictions; AFL financial statement and membership statistics; AFL

Nonpartisan Political Campaign; William English Walling congressional candidacy.
    0001 Meeting of December 16, 1924, 33pp
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0991 Meeting of December 16, 1924. 33pp.
Major Topic: Death of Samuel Gompers.
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- 0001 December 1892–April 1896. 208pp.
- 0209 May 1896–December 1897. 187pp.
- 0396 January 1898–November 1899. 196pp.
- 0592 January 1900–November 1900. 157pp.

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- 0281 December 1902–August 1903. 191pp.
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- 0709 June 1904–November 1904. 141pp.

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- 0001 December 1904–May 1905. 187pp.
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