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JOINT INDUSTRIAL CONTROL IN THE BOOK AND JOB PRINTING INDUSTRY

BY

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PREFACE

The Social Science Research Council by the grant of a research fellowship for the year 1927–28 made this study possible. I wish to express my great appreciation to the council and also to the many leaders in the printing industry, in both the United States and England, among employers and employees and the representatives of employers' associations, joint open-shop organizations, and trade-unions, whose interest and full cooperation, often at the expense of much time and effort, made it possible for me to secure this material. I wish to thank in particular Prof. H. A. Millis of the University of Chicago, who first urged me to undertake this study and has given much helpful advice, and my friends under whose direction I had my introduction to labor problems in the printing industry in the department of industrial relations of the United Typothetæ of America: Mr. F. A. Silcox, now director of industrial relations of the New York Employing Printers' Association; Prof. Francis H. Bird of the University of Cincinnati; and Leona M. Powell of the research bureau of the New York Employing Printers' Association. Without their advice, assistance, and encouragement the study could not have been carried through. Mr. C. A. Hokinson of the research bureau of the New York Employing Printers' Association also has given very valuable assistance.

The various sections of the study have been read in each case by persons concerned, by representatives of the open-shop organizations, of employers' associations and trade-unions in the case of union chapters, and by employers in the case of important plants reported upon. In some cases revisions have been made, based on their suggestions, while in others footnotes give dissenting or supplementary opinions. While every effort has been made to check the facts and their interpretation in this manner, I assume the full responsibility for the conclusions.

EMILY CLARK BROWN.

NEW YORK, *September, 1928.*

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JOINT INDUSTRIAL CONTROL IN THE BOOK AND JOB PRINTING INDUSTRY

Chapter 1.—The Problem and Its Industrial Background

Industrial relations in the book and job printing industry in the United States are of three distinct and conflicting types, which are defined according to the philosophy and practice of the employing printers. There is, first, an open-shop or nonunion [1] group of employing printers, who are individualistic in their attitudes and make no attempt to establish uniform labor conditions throughout the industry. There are, secondly, three groups of plants which are making the unusual experiment of attempting to establish standards for the industry by means of open-shop employee representation organizations, representative of a group of plants. Finally, there are the sections of the industry in which both employers and employees are organized, in employers' associations and trade-unions, and standards are established by the joint efforts of these two organized groups.

The subject of this study is the work of the two latter types of organization, in which there is attempt to establish joint industrial control in the book and job printing industry; that is, to establish standards of wages, hours, and working conditions and to influence the character of industrial relations in the industry by the joint efforts of the organized employers and employees. The purpose of the study is to discover to what extent this common purpose is accomplished by the different methods of organization and to what degree an effective control is established over the industry.

The individualistic open-shop or nonunion employing printers who do not attempt to establish and enforce standards in industrial relations for the industry are in many cities organized locally in such associations as the Open Shop Employing Printers' Association of Chicago, or in a nonunion local branch of the United Typothetæ of America, the national trade association of the book and job printing industry.[2] Through such organizations they operate employment bureaus, encourage apprentice training, and in some cases recommend wage scales and hours, or group insurance or other plans. Each plant is free to decide upon its own action, however. Many

[1] As these terms are loosely used as interchangeable in the industry, it will not be possible always to distinguish between them in this study.

[2] The constitution of the United Typothetæ of America prohibits any attempt to control the entire membership in the matter of labor, and its membership includes both union and nonunion plants. Nevertheless, certain local typothetæ have restricted their membership to nonunion plants.

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of these plants are also organized in the Employing Printers' Association of America, a national nonunion association. While these plants cooperate to protect their own interests, they are not fundamentally interested in the establishment of standards, either by cooperation of the employers or with the employees. Their efforts are therefore outside the scope of this study in industrial control.

In contrast with this group is a second smaller group who since a nation-wide strike in 1921 have operated open-shop or nonunion plants and have experimented with a new type of organization in which employers and employees may cooperate on the problems of the industry. In other industries many companies have made experiments with employee representation plans. The printing industry with its numerous small units needs industrial relations organization on a broader basis.

Accordingly these plants have organized joint representation of the workers and employers of a group of plants. Such organization representing men and management from a number of companies has been in existence in the Loyal Legion of Loggers and Lumbermen in the West, but no other example of open-shop joint organization covering more than one company has been found. In the printing and allied industries, however, there are three such organizations. The employing printers of Baltimore organized the American Guild of the Printing Industry, the employers in Boston the Graphic Arts Industrial Federation, and the open-shop edition bookbinders in New York City a general council and series of shop councils for their group.

The third group represents the relations between the organized employers and the trade-unions in the traditional form of organization in the industry. In this large section of the industry wages, hours, and working conditions are established by agreement between the unions and the organized employers. In numerous cities these organized relationships have been under way for many years, and definite machinery of varying complexity has evolved to meet the particular needs of the local industry. In New York, in a substantial section of the Chicago industry, in Washington, Indianapolis, San Francisco, and other cities well-organized examples of this type of relationship are to be seen.

The second and third groups of employing printers have certain points of agreement. They dissent in theory and practice from the first nonunion group with its individualistic approach to labor problems. They believe that the book and job printing industry with its numerous plants needs standards of practice on labor matters in order to establish an equal basis for competition. They believe that such standards can best be established by the joint action of employers and employees.

The open-shop groups, however, organized on the theory that standards can be established and relationships between workers and employers can be improved by bringing the two groups into one organization for cooperation. They believe that the promotion of the good of the industry and the protection of the interests of both groups can best be achieved by an organization for cooperation in place of the older system of conflicting organizations. The union group, on the other hand, has developed its organization of industrial

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relations with less conscious philosophy. Trade-union organization developed out of the conditions of the industry and was followed by organization of the employers. The two strongly organized groups then in many places have found it to their mutual advantage to act jointly on problems of the industry. Their conflicting interests have led to this type of joint organization.

This study attempts to show the concrete results of these two types of organization for joint control in the book and job printing industry. A detailed study has been made of the records of the two joint cooperative organizations in the printing industry, the American Guild of the Printing Industry, in Baltimore, and the Graphic Arts Industrial Federation of Greater Boston. A brief analysis of the plan of the open-shop group of the Employing Bookbinders' Association of New York also throws some light on these questions. As an example of union relationships, the New York industry has been studied, since New York is the largest center in the book and job printing industry, and the joint agreements, which have developed through 20 years of joint effort, determine conditions for nearly one-fifth of the industry in America. The experience of a few individual companies in cooperative organization of industrial relations on a small scale also is summarized. Finally, for contrast with the attempts to establish standards locally in America, is a study of the national organization of industrial relations in the British printing industry.

The Industry

The book and job or commercial printing industry is one of a series of branches of the printing and allied industries. Newspaper printing and publishing, music printing and publishing, lithographing, photo-engraving, bookbinding and blankbook making, electrotyping and stereotyping, and steel and copperplate engraving are the other main branches. Since for the most part industrial relations in the latter groups of industries are managed independently by each industry, only the book and job industry is included in this study. The book and job industry in the United States in 1925 included 10,322 plants having an annual product each of $5,000 and over, employing a total of 133,316 wage earners, to whom annual wages of $219,830,000 were paid, and producing a total value of products of $806,887,000.[3]

Commercial printing is an industry in which the product is made to order and largely for the local market.[4] The industry as a result is decentralized and characterized by a high degree of local autonomy. The two outstanding centers are New York and Chicago, which in 1925 produced 19.8 per cent and 17.7 per cent, respectively, of the total product of the United States in the book and job printing industry. No other city produced as much as 5 per cent of the total, while a considerable volume comes from the small print shops which are to be found in nearly every town.[5]

[3] U. S. Census of Manufactures, 1925. Printing and publishing, p. 8.

[4] In a survey of printing sales of members of the United Typothetæ of America for 1923 reports of total annual sales of $91,000,000 by 953 employing printers showed sales for the local market amounting to 75 per cent of the total.—Typothetæ Bulletin, Aug. 4, 1924, p. 180.

[5] U. S. Census of Manufactures, 1925. Statistics for industries, States, and cities, pp. 113, 143.

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The typical printing plant is small. In 1919 it was found that 91 per cent of all book and job plants had 20 or less employees, while 25 per cent were "one-man shops." Plants with over 100 employees were only 12 per cent of the total, and employed only 31 per cent of the total number of wage earners.[6] Nevertheless a striking trend toward the concentration of production in the largest establishments is taking place. As is shown in the accompanying table, from 1919 to 1925 the proportion of the total number of wage earners and of the total value of products decreased for each class of plants of under $1,000,000 in product each, while for those with a million dollars or more it increased. The number in the group of largest plants increased from 53 in 1919 to 100 in 1925, when they employed 22.2 per cent of all wage earners and were responsible for 24.1 per cent of the total product.

TABLE 1.—PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF ESTABLISHMENTS, WAGE EARNERS, AND VALUE OF PRODUCTS OF THE BOOK AND JOB PRINTING INDUSTRY ACCORDING TO SIZE OF ESTABLISHMENTS, 1919 AND 1925

[U. S. Census of Manufactures, 1923, p. 601; 1925, Size of establishments, pp. 14-15]

Value of products	Establishments		Wage earners		Value of products	
	1919	1925	1919	1925	1919	1925
$5,000 to $20,000	51.2	45.5	9.8	7.4	8.1	6.4
$20,000 to $100,000	35.2	38.9	26.9	24.1	23.6	22.2
$100,000 to $500,000	11.4	13.0	34.5	33.5	34.7	33.7
$500,000 to $1,000,000	1.6	1.6	14.1	12.8	15.2	13.5
$1,000,000 and over	.6	1.0	14.6	22.2	18.4	24.1

A very large proportion of the wage earners in the printing industry are skilled craftsmen. They are an English-speaking group with a high proportion of native born and are characterized by intelligence and skill. The chief trades are the compositors, who set type by hand or by linotype or monotype machine or make it up in forms to go to the printing press; the pressmen, who operate the presses with the assistance of the press feeders; the bookbinders, who were once highly skilled handicraftsmen, but now are very largely machine operators; and the allied trades, including the photo-engravers, the stereotypers and electrotypers, and the lithographers, who are found in small numbers in the printing plants. The relative proportions in each group are indicated by a survey of 2,096 printing plants, employing 100,704 wage earners, in all parts of the United States and Canada in 1923:[7]

	Per cent		Per cent
Hand compositors	11.6	Press feeders and assistants	9.7
Machine compositors	9.4	Bookbinders	7.7
Makers-up and stone hands	3.2	Allied trades	8.3
Proof readers	3.2	Apprentices	5.3
Pressmen	11.1	Miscellaneous	30.5

Approximately one-fifth of the wage earners are women. The women are found in greatest numbers in the binderies, where they do both hand and machine work of varying degrees of skill. There

[6] U. S. Census of Manufactures, 1919, Reports for selected industries, p. 571.
[7] U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics Bul. No. 427: Health survey of the printing trades, 1922 to 1925, by Frederick L. Hoffman. Washington, 1927, p. 6.

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are also a considerable number of women in the composing rooms, chiefly as machine operators and proof readers, while women are found in smaller numbers in the pressrooms as press feeders or doing other semiskilled work.

Because of the character of the employee group and of the fact that a print shop can be opened with small capital the movement from the ranks of the journeymen over to the proprietor group has been very marked and still proceeds. The employing printers are, therefore, drawn in very large measure from men who have had practical experience in the industry, many of them having been members of the unions. Without this basis of common experience and understanding industrial relations in this industry would be of a very different character.

Because the industry is one with a large number of small units, with a made-to-order, unstandardized product, and to a considerable extent under the control of men with technical but not business experience, it is very highly competitive. In such an industry it is very difficult to secure unity of action among the employers to establish orderly and reasonable competition based upon standards of any sort. Early efforts of the employing printers to control the industry by agreeing on prices gave way later to campaigns of education in cost accounting to establish a basis for competition. On the side of the employees at the same time continuous efforts of the trade-unions to maintain union scales of wages and hours gave an incentive to organization by the employers and exerted a considerable influence toward the standardization which the employing printers found so difficult to establish over the industry.

The geographical decentralization of the industry and the fact that the product is so largely for the local market have resulted in a large degree of local autonomy. Labor relations in particular are locally handled. Although the growth of large plants is widening the market and increasing competition on a national basis for all large-scale work, the process has not gone far enough to bring the employing printers into an organization for effective national action on labor matters. While the employees are organized in national unions, collective bargaining is a matter for local action, under general control of the national unions. Striking variations are found from one city to another in the labor policy of the employing printers and the extent to which the employees are organized in trade-unions.

The printing industry has a long tradition of organization both of employers and of employees. The chapel, the organization of the members of a union in a printing plant, has its roots far back in the earliest period of the industry in England, and in the eighteenth century in England it had become an organ for regulating working conditions. In America the printers were among the first craftsmen to organize. Temporary association to raise wages was known in New York in 1776 and in Philadelphia in 1786. From 1795 on societies to increase wages appeared in many of the larger cities, and since the forties and fifties many local typographical unions have been in continuous existence.[8] Among the employing printers also there were early attempts to organize to protect themselves from

[8] Barnett, George E.: The printers, pp. 3–15, 292.

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competition. The first known was in Philadelphia in 1794, while in a number of cities during the nineteenth century organizations of employing printers tried to establish price lists for their work. The Typothetæ of New York, organized in 1862, was the first such organization to become permanent and continue to the present, though with certain lapses.[9]

These organizations were local. On the part of the unions, however, the need for cooperation of the different locals to maintain their wage scales led to three national conventions of journeyman printers, the last of which, in 1852, adopted a constitution and became the National Typographical Union. As the International Typographical Union, with jurisdiction in the United States and Canada, it has continued to the present.[10] The typographical union at first included all crafts in the printing industry. Since 1890, however, various crafts have broken off and established their own international unions. The International Typographical Union now includes the compositors, proof readers, and mailers. The list of printing and allied trades-unions, with their membership in 1927, is shown below:[11]

	Membership
International Typographical Union	75,000
International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union	40,000
International Brotherhood of Bookbinders	13,800
International Photo-Engravers' Union	7,900
International Stereotypers' and Electrotypers' Union	7,300
Amalgamated Lithographers of America	5,700

While the employing book and job printers for many years experimented with local organizations to regulate competition or to deal with labor problems, it was not until they felt the menace of national action on the part of the union that they organized nationally. A demand of the typographical union for the 9-hour day in 1887 led to the organization of the United Typothetæ of America, with branches in many cities. While this association on many occasions was involved in labor matters, the trend of its evolution has been away from action as an employers' association to that of a trade association dealing only with business and production problems of the master printers. A sharp division on labor policy among the employing printers after 1906 and accentuated again by events in 1921 made national action on labor matters impossible without jeopardizing the other activities of the association. The constitution was therefore revised in 1920 to eliminate control of labor matters from the work of the association. The constitution in 1928 provides that members who so desire may form autonomous affiliated associations to act on labor matters, on either a union or open-shop basis.

Efforts to establish affiliated associations within the United Typothetæ of America for national action to protect the interests of the employing printers in labor matters have not been successful. There is now a national independent organization of the nonunion employing printers, in the Employing Printers' Association of America, a militant nonunion group with headquarters in Chicago. The Printers' League of America, which was for a time the closed-shop division

[9] Powell, Leona M.: The history of the United Typothetæ of America, pp. 6–8.
[10] Barnett, op. cit., pp. 23–28.
[11] American Labor Year Book, 1928, p. 165; International Bookbinder, November, 1926, p. 57; Typographical Journal, August, 1927, Supplement, p. 93.

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of the United Typothetæ of America, withdrew from the United Typothetæ of America in 1924. It has not been able to secure the support of closed-shop employing printers for a national organization, and is now inactive, having had as members only the New York Printers' League, the small printers' leagues of Cincinnati and Cleveland, and a scattering individual membership from Chicago and other cities.

While labor matters have been generally a matter for local action, a number of occasions brought national action, usually connected with efforts of the international unions to reduce the hours of labor. The United Typothetæ of America was organized in 1887 to oppose the demand of the International Typographical Union for the 9-hour day. In 1898, however, the reduction of hours was made by agreement between the typothetæ and the international unions. In 1905 and 1906 the demand of the typographical union for the 8-hour day was strenuously opposed by the typothetæ, and a nation-wide strike left the industry divided on labor policy into union and non-union groups. In 1907, however, an arbitration agreement which had been in force since 1903 between the United Typothetæ and the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union was renewed by the officers of the two organizations with a provision for the 8-hour day in 1909. This agreement failed of ratification by the union. The International Typographical Union had won its 8-hour strike, however, and by 1908 the 8-hour day was fairly well established in all departments. During the next 10 years the unions made much progress in regaining plants which they had lost through the 8-hour strikes.

In 1919 under the stress of post-war conditions an experiment was begun in a national organization for cooperation of the unions and the organized closed-shop employing printers, to consult on mutual problems and to attempt to stabilize conditions in the industry. On March 10, 1919, the International Joint Conference Council of the commercial and periodical branches of the printing industry was organized. It included eight members, four representing the employers' organizations, the closed-shop branch of the United Typothetæ of America, the Printers' League of America, and the International Association of Employing Electrotypers; and four representing the unions, the International Typographical Union, the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union, the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders, and the International Stereotypers' and Electrotypers' Union. The International Joint Conference Council was to devote itself primarily to matters of policy, promoting cooperation on problems of the trade. It had no authority, but was to submit its recommendations to the constituent organizations for ratification. Its resolutions when ratified by all the groups would be binding upon all parties under the council, and become the law of the trade.[12]

The most vital action taken by the council was on a question of hours. The unions in several large cities in 1919 were agitating for an immediate reduction of hours to 44. This was a time of great activity in the industry, marked by a shortage of labor and unrest

[12] International Joint Conference Council of the commercial and periodical branches of the printing industry. Constitution and activities.

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on the part of the unions. Through the council a compromise was made to postpone the reduction in hours until May 1, 1921, when the 44-hour week would go into effect nationally in the union branch of the industry. This recommendation was adopted by the international unions, although the vote against it was heavy in New York and Chicago, by the Printers' League, and by the International Association of Electrotypers and the Closed Shop Branch of the United Typothetæ of America in convention.

The United Typothetæ of America at first refused the closed-shop branch permission to take a referendum vote, on the ground that such action would involve the entire organization. The executive committee later, however, ruled that the closed-shop branch had a right to take this action. The officers of the closed-shop branch then, to avoid further delay, took the vote of the branch at its meeting held in connection with the typothetæ convention in September, 1919. As the convention was held in New York, the representation present was chiefly from that city. The agreement was unanimously adopted for the introduction of the 44-hour week in the closed-shop branch on May 1, 1921. The parent body, the United Typothetæ of America, however, adopted a resolution strongly opposing any reduction in hours.

When the date for the reduction of hours approached, a seriously depressed condition which had developed in the industry inspired additional opposition from employing printers in all parts of the country. While in spite of considerable pressure the closed-shop division had reaffirmed its 44-hour agreement in 1920, it had no list of members bound by its action.[13]

The organized union employers in New York, Chicago, Cincinnati, Washington, and Indianapolis had definitely promised the 44-hour week to the local unions in those cities. Elsewhere, however, many members of the typothetæ and other employing printers declared that even if they were running union shops they were not bound by the agreement made through the International Joint Conference Council when they had taken no part in making the agreement and had not voted for its adoption through the closed-shop branch or the Printers' League. Efforts through the council to secure a postponement of the reduction of hours until conditions should be more propitious failed. On May 1, 1921, the reduction went into effect in the union plants of the large cities which had been definitely committed to the agreement, and in many smaller places and among parts of the industry elsewhere. But a very large part of the industry engaged in a bitter strike, during which large and influential groups of the employing printers established their plants on a nonunion basis. The division on labor policy which had followed the 1906 strike was reestablished.[14]

The International Joint Conference Council continued to hold occasional meetings until 1925. During its earlier period, in addi-

[13] Its members consisted of firms which had affiliated in 1919 following receipt of a letter of invitation which ended as follows: "Remember it costs you nothing beyond your regular United Typothetæ of America dues to be a member of the closed-shop branch, nor does it bind you in any way—it is simply a notification to headquarters that, running a union shop, you wish to avail yourself of receiving all advices and assistance that particularly pertain to union matters, and that you appreciate the wisdom of acting in concert, so far as possible, with other members running union shops."

[14] Powell, op. cit., pp. 145–160; United Typothetæ of America, department of industrial relations, Statement of facts, 44-hour week situation, Mar. 1, 1921.

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tion to the 44-hour week agreement, it had adopted a set of "cardinal points of a labor policy" to guide wage negotiations, had recommended a standard cost-of-living clause for wage readjustments, for local contracts, and had made recommendations for the constructive handling of the apprenticeship problem. The prestige of the council suffered severely when it transpired through the events connected with the 44-hour week that the employers were not organized in a way to make it possible for their representatives to speak authoritatively for the industry, except for New York. Nevertheless, the council was held together for a time. It sent out a standard contract form which has considerably affected practice in the industry, as have its apprenticeship recommendations.[15] The largest project after 1922 was the promotion of a survey of health conditions in the printing industry. This investigation was financed by the unions and the employers, and carried out by Frederick L. Hoffman, with the cooperation of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics. Two bulletins, the result of this study, were published in 1925 and 1927.[16] Attempts to organize district councils, by cooperation of the national officers of the unions and the Printers' League, proved that it was impossible to arouse interest in such a project or to secure a strong national organization of the union employing printers at this time. Since the International Joint Conference Council then represented practically only the New York employers, it has become inactive. No meetings have been called since that of February, 1925. The council could be revived should conditions change and demonstrate to the employers a need for such national action on labor questions. The forces of local autonomy are too strong in the commercial printing industry at present to secure the advantages of cooperation nationally by the leaders of the unions and the closed-shop employing printers.

The events of 1921 brought an increase in the number of nonunion or open-shop plants in the country, and a distinct change in the character of labor policy of employing printers in many centers. An estimate of the extent of organization in the printing and allied trades in 1920, based upon the membership of the unions and the total numbers employed in these industries, gave 50.1 per cent as the degree of organization for the entire industry, 55.4 per cent for the men and 25 per cent for the women.[17] A more extensive organization in the book and job industry was shown by a survey by the United Typothetæ of America of its membership in 1920. Reports from 2,729 plants from all parts of the country, a good sample of the industry except for its lack of representation of the smaller plants, showed 57 per cent of the plants, employing 66 per cent of the wage earners, as union throughout or in one or more important departments. Of the employees, union members were 72 per cent of the total in the composing room, 71 per cent in the pressroom, 47 per cent in the bindery, and 64 per cent of the total. A survey in September, 1921, based upon estimates of local typothetæ secretaries,

[15] The apprenticeship recommendations of the International Joint Conference Council are incorporated in the constitution and by-laws of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants Union as adopted August, 1926, in article 34.

[16] U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics Bul. No. 392: Survey of hygienic conditions in the printing trades, by S. Kjaer, Washington, 1925; Bul. No. 427: Health survey of the printing trades, 1922 to 1925, by Frederick L. Hoffman, Washington, 1927.

[17] Wolman, Leo: Growth of American Trade-Unions, 1880–1923, p. 141.

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of the proportions of production under open-shop and union conditions, showed a great change over the country. New York was approximately two-thirds union, and Chicago was estimated as one-half union. In 67 other cities, however, 3,186 open shops were said to control 72 per cent of the production, while 1,542 union shops were said to control 28 per cent of the total.[18]

No accurate data are available as to the degree of organization in 1928. The unions have made progress in reorganizing. The International Typographical Union, which lost 6,000 members, now has a larger membership than before the strike. The International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union also has increased its membership. The International Brotherhood of Bookbinders, however, lacking the strength which the other crafts gain from the inclusion of newspaper workers, in 1927 was still 7,000 below its 1920 membership. Nevertheless, many plants which became nonunion in 1921 have maintained that policy in regard to all crafts.[19]

The present division on labor policy in the book and job printing industry is derived directly from the struggle of 1921. While the industry since the 8-hour strike of 1906 has had a group of important nonunion plants, their number was very much increased by the strike of 1921. Although the unions have regained many plants, the fundamental division of the industry remains. A new development of this period, however, has been the efforts of groups of the open-shop and nonunion plants to develop a constructive organization for cooperation of employers and employees in establishing joint control of the industry, although on an open-shop basis. These new types of organization compete with the older forms of relationship between the organized employers and employees on a trade-union basis for the support of the two groups. To show the concrete results of these types of organizations in the control which they establish over the industry is the purpose of this study.

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[18] Typothetæ Bulletin, November, 1921, p. 63.
[19] American Labor Year Book, 1928, p. 105; Typographical Journal, August, 1927, Supplement, p. 93.

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Chapter 2.—American Guild of the Printing Industry: An Open-Shop Experiment in Constitutional Government

Constitutional law as a "vehicle to organize the area of mutual interest and to provide machinery for adjustment in the area of possible collision"[1] is the keynote of the American Guild of the Printing Industry. This experiment in industrial government, which was organized in Baltimore in 1921 with a written constitution, has maintained its position for seven years. The attempt will be made here to show how this government has functioned and the extent and results of the joint control which is provided for in the constitution. First, a brief sketch of the industrial background and of how the guild came about is necessary.

The graphic arts industries have a very important place in the industrial life of Baltimore, for they rank next to the clothing industries and to slaughtering and meat packing in the total value of their products. Book and job printing, publishing, and bookbinding in 1925 were exceeded only by the clothing industries in number of plants and wage earners. The book and job industry included approximately 180 plants and 2,500 employees and had a product valued at over $13,000,000. The industry in Baltimore is less highly specialized than is the case in some cities. Two leading plants specialize in book and periodical publication, and there are several label houses. There are also trade composition plants, and groups of allied trades, such as the lithographers, photo-engravers, and electrotypers, which have no close relation to the commercial industry in regard to labor matters. But the mass of the industry is unspecialized and engaged in general commercial printing. The printing plants in Baltimore are small. Plants employing over 100 people are rare, while the largest commercial plant has only 250 employees.

The history of industrial relations in the book and job industry is a story of gradual development of control by the unions, culminating in the postwar years in a condition under which the printing of the city was 90 per cent or more unionized. The newspaper industry is practically union throughout. Agreements between the unions and the employers, however, have been made only by individual plants and not by an employers' association. While the Typothetæ of Baltimore was first organized in 1894, it was not until it was reorganized in 1919 with a broader program that it appointed an industrial-relations committee and undertook to negotiate with the various unions. Previously the typographical union established its scale and made agreements with individual plants as it was able, and the printing pressmen and assistants' union and the bookbinders' and bindery

[1] Gill, Robert S., in Folding Box Manufacturers' National Association Membership Bulletin 143.

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women's unions as they organized and gained strength followed suit. The typographical union had in force a 7-year agreement which expired in December, 1916, and was followed by another agreement, effective through 1919 and providing for the closed shop, regulation of wages, hours, and conditions, and arbitration of any disputes. During 1919 the typothetæ industrial relations committee, representing the union employers, began to negotiate with the unions. For the first time agreements for definite periods were made with the pressroom and bindery unions. The pressmen's agreement, effective from September, 1919, to April 30, 1921, provided for the closed shop, a wage increase, shop conditions, and that the question of wages might be opened for adjustment at six months' intervals, based upon changes in the cost of living and the "economic or physical condition of the industry," arbitration to be called upon if necessary to secure an adjustment. This agreement and the others negotiated during the period were not signed by the typothetæ but were left to the individual firms to accept or reject. In practice the conditions decided upon by the unions and the typothetæ governed the industry. A new typographical union contract, effective from January 1, 1920, to April 30, 1921, was agreed upon following the first use of arbitration in the Baltimore industry. It provided for a wage increase and for readjustments at six months' intervals upon a 10 per cent change in the cost of living. By negotiation or arbitration further increases were secured by all the unions during 1920, although in the case of the bindery women and of the pressmen and press feeders strikes preceded one of their settlements. Early in 1921, because of the changes in conditions, an arbitration resulted in a wage decrease for the pressmen, effective until May 1, 1921.[2]

On the whole, harmony prevailed between the employing printers and the unions during these years. A large part of the industry was union in fact, although only the union-label plants signed contracts with the unions. In the plants which called themselves open shop many union members were employed and for the most part union conditions were observed. There is no evidence of dissatisfaction on the part of either group with existing conditions. Then came May 1, 1921.

The 44-hour-week issue had first appeared in Baltimore in 1919. The typographical union included a reduction of hours in its demands for the contract to be effective in January, 1920, but after discussion the demand was withdrawn. The understanding upon which this issue was withdrawn was unfortunately not committed to writing, and a year later difference of opinion as to its terms developed. The union understood that the 44-hour week would go into effect in Baltimore on May 1, 1921, the date set in the agreement made through the International Joint Conference Council by the closed-shop division of the United Typothetæ of America and the international unions. The Typothetæ of Baltimore, which did not belong to the closed-shop division and had no part in making this national agreement, maintained that it had agreed only to establish the shorter work week whenever it became universal throughout the industry in the country, defining universal as 50 per cent or more of the printing

[2] Typothetæ of Baltimore. Agreements and arbitration decisions with various unions, 1910–1921.

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plants of the country. All the agreements made in the Baltimore industry following this 1919 discussion terminated on April 30, 1921, however.[3]

When the spring of 1921 arrived the Baltimore printing industry was in a serious condition of depression. The Baltimore employers were naturally sympathetic to the general movement of opposition to the introduction of the shorter work week which had developed over the country because of the condition of the industry. The opposition of the employers was increased by what appears in the light of later events as a tactical blunder on the part of the unions, for the typographical, pressmen's, and electrotypers' unions all included a demand for an increase of approximately $10 with their demand for the reduction of hours on May 1. The typothetæ notified the unions that it would be glad to meet the union committees to discuss wages, in order to continue the pleasant relations which had existed for so long, but that it considered the 48-hour week essential, and that it could meet only upon prior acceptance of this condition. The typothetæ refused to discuss the 44-hour week, while the unions refused to accept the continuance of the existing work week, saying this was a national matter. As a result no conferences were held and both groups prepared for battle.

On Monday, May 2, in the composing rooms some 375 members of the typographical union struck. Two days later over 800 men and women walked out of the pressrooms and binderies. Ninety per cent or more of the commercial printing trades workers were said to be involved. The typographical union made some progress in securing agreements for the 44-hour week and the old rate of wages among small plants, but the larger plants and a considerable proportion of the small ones stood firm for the 48-hour week and the open shop. The pressroom and bindery unions after a few weeks found themselves in the same position as those unions in many other cities. The union funds were exhausted and strike benefits came to an end. There was nothing left but to return to work, and as time went on many gave up their union cards and returned under open-shop conditions at the old scales of wages and hours. Even in the few shops which continued to recognize these unions and to use the union label the 48-hour week continued. The bookbinders', pressmen's, and bindery women's unions lost heavily in membership until only the shells of their former organizations remained.

The International Typographical Union, through the support of its newspaper members and the book and job men who were at work on the 44-hour week, continued for several years to pay strike benefits. Baltimore Typographical Union two years after the strike still had over 100 members on the strike roll. During the six years following the inauguration of the strike the union membership decreased by about 200, of whom some left Baltimore for other jurisdictions and others gave up their union cards and returned to plants in which the strike was still on. In 1927 the Baltimore Typographical Union had 700 members, of whom 300 were book and job men. The union estimates that it controls one-half of the book and job compositors in the city. In addition to 20 or more union-label houses the typo-

[3] Printing, Feb. 26, 1921, p. 65: "Important to Printers"; Bulletins issued by Typographical Union No. 12.

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graphical union claims 10 or more other union composing rooms, and in addition has a considerable number of members in the open-shop plants. The union plants, however, are all small. While the union has not secured recognition from any of the large plants which became open shop in 1921, it is strong enough to be able to secure its scale, $40 for 44 hours and overtime for all additional time, in the open-shop 48-hour plants in which it has members at work. As is usually the case, the union has its chief strength, outside the newspaper and union-label houses, in the trade composition plants.[4]

Birth of the American Guild

In the weeks before the strike of May 1, 1921, when it became apparent that the unions would force the issue of the 44-hour week, the employing printers made their plans to meet the emergency. To one of the leaders of the Baltimore Typothetæ it seemed important that the employing printers should not merely direct their efforts to defeating the introduction of the 44-hour week and to establishing the open shop, but have a constructive substitute for the old method of dealing with their employees through the unions. This employer, Mr. Edward B. Passano, of Williams & Wilkins Co., studied the industrial-relations plans in effect in many industries and decided upon the general plan of the Loyal Legion of Loggers and Lumbermen of the Northwest as suited to the needs of the commercial printing industry.

On April 15, 1921, at a meeting of the Fourth District Typothetæ Federation, Mr. Passano presented the outlines of the plan. He stated first his belief that very valuable functions had been performed by the trade-unions, but that they had necessarily developed as fighting organizations, with autocratic leadership, and that the development of power in the hands of a few had led to its abuse. A competing organization which would embody the good features of unionism would compel the unions to change their policy and operate more for the good of both their members and the public. Mr. Passano also pointed out weaknesses in the usual forms of employee representation plans, in that the organizations were confined to single plants or companies, with a resulting loss of freedom of movement to the employee member, and that no provision was made for joint conference in the consideration and solution of problems of shop management.

The plan which Mr. Passano presented as a substitute for either of these forms of organizations was for a guild, to be composed of both employers and employees in as many plants as could be brought into the organization. As soon as possible the guilds in different cities would be joined into districts and eventually into a national guild, which would follow the form of organization of the local. The organization was to include three types of committees, the shop committee in each plant, a chapter board composed of an equal number of employers and of employees representing the entire local organization, and the chapter board of appeal which was to include representatives of both groups in the industry and of the public, and was to perform the func-

[4] Printing, May 14, 1921, p. 89; May 28, 1921; July 2, 1921, p. 70; Typographical Journal, July, 1921, p. 34, Supplement, p. 81; International Bookbinder, July, 1926, p. 291.

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tion of an arbitration board if necessary. The guild provided for the open shop, without discrimination against union members, for joint conference and collective bargaining, and that the men through the local board should have "an equal voice in the big problems of shop management in which they are interested." Essential parts of the plan also were to be the establishment of a normal wage and a standard work week, the classification of workers according to production records, group insurance, and apprentice training.[5]

After much discussion the Baltimore Typothetæ decided to go ahead with this plan, and on May 18, some two weeks after the beginning of the 44-hour strike, they reported that they were bringing to Baltimore to organize the guild, Mr. Robert S. Gill, executive secretary of the Loyal Legion of Loggers and Lumbermen in the Pacific Northwest. A mass meeting was called on September 13 to discuss the question "Shall we organize the American Guild of the Printing Industry?" A circular distributed previously offered as the benefits of the proposed organization to the men and women in the industry the following:

Equal say-so between employer and employee in the determination of all questions in which both employers and employees are interested.

The highest wages the industry is at any time capable of paying.

Recognition of the worker as a partner in industrial enterprise.

The right of conference on any and every matter pertaining to relations between the employer and employee.

The circular also gave a plan for group insurance and the proposed organization of conference committees and the two local boards. The mass meeting, which was attended by about 400 people, including a considerable number of the strikers, heard Mr. Gill present the plan, asked questions, and authorized him to send out tentative application cards and attempt to organize the guild. At a second meeting, on November 2, representatives for a constitution committee were elected by the employer and employee groups. Over 300 application cards had been received. On November 29 a third meeting was held, at which the guild was organized, the constitution which had been distributed in proof to all applicants was ratified, and representatives for the chapter board were elected by the two groups. To this constitution, later characterized as a "permanent collective bargain between the employer members and the employee members," we now turn.

Constitution

The constitution and by-laws, the basic law of this industrial government, is a long, detailed, and somewhat involved document which establishes the machinery of government, details the procedure, and makes definite the rights of all groups under this agreement. The high points of this law are summarized here.

The theory upon which the guild is built is seen in brief in one paragraph of the preamble, following the statement that three necessary elements in successful industrial enterprise are cooperation, justice, and service. It is as follows:

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[5] Passano, Edward B.: The Typothetæ of Baltimore plan of industrial relationship. Paper read at the Fourth District Typothetæ Federation, Apr. 15, 1921. For constitution of the American Guild see Appendix B, p. 198.

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We believe, further, that those actually engaged in an industry are best suited to solve its problems; that prosperity and security can be assured in greater measure to both employers and employees when mutual distrust is replaced by mutual understanding; that there is a wide field in which the interests of employer and employee are closely identified; and that by association and joint conference on industrial problems, greater material welfare can and will accrue to every party to the association.

Membership is of two main classes. Individual members are white citizens engaged in any capacity from chief executive to apprentice in the printing and allied industries. Membership in other organizations is no bar. Company members are employing concerns of which at least 51 per cent of the employees have become individual members. Both individual and company members pledge themselves to conform to the rules and regulations of the guild, to accept any penalties levied for violations of regulations, and to exhaust every means provided by the guild for the adjustment of differences before employing any other means. The company members further agree that their membership is effective for three calendar years following application, and is automatically renewable unless notice of withdrawal is given at least 90 days prior to the expiration of any 3-year period. An individual member who withdraws from the industry or accepts employment in a nonguild plant may continue his membership and his insurance coverage by paying the regular dues plus the amount normally paid by the employer. A member who is unemployed is protected by the guild in his insurance and membership right for a period of 90 days, by the payment of premium and waiver of dues for that period, while he has opportunity to seek employment.

The rights of members are set forth in an important section, as follows:

Rights of members.—Among the rights of every member, the following are included:

(*a*) The right of participating in the deliberations of the chapter of which he may be a member.

(*b*) The right of participating in collective bargaining between employer and employee according to the methods provided by the guild.

(*c*) The right of individual bargaining.

(*d*) The right of making complaint or suggestion through the conference committee.

(*e*) The right of initiating matters of concern to the guild or to the industry through his representatives on committees and boards.

(*f*) The right of appeal in case of disagreement between employer and employee.

Among the rights of the individual member, the following are included:

(*a*) The right of developing his own skill and earning capacity to the highest degree.

(*b*) The right of freedom from discrimination and danger of discharge in making use of the machinery of the guild.

(*c*) The right of at least one week's notice of discharge, except in case of transient or emergency employees.

Among the rights of the company member, the following are included:

(*a*) The right of freedom in directing the work of the plant and in developing plant organization to the highest degree of efficiency.

(*b*) The right of engaging new employees, and of discharging employees for cause.

(*c*) The right of at least one week's notice of the resignation of an employee, except in case of transient or emergency employees.

It is the policy of the guild, although not absolutely required by the language of the constitution, that company members should not

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discriminate against any applicant for employment because of membership in any organization. It is required, however, that they should give preference to guild members in hiring new employees, in retentions, and in promotions. Individual members also must give preference to company members in seeking employment.

The members in the plant of any company member constitute a chapel, using that historic term which has come down from the earliest organizations of journeyman printers. Each chapel is to elect by secret ballot at 6-month periods a representative from each department or group of workers for a conference committee, to consist wholly of employees, not executives or office staff, who have been in the employ of the company at least three months. The chairman, elected by the chapel, presides at all meetings of the chapel or the conference committee, while the secretary collects dues and keeps all records. The duty of the conference committee is to review all complaints or suggestions made by the workers, and if 50 per cent of the committee consider it necessary, to lay the matter before the management. "Management and conference committee in session together constitute a consultation board for matters pertaining to the chapel or to the plant." The conference committee may take a complaint to a foreman or other supervising employee designated by the management, and may appeal from the decision of such supervisor to the chief official of the company. The management is bound by the acts of its designated representatives. The rights of the members to make complaints and the procedure for handling such matters are definitely set forth in Article X, which is here quoted as a very important part of the constitution:

1. *Just cause for complaint.*—When any member shall judge that he has just cause for complaint he shall make use of the method herein provided for redress of the same. Just cause for complaint shall specifically include: Feeling on the part of the member that he is not being paid according to established levels or according to his skill; that he has worked overtime without receiving overtime pay; that he has been unfairly discriminated against or unjustly discharged; that conditions under which he works are unsanitary or unsafe.

2. *Review of complaint.*—The member shall make his complaint known to the conference committee. If the committee shall decide that the complaint is not a proper one, it shall so advise the complaining member. If the cause for complaint is deemed just, the matter shall be referred to the management for adjustment.

3. *Adjustment.*—Conference committee and management shall exhaust every honorable means to adjust the complaint. If unable to do so, the executive manager shall be appealed to for a decision. Appeal may be taken from the decision either by management or conference committee to the chapter board.

It is provided also that "no conference committeeman shall be subject to discrimination by the management by reason of any activity on behalf of the guild."

All members living and working in a city and its environs constitute a chapter. The chapter meets periodically on its own resolution, and at least once annually to elect representatives to the chapter boards. Its function is to initiate and pass on matters of local concern. Important action is not final unless it is agreed to by a majority of the employer members present and voting and a majority of the employee members present and voting, but a majority of either group may make formal recommendation to the chapter board. In the chapter meeting, on demand of any three of either group, the

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vote may be taken by groups, and on demand of either group separate caucus may be arranged.

The governing body of the chapter is the chapter board, consisting of six employers and six employees elected by secret ballot by the two groups at the annual meeting of the chapter. Nominations are made previously by the company members for employer representatives on the chapter board and the chapter board of appeal and by each chapel for two of its members as employee representatives on the two boards. Members of the boards hold office for one year. Chapter officers elected by the chapter board are a chairman, who presides at all meetings of the chapter and of the chapter board, and "shall be neither employer nor employee in the printing and allied industries," and an executive manager, who is the chief executive officer of the guild, is responsible to the chapter board, devotes his entire time to the work of his office, and "shall not in any way be interested in the industry either as employer or employee."

The duties of the chapter board are to pass finally on all matters arising within and pertaining to the chapter, to review and decide appeals from conference committees, to draw up by-laws, to decide all questions of wages, hours, and working conditions, to fix wage and hour levels, to give attention to matters of safety, health, and education, and to promote the interests of the guild and the objects for which it is established. The chapter board is to hold regular meetings on its own resolution, while special meetings may be called on request of 50 per cent of both groups or 100 per cent of either group. Each member has one vote, and there is no voting by proxy. A quorum consists of four employers and four employees. It is provided that any committees, whether of the chapter or the chapter board, named by the chairman of the board, shall always include an equal number of employers and employees. In considering any matter the chapter board is to "exhaust every means to arrive at a just decision." In case of a tie vote the board "shall go into committee of the whole and endeavor to frame a form of motion which can secure majority assent. In case this and all other means of breaking the tie shall fail the matter shall be referred to the chapter board of appeal."

The members of the chapter board of appeal are elected in the same manner and at the same time as are the members of the chapter board, five being elected by each of the two groups. The ten so elected then agree upon five other members, to be neither employers nor employees in the industry, but to represent the general public. When any matter is referred to the board, three of each of the three groups are selected by lot to constitute the board of appeals for that case. The board then proceeds to a review of the case, hearing the evidence already presented to the chapter board, and if it deems desirable, seeking new evidence. Written briefs may be demanded and witnesses summoned. A decision in writing, signed by a majority of the board, is final and binding on all members. Any expenses of the board are borne by the chapter. All important actions of the chapter board or the chapter board of appeal are to be promulgated by bulletins to all chapels and to all company members.

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District and national organizations corresponding to the local may be set up when two or more chapters are organized and functioning.

In regard to wages, hours, and conditions the constitution provides that the chapter board shall fix a normal wage and a standard work week. A normal wage is defined as "one which can be earned by the average skill in the number of hours set as the work week." The article continues thus:

Classification and rating.—More than the normal wage may be paid to more skilled and efficient employees and less may be paid to those not capable of earning the normal wage. The question of skill and efficiency may become one of adjustment between management and conference committee, with appeal to the chapter board or to a committee appointed by it on classification. The chapter board shall set forth a classification and rating system for the rating of employees; such system shall have the force of constitutional law of the guild; and no journeyman employee shall be paid less than the rate fixed for the lowest rating.

Wage levels shall be fixed with reference to the economic state of the industry, the object being to provide at all times the maximum wage which the industry is capable of paying.

This article provides for overtime for all work over the standard number of hours and for double time on the regularly established holidays, for a differential for night work, and that safety and health shall be a matter of concern to the chapter board, which may set standards and publish a safety and health code.

The powers of initiative on any matters pertaining to the guild are vested in every member, to be exercised through his representative on boards and committees. Referendum to the membership at large may be ordered by a two-thirds majority of the chapter board.

Any member, either company or individual, who shall violate the constitution or any regulation of the guild is subject to penalty. Charges are reviewed by the chapter board, which may assess fines or order suspension or expulsion. Appeal may be taken to the chapter board of appeals. Should a company member acknowledge violation and so far as possible make restitution, the charges are quashed, and no charge is laid before the board until the member has been given opportunity to conform to the practice of the guild and make restitution. If a company member should refuse to pay a fine properly assessed, the chapter board may proceed to legal collection, adding the costs of collection to the fine, "and this provision is specifically agreed to by every signatory of an application for company membership."

The dues paid by individual members are in all cases matched by the company members. The initiation fee is $1 for each individual member, and for company members a sum equal to $1 for each individual member in the employ of the concern. The regular dues amount to 2 per cent of the weekly wage rate for each member, the total not to exceed 50 cents per week. Each company member matches the dues of all members in its employ. The chapel secretary may arrange with the management, on a signed order from each member of the chapel, for the dues to be subtracted from the pay envelope and turned over to the guild. Forms are provided for

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the secretary's use in keeping the records, and each member has a membership card on which a record of payment of his dues is made. An individual member delinquent in payment of dues for four weeks is automatically suspended, and all the privileges of membership are in abeyance. After three months such member is dropped from membership. If a company member is delinquent, the chapter board, after 60 days, may proceed to collection legally, the costs to be added to the dues.

Careful provision is made in the constitution and by-laws for the safeguarding of the funds of the guild. Forms are provided on which all financial and other records are to be kept; vouchers must be passed by the chapter board before checks are drawn; an annual audit by certified public accountants is required; a surety bond is to be furnished by officers responsible for funds; and the general fund is to be used for administration, organization, and promotion, while the insurance fund is to be used only for the payment of insurance premiums to an insurance company underwriting the risk, and for special benefits to members.

The insurance features of the guild are provided for in detail in the constitution and in the insurance code which is attached. The purpose of these provisions is to insure the individual members, "in so far as practicable, expedient, and legally possible, against every contingency that may put a stop temporarily or permanently to the earning power." For that purpose an insurance fund is established by apportioning to it a definite proportion of the regular dues, to be entirely separate from the general fund and never used for any purpose other than for the insurance of the members.

Benefits of three sorts for each active member were provided in the insurance code as originally adopted. First is the death benefit, varying according to the wage rate, from $500 for those whose weekly rate is up to $17 only, to $750 for all with a rate of $23.51 and over. In case of total and permanent disability this benefit is paid in 60 equal monthly installments at the rate of $1.80 for each $100 of insurance in the capital sum; such payments begin six months after disablement, and are regarded as liquidation of this first benefit. This is not effective, however, if a member is disabled when more than 60 years of age, as the State law does not permit it. The second benefit is accident and health indemnity. In case of nonoccupational accident or illness the member receives a weekly indemnity amounting to two-thirds of his weekly wage, the indemnity to begin after three weeks, to continue for 26 weeks, and not to exceed $16.67 per week. In case of total and permanent disability, and upon the exhaustion of the second benefit, the member is to receive a weekly indemnity of one-half of his weekly wage, the sum not to exceed $12.50 per week and the indemnity to continue so long as the disability lasts. A further provision is that when the membership reaches 1,000 there may be established a benefit to be known as the pension endowment. It is provided also that when any member is on disability benefit his dues shall be waived.

Alterations to the constitution can be proposed to the chapter by a two-thirds majority vote of the chapter board or by petition of 20 members of the chapter. They must be distributed to the mem-

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bership in printed form and be voted upon at a meeting of the entire chapter. The assent of two-thirds of the employers and two-thirds of the employees present at the meeting is required to adopt any amendment.

The Guild at Work [6]

The preliminary work of organization of the American Guild was handled through the office of the Typothetæ of Baltimore, but as soon as a constitution was adopted and a membership assured, the guild set itself up in separate offices on "neutral territory," where it would no longer be the employers' organization. Thirteen plants and one supply house were organized, and by May, 1922, the individual membership amounted to 393. The chapter board early in December, 1921, began to hold weekly meetings. Mr. Gill, the organizer of the guild, was elected executive manager, and when the payment of dues began on January 1, 1922, the organization was finally under way. A monthly paper, Team Work, was established to keep the membership informed of the purposes, plans, and activities of the guild and to provide a means of expression. A guild emblem was adopted from a number submitted competitively by the members. The employer members in the meantime agreed to contribute to a fund to float the guild for one year, until it should get on its feet financially.

A question rises as to the employee representatives. Several foremen and superintendents were elected as representatives of the employees on the two chapter boards in spite of suggestions that this might not be advisable. The constitution did not limit the term "employee" to working or mechanical employees except for members of conference committees. The question was not seriously raised by any of the employees, however, until some years later. Finally a "gentleman's agreement" was made to the effect that only working employees should be elected to the boards. There is no hard and fast rule, however, and foremen are in some cases still nominated by the employees of their shops and elected to the boards.

While it was the plan that most of the legislation for the guild was to come through the chapter board, the chapter meetings in which employers and employees were to come together for discussion of the problems of the guild and for social contact were considered very important. At the first meeting of the chapter, on February 1, 1922, it was voted to meet regularly on the first Wednesday evening of each month. Mr. James J. Fulton, superintendent of one of the plants, who had been elected as an employee representative on the chapter board, was temporarily elected as chairman. He has been reelected to this position each year, in spite of the constitutional provision for a chairman from outside the industry, and appears to have served to the satisfaction of both groups. In 1928, however, the chapter board elected two chairmen, one from the employers and one from the employees. There is no restriction on the matters which may be discussed at the chapter meeting, but in practice discussion has been devoted more to the general condition of

[6] American Guild of the Printing Industry, Minutes of chapter and chapter board; Team Work, 1922 to 1927; and interviews with guild employers and employees, nonguild employers, and union officers.

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the organization and to plans for such activities as a baseball league, theater parties, and the summer outing or other important function than to specific problems of the industry.

In a few cases, which will be discussed later, matters of wages and conditions have been argued and voted upon by the chapter. The general meeting served the function of keeping the membership informed of what was being done and giving a chance for discussion if it was wanted. A large part of the function of the chapter meeting, however, was social. For a time the different chapels alternated in entertaining the chapter. Late in 1924, because it was felt that the cost of entertainment had become too large, it was voted to eliminate the entertainment feature except for occasional meetings. Immediately it became impossible to secure a quorum, and the constitution was changed to make 10 members in good standing a quorum in place of one-tenth of the employer members and one-tenth of the employee members as formerly. A year later the monthly meetings and entertainments were resumed and Team Work, which had been dropped for some months, was reestablished, in an effort to restore interest in the guild. Again it was found that many who came had interest only in the social aspects of the meetings and that the cost was too much for the value received. Finally early in 1927 the chapter voted for three or four large social meetings during the year, business sessions to be held only as called. No business sessions have been held since.

The chapter board is the governing body of the guild and it is in its sessions that the larger part of the serious work of the organization has been done. The board ruled early that its resolutions had the force of law. The standing resolutions of the chapter board are now printed in a section in the booklet containing the constitution and by-laws, ready for quick reference by either group.

Insurance

The provisions for insurance are among the most important features of the guild. To many employee members insurance is without question the most important. The provisions for the death benefit, health and accident insurance, and total and permanent disability indemnity, as stated in the constitution and insurance code, have already been given. The insurance was written by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co., somewhat as an experiment, for there was no experience with such a group policy covering total and permanent disability with no age limit, and in effect therefore a pension. The contract was written for only one year, with renewal and cancellation privileges. There was some dissatisfaction with the three weeks' waiting period for the health and accident indemnity. But when a resolution was submitted by one chapel to reduce the waiting period from three to two weeks, with a corresponding reduction of the indemnity from two-thirds to one-half of the wage, it was discussed by the chapter and voted down. In 1926 the insurance company announced that after four years' trial it had found the total and permanent disability clause too costly and could not go on with it unless with an increase in rate. The company offered, however, in exchange for the waiving of this clause by the guild, to reduce the wait-

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ing period for the health and accident indemnity to one week, with no change in the benefit. The chapter board felt that dissatisfaction with the long waiting period was something of a deterrent to obtaining new members, and agreed to accept the change, waiving entirely the permanent and total disability benefit, effective April 1, 1926. The membership in this case was not given opportunity to discuss and vote upon the decision, and some dissatisfaction resulted. In the fall a representative of the insurance carrier spoke to the chapter explaining why the change had been necessary, but feeling has persisted among some of the older members that they were badly treated and should have had a voice in this decision.

During the five years and a half of the guild's life, up to June 25, 1927, insurance benefits had been paid amounting to over $33,500, a substantial amount for an organization of 400 members.

Wages

Wages, in all the various aspects of that question, have been the subject of more discussion in the guild than any other matter, and at various times have aroused active controversies among the membership. One of the guild employers had long been interested in determining wage rates according to efficiency and production records. It was his hope that the guild might work out classifications and ratings of employees and determine wages more scientifically than under the old minimum-wage system, which he believed tended to a leveling of wages and destroyed the incentive for efficiency. Accordingly, the principle of a "normal wage" with payment above and below according to skill and efficiency was written into the constitution. Early in 1922 the chapter board voted that the old union scales which were still in effect in the industry should be considered the normal scales. In October, 1922, the board, after considerable discussion, adopted a normal weekly wage scale of $40 for compositors, cylinder pressmen, and bookbinders, $29 for cylinder-press feeders, and $17.50 for bindery girls. The typographical union scale was then $40 for 44 hours, or $45.50 for 48 hours. The scales for the other unions, all on a 48-hour basis, were: Pressmen, $37.84; press feeders, $29.11; bookbinders, $38; and bindery women, $20. The board ruled, however, that no reduction should be made in the wages paid to any member at the time this scale was adopted. In a bulletin to the membership the board pointed out that these were not minimum scales but were intended to provide for payment according to skill and capacity and that each should be permitted to develop his own skill and earning capacity to the highest degree. This system of basing wages on production should give both high wages and low wage costs. As to a classification and rating system, more study was needed, and for the present, ratings above and below the normal were left to individual agreement, although every member had a right to appeal to the board if he thought himself underpaid. The board declared also that in case an employee should have opportunity to increase his earning capacity by changing shops no company member should in any way prevent but should "exemplify the spirit of the organization by assisting their employees in locating better positions than the present employer has open, provided the individual member shall have demonstrated his greater skill and usefulness."

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A year later the manager brought up the need of a classification and rating system to insure the satisfactory operation of the normal scale. The chapter board appointed a committee to consider the matter, with the understanding that any system, before adoption, should be circulated to the entire membership. The committee consisted of an employer, a foreman, and the manager and assistant manager of the guild. The preliminary report on November 8, 1923, recommended that the work of an employee be evaluated according to six factors—general ability, teamwork, versatility, attendance and punctuality, spoilage, and length of service. As the first two could not be accurately measured, the committee recommended the use of a rating card for each of these qualities. Each worker was to be rated by three of his fellow workers, by his immediate superior, and by the management, the final rating to be a composite. Ratings would be made at 6-month periods and determine the wage for the ensuing six months. Versatility, or "the quality wherein an employee is both able and willing to do several jobs, and is called upon to do them, with a good degree of skill," was to be declared by the foreman. The other factors were determined mathematically and given certain plus and minus ratings. All the ratings were in the form of percentages, which were applied to the normal scale to determine the wage.

After discussion the board referred this report to an entirely new committee consisting of two employers, a foreman, and a journeyman. This committee approved the general plan of the earlier committee. It omitted length of service from the factors to be considered, however, provided that each individual should be rated by all the fellow workers of his department as well as by the foreman and management, and provided that the employer might, if he wished, disregard minus ratings when there were extenuating circumstances. A rating of 70 points was to be the normal for which the normal scale should be paid, one-half of 1 per cent to be added or deducted for each point above or below 70. The chapter board adopted the report and ordered it printed and distributed to the membership for consideration, and recommended that if adopted by the chapter it should go into effect for a 4-month trial period on May 1, 1924. The board urged that the plan should not be considered a system of rewards or penalties, but rather as payment for value received, an attempt at a system "that supplies an accurate and satisfactory measure to determine the amount of wages each guild member shall be paid * * * for value in service received." The board urged also that since length of service was not included in the factors determining the wage rate, it should be recognized by vacation privileges with pay.[7]

The chapter, at a meeting at which over 100 members were present and in the current issues of Team Work, entered upon a lively discussion and criticism of the plan proposed, criticism to some extent stimulated by opposition of the typographical union. Criticism was directed chiefly to the rating of workers by fellow employees, in the belief that men could not rate each other correctly and fairly, and that the plan would create endless dissension in the plants. The

[7] Printing, Mar. 29 1924, p. 49; Apr. 19, 1924, p. 64.

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plan would also take away from the skilled man the right to bargain with his employer for his own wage. It was argued also that the normal scale upon which the classification system was to rest was too low. The upshot of it all was a decision to put the plan into effect for a 4-month trial, during which ratings should be made and records kept, but there should be no effect upon wages. A motion of an employee that no classification and rating system should at any time be put into effect without a referendum being first held was objected to as unconstitutional, the objection was overruled by the manager who was in the chair, and the motion carried. In only one of the guild plants was the 4-month trial carried on. In this plant, which was already using production records in determining wage rates, the ratings were made, and were found to follow in general the results shown by the records, but on the whole the rating system was considered less sound than the records. As no other plant had been interested enough to try the system, it was given up and the September meeting of the chapter returned the whole matter to the board.

The next step toward an attempted solution of the wage question was the consideration of an employee motion that the normal scale be revised upward because of the increasing cost of living and because of higher wages being paid union members in guild shops. A new committee of six was appointed to consider further the classification and rating system. This committee consisted of 3 employers, 1 journeyman, 1 foreman, and 1 cost man. On February 19, 1925, when the motion for a 5 per cent increase in the normal wage scale came to a vote on the chapter board, the motion was lost, 7 to 5, one employee representative voting with the employers.

As a substitute for the flat increase, and to assure to the more skilled employees the opportunity to secure increases in accordance with their skill, the board then discussed a new plan presented by the classification committee. This plan provided that for each department classifications should be worked out, with minimum rates of pay in each class, and that a group known as "guild craftsmen" should be established, for whom the lowest rate should be approximately 5 per cent above the present normal wage. The plan was indorsed and a classification board was appointed by the chairman, with two representatives each from the employers and the employees for each department. After the department committees worked out their classifications, a coordinated report was submitted to the entire classification board. A minority of the classification board, including both employers and employees, then reported to the chapter board its conclusion that "the absence of readily recognized or recognizable standards of performance in composition, presswork, and other major operations makes a standard wage schedule, applicable to all plants, an impossibility from the point of view of actual practice." It recommended instead that there be established a board of wage awards, to be constituted whenever occasion arose, by selecting by lot three employers and three employees of the craft group in question from a panel of six employees of each craft. To this board any employee might appeal upon failure to secure a satisfactory wage adjustment in his plant. It recommended also that each employer should arrange a classification of the employees in his own plant.

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The chapter board on November 12, 1925, finally adopted this report as the rules of procedure for handling the craftsman classification, and adopted the scales submitted by the various department committees as a guide to the board of wage awards. These recommendations were then printed and put in the hands of the membership for action. Since January, 1925, while these wage questions were being discussed, there had been no meetings of the chapter except for the summer outing, and no issues of Team Work. When the plan finally adopted by the chapter board was put in the hands of the members and a meeting called to act upon it, little interest was evidenced. A small meeting voted to adopt the report and authorized the manager to select six employees of each craft for the panels for the board of wage awards. A motion that either employer or employee might peremptorily challenge a member of the board selected to act in any case was defeated 8 to 16.

A booklet was issued to the members telling them how to use the board of wage awards by submitting samples of work, attested to by the foreman, to the executive manager of the guild, who would call together the board of wage awards. The board would not know the individual whose case it was considering, and in no case would the employer of an applicant sit on the board considering his case. The award of the board would be binding. The tentative graded wage scale which was included was to be used only as a rough guide to the board of wage awards. This graded scale provided for most of the crafts three or more classes, each 5 per cent, 10 per cent, or 15 per cent above the normal scale, with varying degrees of definition of the classes. For some of the crafts the classifications were very rough. For instance, for job composition the provisions were as follows:

Class A, 5 per cent above the normal scale, or $42; class B, 10 per cent above the normal scale, or $44; class C, 15 per cent above the normal scale, or $46.

The difference in grades A, B, and C are gauged in the compositor's ability to properly interpret the spirit of the copy, to visualize, to lay out his work, and the proper combining of type faces, ornaments, rules, and borders.

For linotype work the classification was more specific, based upon number of ems per hour produced of straight, tabular, or intricate work. The cylinder-press classifications were based upon the kind of forms, sheet size, make-ready allowance, and impressions per hour. Class A, to illustrate, was as follows:

Forms made up of type matter only—

Sheet size 26 by 40 or smaller: Make-ready allowance, 2 hours; impressions per hour, 5,000 sheets or less, 1,350; over 5,000 sheets, 1,450. Rate for pressman, $40 per week.

Sheet size larger than 26 by 40: Make-ready allowance, 4 hours; impressions per hour, 5,000 sheets or less, 1,200; over 5,000 sheets, 1,300. Rate for pressman, $41 per week.

For bindery work the elements which should be considered were stated, but because of the peculiarities of the work at each plant it was thought best that each should work out its own classification. This tentative scale was an attempt to set up standards of production in an industry in which most of the work is made to order and unstandardized, with great variations between jobs and between work of different plants. The resulting classifications were so general

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that for most of the craft classes they were of little use. It has been impossible to find evidence of the use of these classifications in determining wages in any of the plants.[8] The experience of the printing industry thus far has shown a successful use of standards of production only in those plants which have made a thorough study of their particular problems and have developed their own standards based upon their own production records.

Only one appeal had been made to the board of wage awards by the spring of 1928. In this case a man hired as a job-press feeder had taken on additional duties until he thought he was entitled to a higher rating. Being unable to convince his employer, he appealed to the board, presenting samples of his work and affidavits from his foreman and employer. The board of wage awards ruled that he was entitled to a rating as an ordinary mechanical-feed job pressman, with the normal scale for that rating. This gave him an increase, and was satisfactory both to him and to his employer. In four other cases employees expressed their intention of appealing, but none had carried out the plan. Why no further use of the board has been made is not entirely clear. The plan was, of course, that wage increases should be negotiated through the individual plants when possible, with reference to the board only in case of disagreement. It is the general testimony that many individuals have secured increases during the past two years; that in most plants people of ordinary skill are getting over the normal scale; and that the most skilled receive the union scale or more. The classification system may have had a considerable indirect influence in securing to individuals the increases of this period without requiring resort to the appeal board. Apparently the workers lacked confidence in their ability to get from a board what they were not able to get from their own employer, or hesitate to appeal to outsiders. Since the board has been so little used a considerable amount of initiative would be needed on the part of the worker to collect samples of his work and present his case, although the manager has announced his readiness to assist any employee who wishes to do so.

Employment and Discharge

Two basic guild policies which are written into the constitution and have been strengthened by resolutions of the chapter board are preference in employment to guild members and a week's notice of discharge. While the guild is opposed to discrimination against trade-unionists it stands for preference to guild members. This preference is not enforced absolutely, however, and whenever the better man is a nonguild man, he may be given the preference. The policy of preference to guild members, however, is responsible for the feeling among some of the members that membership is necessary in order to hold their jobs.

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[8] American Guild of the Printing Industry. Guild Craftsmen Classification System, 1925.

Leonard F. McGreevy, executive manager of the American Guild, wrote on Apr. 19, 1928, as follows: "Although every employer member was presented with two copies when it was issued, as well as every employee with one, on several occasions I as manager have given out information to employers on these classifications and have sent out several additional copies, as the ones asking for it wished to use it and had no copy. It is therefore evident that it has had some influence."

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The purpose of the provision for a week's notice of discharge or resignation was to increase the stability of employment. It took some time before this principle was thoroughly established in the industry, but through appeal to conference committees or to the chapter board and the efforts of the manager the habit of giving the week's notice or a week's pay became general. The chapter board ruled that for lay off as well as discharge the regular notice was required. It was decided that in case of exceptional and extraordinary circumstances, as of a deed obviously criminal, or for deliberate and malicious violation of rules, a worker might be immediately suspended without pay and his case referred to the conference committee, which had the final word as to whether he was entitled to the constitutional notice or week's pay. There was more difficulty in securing from the workers general acceptance of their obligation under this plan to give a week's notice of resignation, or to work out their week's notice after being discharged, although some of the plants make it a policy upon discharge to allow a man time to look for another position.

Question has been raised whether the guild policy allows to the individual desirable freedom of movement. Among employing printers there is a traditional policy against "stealing help," which at times has been carried so far as to prevent movement of employees from plant to plant. The guild early established an employment service and endeavored to place all members who were laid off. Then came the question whether a member who was employed but dissatisfied with his job might have the aid of the guild office in securing a new opening. Some employers immediately protested against this as contrary to typothetæ policy. The chapter board, however, saying that this was not a question for the typothetæ but for the guild, ruled that while it was opposed to "raiding," it wanted no dead-end jobs, and believed that there should be no limitation on freedom of movement. Any employee, therefore, could have the service of the office in finding a new position, provided only he should agree to give the constitutional notice of resignation. As the board in first promulgating the normal scale had declared for the right of every employee to better his position by moving as he had opportunity, the policy of the guild is clear.

The office endeavors to place members in nonguild plants when there are no openings in guild plants. In such cases, under a ruling adopted in 1922, members can continue their membership by paying the regular dues, while the amount which ordinarily is paid by the employer is carried by the guild. Unemployed members who report weekly to the employment bureau are protected by the guild for three months without the payment of dues.

Other Chapter Board Decisions

The payment for overtime was provided in the constitution in general terms, but in 1924 one of the plants asked for a more specific rule. The chapter board voted then that overtime until midnight should be paid at the rate of time and a half, and after midnight at double time. When a man was discharged for refusal to work overtime after having recently put in considerable overtime and appealed to the chapter board for a ruling as to his rights under the circum-

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stances, the board felt that it could not make a definite rule either as to the right to refuse overtime or to discharge for such refusal. In general terms, however, it declared its opposition to overtime as unprofitable to both groups, and urged that each should give consideration to the needs of the other.

"Working conditions and the environment of the job" are a matter of concern to the chapter board according to the constitution. Therefore, when the pressroom employees of one plant complained of insanitary conditions the board appointed a standing committee on health and safety, to which all complaints and recommendations on questions of health and safety could be referred for review before placing them before the board for action. The committee investigated this first complaint, found it in part well founded, and secured the cooperation of the employer in establishing a suitable exhaust fan to remove the fumes of a gas heater. No other complaints have been made to this committee.

The question of apprenticeship was not brought before the chapter board for action until 1926. After the strike the employers had filled their plants with whatever help was available and endeavored to train workers to take the places of those strikers who had not returned to the plants. Some criticism was made by members that there were too many apprentices in the shops and that the industry would be flooded with poorly trained workers. In 1923, in order to put apprentice training on a better basis, the typothetæ cooperated with the board of education in establishing and maintaining a school of printing, which accepts boys 14 years old who had completed the eighth grade. The school, in November, 1927, had 66 boys on a full-time basis, 20 working half time in the school and half time in the plants on a week-about basis, and 140 in night classes—boys who were employed in printing plants during the day. The school offers a 3-year course and gives training in all the principal branches of the printing trades. The school tries to place all its boys in plants, but does not as yet maintain supervision over them after they leave the school. In 1926 employee members of the guild chapter board urged that the guild should establish some supervision over apprentices, with a graduated scale of wages and a definite period of training. In January, 1927, an apprentice committee was appointed, and in May its recommendation was adopted for an apprentice scale beginning at $6 at the age of 16, increasing each six months to the full journeyman's scale after five years of service and reaching the age of 21. Both age and experience were to enter into the determination of the scale. This scale was for composing-room apprentices only. It was thought impossible because of the nature of the work to attempt to set a scale for the other departments. Later, however, another committee was appointed to work out a scale for pressroom and bindery employees.

Recognition of length of service by granting vacations with pay was urged by the chapter board at the time of its discussion of the classification and rating system. Policies of vacations with pay, adjusted to length of service, are in force in 3 of the 13 plants included in the guild. One other plant gives all employees a 2-weeks' vacation with pay while it closes down the plant entirely.

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Chapels and Conference Committees

The activity of the shop organizations, the chapel, and the conference committee gives an indication of the degree of life of the guild organization. The guild officers, through meetings and the columns of Team Work, have constantly urged the members to use the machinery for redress and prove the falsehood of reports that question the value of the committees, as the constitution guarantees the right of free speech and freedom from discrimination for any guild activity. In only seven of the guild plants, however, has any use been made of the conference committees, and in most of these the cases have been few. The smallness of the plants furnishes a large part of the explanation of failure to use the machinery for adjustment. In small shops where a friendly relationship exists between the employer and the men, matters are adjusted as they come up without recourse to any machinery. In some of the plants in question the chapel is organized and there is active interest in the guild, although no use has been made of the committee. In other cases a feeling of suspicion and a belief that it would not be safe or advantageous to appeal to the conference committee prevent the trying out of its possibilities. In some of the larger plants, where the chapel is not organized with a regularly elected committee, it is very probable that the absence of any appeals is not so much evidence of freedom from all sources of dissatisfaction as it is of lack of belief of the employees in the efficacy of any such appeal. In at least one plant there has been no election of a conference committee, and the chapel secretary is a department head appointed by the employer.

In several plants, however, the conference committees have been used enough to indicate their value. The most frequent cause of appeal to the committees has been discharge, and in many of these cases the management has been upheld. In one case a guild man was laid off, while a nonguild man was kept. As the guild man was less efficient than the other, the management was sustained. Other cases where the committees upheld the management were one of an immediate lay off without notice for drunkenness, a discharge for refusal to work overtime, a discharge for laying off a week without notice to the firm, and a discharge for slander of other employees. In one case a man was discharged for taking too much time off. The committee held that his absence on personal business had been necessary and justifiable and he was reinstated. One committee secured a wage increase for an employee. Another asked a shift in the working hours, to begin work earlier and stop earlier, and the change was made. Another committee appealed to the committee on safety and health because of insanitary conditions and secured relief. It will be remembered that part of the purpose of the shop organizations was to give opportunity for the management to consult with the workers on questions of shop policy. In only one case, so far as has been found, has this been done. In this case the plant found that because of slack work it needed to resort to either lay offs or short time. The conference committee was called upon to decide which was preferable from their standpoint. The committee recommended that the staff be cut to a minimum, taking into consideration efficiency, morale, and length of service, and that thereafter any slackness be distributed by

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sharing equally through short time. It is believed by the management that serious dissatisfaction was prevented on this occasion by consulting the employees through their elected representatives.

It is not possible to give a complete report of the activities of the various chapels and conference committees, for no records are kept and their work is quite informal. But the cases which have been discussed as they were recounted by members of the committees which handled them show how the committees have functioned.

The constitution provides that each chapel shall elect at least once in six months a conference committee of no less than three, one to be the chairman and one the secretary, all to be employees and not plant executives or office staff. Although these provisions are of considerable importance for preserving the reality of the shop organization there is no provision for central supervision, and practices in different plants have varied. In one plant, already referred to, there was even at first no election of shop officers, but a secretary was appointed by the employer. In most of the others elections have been held, but with greater or less regularity. In many cases foremen have been elected to the committees, in spite of the provision against election of executives and sometimes against the advice of the foreman himself. That this has often worked out entirely satisfactorily does not remove the fact that it is contrary to the constitution and a practice which has possibilities of danger.[9]

Because of the clerical work required of the chapel secretaries there is some difficulty in securing candidates for this position in the plants. This accounts in part for the election of foremen to the position. To overcome the reluctance to take the position the chapter board provided for compensation of secretaries by remission of their dues and for compensation of 50 cents for each new member which they secure in their chapels. The financial incentive has appeared necessary to insure that the necessary activity is carried on.

What Has the Guild Accomplished?

We may best get an appraisal of the accomplishments of the guild by taking first the testimony of the two groups, with all the wide differences of opinion found among their representatives. The opinions of the employers range from the belief that the guild has done everything it set out to do, to the statement, "It hasn't accomplished a thing." There is, however, a consensus of opinion in certain results, which are indicated in what follows:

1. The guild has been a stabilizing influence. The seven years of its existence have been a time of peace, with absence of strikes and their attendant loss to both groups. All difficulties have been settled by negotiation. Some of the employers, however, recognize that this condition can not be attributed entirely to the guild, for business has not been sufficiently active in the Baltimore printing industry to be favorable to demands from labor under whatever circumstances.

[9] On this point the executive manager wrote: "In the case of shops where there was no election, this came about in spite of the manager, by the feeling on the part of the men that they did not wish a conference committee nor to elect their secretary. With reference to the election of the foremen to the committees, this has been as far as possible prevented by the manager's urging the men to refrain from electing executives to committees, and this is almost entirely eliminated now."

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2. The guild has been a check to trade-unionism. Because of the benefits of guild membership the unions have not been able to appeal so strongly to the employees as they did formerly. It has been possible, therefore, to maintain the open shop, 48 hours, and freedom from union restrictions.

3. The insurance features of the guild perform a considerable service to the employees and are important in preserving interest in the guild and good will among its members.

4. A better relationship has been developed in the industry, with understanding and cooperation in the plants and good feeling and mutual confidence on the joint boards and committees. The machinery for handling differences through conference committees and appeal to the chapter board and chapter board of appeals, even though little used, contributes to the morale of the organization. While there is still suspicion of the employers' motives on the part of some of the employees, this will be overcome in time as the fairness and justice of the organization are proved by experience. This opinion is expressed by many of the employers.

5. In regard to the general chapter meetings, opinions differ widely. Some employers consider that the social affairs in which employers and employees join are of real value in promoting a friendly spirit and mutual confidence. To others the "happy family" idea seems entirely artificial and impossible in practice, although the social features of the guild have value in holding the interest of the employee members. As to the general business meetings which were more used in the earlier history of the guild, some employers see in them only fruitless discussion and waste of time, while to others the airing of opinion and the frank discussion from the floor appear an important safety valve, although most of the real work of the organization is done by the chapter board.

6. A weakness of the guild, which is pointed out both by employers who think little has been accomplished and by those who are more optimistic, is that it covers so little territory. Including as it does only 13 plants, the advantages it offers to employees in preference in employment are very limited. Lack of interest among employers is the great failing of the organization. Unfortunately also, no funds are available for an active organizing campaign, and employers and employee members who might personally conduct such a campaign in other plants do not find time for this work.

7. The indifference of most of the employees and their failure to use the machinery of the guild as they might are referred to as a matter of both surprise and regret by some of the employers. These men believe that the guild organization would make possible the use of a very considerable degree of power by the employee group if they had initiative to use it.

Among employee members of the guild, as among the employers, are found wide differences of attitude, differences explainable in part by temperament, in part by previous experience, and in part by conditions in the particular plants. The opinions summarized here are typical of those which appeared most frequently in conversation with employee members of the guild.

1. There is a friendly relationship and a spirit of harmony and cooperation between the employers and the employees, according to

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guild members in some of the plants. At least a few of the employee leaders have an interest in the theory of employee organization and the question whether it is more to the interest of the workers to organize separately through the trade-union or to organize with the employers as in the guild. Some of these leaders believe that in the guild organization both groups can work for the good of the industry, with benefit to both, and avoid the wastes of the antagonisms of two separate organizations. Such men report that differences are settled more easily under the guild plan than by the unions and that to some degree the theory of cooperation is working.

2. The protection of the employees through the shop committees and the right of appeal are very important in the minds of some. The right of free speech and freedom from arbitrary discharge are guaranteed by the constitution. Equal rights of both groups to have a voice in the industry are recognized. The organization is fair, there is no danger of discrimination for guild activity, and no man need be afraid to speak. This is the opinion of the employees who have been most active in the guild.

3. The insurance provisions are spoken of with enthusiasm by most of the employee members. In fact, some leaders who consider other features of the organization more important, admit that the insurance is responsible for the interest of a very large part of the membership.

4. Many, comparing the present situation with that before 1921, speak favorably of the guild. The fiasco of 1921 has left many former union members skeptical of the value of the unions. They say they are glad to be free from heavy union dues, and are willing to try another sort of organization. The pressroom and bindery unions have very little influence in the city at present. On the other hand, some of the pressroom and bindery workers after their experience are skeptical of any organization whatever, and refuse to ally themselves with the guild. The typographical union, however, is an active force. It has members in many of the guild composing rooms, even some members in the guild itself. It is frequently said by guild adherents, "If it were not for the guild we would be in the union." It is significant also that occasionally even such adherents of the guild say, "The guild can't compete with the typographical union."

5. The social features appeal to many employees and have an important part in keeping up their interest in the guild. To some of the members also, the general business meetings appear to have contributed much to the value of the organization by keeping the membership informed of what was going on. Such members consider that the less frequent meetings and the irregular issuance of the paper, Team Work, have considerable responsibility for lack of interest at present.

6. The preference in employment is of some value to the employees, although it is pointed out that if the guild were extended to other plants and to other cities this would mean much more. The provision for a week's notice of lay off or discharge is a protection recognized and appreciated by many.

7. The wage plan of the guild, based on a "normal scale," not a minimum, seems on the whole to be popular with the employees. Theoretically, each worker gets above or below the normal or average scale, according to his ability, and he bargains individually

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with his employer for his wage rate, always with the right of appeal. In practice, testimony is that a large proportion of the workers get above the normal scale, although some get below. The level of earnings in the industry has risen during the last three years. Men who now earn more than they did in 1920, although the normal scale is practically at the level of the minimum scale of that year, tend to attribute that satisfactory result to the system of wages according to efficiency sponsored by the guild. The generalization tends to be true that those who are unfavorable to the guild wage plan are those who are less competent and therefore unable to profit from it.

8. Not all employee comment, however, is favorable to the guild. Some employees, in contrast with the attitude of those who are satisfied because their wages individually have been raised, point out that "the guild hasn't improved our financial condition any." They are dissatisfied because the increase in the normal scale discussed in 1925 failed of adoption and have felt little interest since. They feel that except for the insurance the guild has failed to bring them any definite benefits.

9. There is a widespread feeling that workers need to join the guild in order to hold their jobs. Guild dues are even characterized as "tribute" for that purpose. The system of preference to guild members in employment, retention, and promotion does, of course, make it of some advantage to be a member. The fact, however, that very considerable numbers of men and women are at work in guild plants without joining the organization indicates that the competent employee, in most plants at least, can hold his job without the aid of the guild.

10. Finally, there is in some plants, in certain departments of others, and scattered through the entire organization, a feeling of skepticism and suspicion of the whole guild program. There is a feeling that the guild is a "bosses' affair," that men can not speak freely and independently in such an organization in spite of the guaranties of the constitution, and that employer and employee are too far apart in interest to work together in an organization of this sort. Those who express this feeling do not cite instances of the failure of the guild to work according to its promises. In most cases they do not try the guild machinery, even when they are members. The guild has not been used in enough cases to test out thoroughly what it could do in an emergency and to prove either its worth or its futility in protecting the interests of employees. In the words of one employee, "We need a fight, a real issue on which both sides feel strongly, to find out what this organization amounts to." This emotional handicap which prevents a trial of the fair words of the guild constitution is an important element in the situation.

The opinions of people outside the guild throw some light on its record and results. Strangely enough, opinions range from the belief that the guild is dangerous to the interests of the employers to the opposite belief that it is useless from the standpoint of the employees. Some nonunion employers who are not in the guild believe that the employers, by setting up such machinery for collective

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bargaining, invite the organization of their men around any leader with any sort of "harebrained idea" and are storing up trouble for themselves. The more common attitude of the employing printers who have not joined the guild, however, is that it is a useful organization which, by giving the employees many of the advantages of union organization, prevents the return of the closed-shop condition which existed in Baltimore in 1920. Many such employers would come into the organization should their employees decide to join.

Most of the unfavorable comment on the guild, of course, comes from the unions. The unions point out that while the guild speaks favorably of collective bargaining, it refuses to recognize the trade-unions which were organized for that purpose and which represent a large part of the printing-trade workers of the country. A comparison of the membership of the American Guild and of the International Typographical Union is in point, they say. They doubt whether the employees have any real power through the guild, because of their small membership, lack of any financial support, and fear of discrimination for activity on behalf of fellow workers by a guild member. In some cases they admit that the guild has improved the relationship in certain plants and brought a harmonious condition which is to the advantage of both groups, but in other plants the guild does not function. They point out that the unions are much more important than the guild can be in maintaining wage standards, and declare that the guild will never take any action until forced to it by the unions. They criticize the guild also on the ground that its members are tied to their jobs by the insurance provisions and preference, and the requirement of a week's notice of resignation. Finally, they object to the inclusion in one organization of all mechanical and office employees, whose interests are so different. They feel that this admixture is a hindrance to free speech and activity on the part of mechanical workers, and that mixed committees can not have the confidence of the workers as means for the protection of their interests.

A detailed analysis of the present membership of the guild will give an indication of the amount of employee interest in the organization, although a statistical analysis of the motives behind the membership figures is impossible.

The total membership of the guild in November, 1927, was 403, of whom 71 were women. Of the total, 9 were from a supply house, 2 were in the typothetæ office, and 23 in the guild chapel composed of unemployed members, members employed in nonguild offices, and 2 employees of the guild. The remaining members were employed in the 13 guild printing plants. This membership in relation to all employed in these plants is analyzed in the accompanying table, from data reported by the chapel secretary in each plant.[10]

[10] The executive manager reported later a discrepancy, due probably to transfers between chapels, between the total membership reported by chapel secretaries and the actual membership in November, 1927, which was 403. The secretaries reported 356 guild members in the 13 printing plants, while according to the manager's records 369 was the correct number for these plants. A detailed distribution of this revised figure would have slightly raised the percentages in this analysis.

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TABLE 2.—NUMBER AND PER CENT OF GUILD MEMBERS IN THE 13 GUILD PLANTS IN NOVEMBER, 1927, BY DEPARTMENT AND SEX

Department	Male employees			Female employees			Total employees		
	Number	Guild members		Number	Guild members		Number	Guild members	
		Number	Per cent		Number	Per cent		Number	Per cent
Office	78	53	68	66	9	14	144	62	43
Composing room	141	94	67	31	24	77	172	118	69
Pressroom	145	92	63	2			147	92	63
Bindery	50	22	44	67	32	48	117	54	46
Other	74	29	39	15	1	7	89	30	34
Total	488	290	59	181	66	36	669	356	53

These 13 guild printing plants employed a total of 669 people, of whom 356, or only 53 per cent, were guild members. As might be expected, the proportion of guild members is larger among the men than the women, being 59 per cent for the men and 36 per cent for the women. Among the men 68 per cent of office employees, 67 per cent of compositors, and 63 per cent of the pressroom workers are in the guild.

In the bindery, where the men are in general less skilled and receive a lower rate of wages, only 44 per cent are in the guild. Among the women the largest proportionate membership is in the composing room, where 77 per cent are members, while 48 per cent of the bindery women are in the guild, and only 14 per cent of the office force. Because of the prominence of the insurance feature of guild membership it is not surprising that the smaller proportionate membership is in groups where many of the workers are young and rather impermanent in their relation to the industry.

The difference in the amount of interest in the guild among the different plants is strikingly shown by the reports. The percentage which guild members formed of all employees in the plant varied from 17 in one case to 78 in another. In only 6 of the 13 plants were more than 50 per cent of the employees in the guild, although when a plant joins the guild 51 per cent of its employees must have individual membership.

Why has the guild remained practically stationary for seven years? For two reasons, the first and probably the most important of which is the lack of interest of the employers. The employing printers of Baltimore on the whole prefer to run open shops and to be free from union rules. But since 1921 the unions have been weak and have not been able to make demands. There has been no labor emergency, and most of the employers have drifted and have taken no active interest in the proposal for a plan to preserve an open-shop condition by a constructive substitute for closed-shop unionism. Many employers who hope and believe that Baltimore will not again become a closed-shop union town are running plants in which slowly and quietly the unions are regaining their strength. The guild meantime holds its own, but does not gain any new plants.

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The second big obstacle to the growth of the guild has been in the skepticism of the workers of the industry. They may grant the liberality of the plan of organization with its protection of the rights of the individual through the conference committee and appeal to a joint board and on to a board including neutrals chosen by the two groups, and its freedom from any restriction on the subjects which may be brought up for discussion by either group. But the fact remains that the American Guild was proposed by the employers during the strike of 1921, a life and death battle which ended in the practical extinction of the pressroom and bindery unions and the crippling of the local typographical union. The printing-trade workers, who had been strongly organized and working under closed-shop conditions, were then asked to give up collective bargaining through their unions, and to join with the victorious employers in a new kind of organization which it was said would give them the advantages of collective bargaining with additional benefits to be had through cooperation and friendship with the employers. And an attractive insurance plan was included. It is not to be wondered at that the workers were suspicious, looked for the "nigger in the woodpile," and were disinclined to take the guild plan at its face value. While many of them joined the guild, some for the insurance and some with a willingness to try out the new scheme, much skepticism has remained, both within the guild and outside. Open-shop employers who are interested in the guild but whose employees have never joined say that the men object to it as paternalistic, or are suspicious of its purposes. And within the guild skepticism of the sincerity of the employers prevents the members from making the use that they might of the organization.

The American Guild has followed a cycle like that of many joint-council plans. Started with considerable interest and enthusiasm, it was active for a time and then slumped. For months in 1925 there were no meetings and no issues of the paper, Team Work. Then some revival occurred. Team Work is now issued quarterly or so, and the chapter meets three or four times a year for social functions. But meetings of the chapter board have occurred very irregularly, for there is much difficulty in securing a quorum. Because of this difficulty, at the first meeting of the chapter board in 1928 it was decided to meet thereafter at noon rather than in the afternoon, in an effort to secure a regular attendance. The employers who were active in the early years of the organization have, under the pressure of other interests, left the organization to run of itself, and the results are obvious. Since the first year, during which the guild was subsidized by the employers, it has carried itself financially on the funds supplied by dues, half from the employers and half from the employees. This has not left available, however, funds for an active and continuous organizing campaign. Unfortunately for the guild, also, it did not make possible the continuance of the full-time services of Mr. Gill, who was the organizer and executive manager for the first two years of the guild's history. While Mr. Gill is still at the service of the guild as counsel, his organizing abilities are no longer directed chiefly to guild activities. The present manager carries on the routine of the organiza-

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tion and conducts organizing activities as he has opportunity. But more active interest on the part of the employers, with the use of both time and money, would appear requisite for any substantial extension of the sphere of influence of the guild.

The American Guild in its plan of organization is liberal and gives to the employees the opportunity for a very considerable voice in the affairs of the industry. There are no restrictions on the types of matters which may be brought before the guild by either group, and as all boards and committees are supposed to consist of equal numbers of employers and employees, and there is the opportunity for final appeal to a board including neutrals, whose decision would be final and binding, the organization makes possible the exercise of a considerable control by the employee group. The plan, moreover, according to its constitution, is open shop and opposed to discrimination against union members. While one of the plants, in spite of this provision, is frankly nonunion, and in others the employers admit that they prefer to hire nonunion people so far as they are able, in many plants union members are openly at work. There is nothing in the plan which would prevent the employees from organizing in an association of their own outside the guild, as the employers are organized outside in the typothetæ. The fact that the guild is operated from its own office, by a manager who is neutral, paid by and responsible to the entire association, gives further evidence of the fact that the organization is, as it claims to be, a cooperative enterprise. The most fundamental question as to the liberality of the guild and whether there is possible to the employees through its channels an "equal voice" in the industry is whether the individual members are free to speak without fear of discrimination. Absolutely no evidence has been found of discrimination against any employee for his activities in the guild, and members of the various boards and committees are unanimous in their belief that there is no such discrimination. Nevertheless a widespread feeling persists among the rank and file that a man can not with safety speak freely. This feeling tends to prevent participation in guild discussions and active use of the guild machinery except by employees who are naturally independent or aggressive.

Without doubt the guild has promoted good will between some of the employees and their employers. Many employees, particularly those who have had an active part in the organization, are convinced that the organization is good and offers to the employees a real opportunity to make themselves heard as a force in the industry. Whether this opinion or that of the skeptics will gain ground in the future is dependent upon what positive results the guild shows to its employee members as time goes on.

When the guild was organized there was much discussion of the plan as one which was to recognize the worker as a partner in industrial enterprise and give him an equal voice with the employers in the determination of all questions in which both employers and employees were interested. To what extent has this become an actuality? Very little, the impartial observer must answer. And why? For lack of interest and effort on the part of employers and lack of initiative and leadership on the part of employee members. On the wage question there has been more cooperative consideration than on

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any other matter. The system of wage payment was discussed by a series of committees each of which officially represented the two groups in equal proportions, but on which actually the representation of the journeymen was a minority, for foremen were included as employees. That these committees did not succeed in reaching a result which was satisfactory to the mass of the employees who were to be affected by the wage system adopted is evident when we see that the classification and rating system worked out first was turned down by the chapter, and that the craftsman system, which was adopted with little sign of interest, has had practically no use made of it. The voice of the employees was made effective, it is true, by turning down a system they did not like and by failing to use another system in which they are not interested. It would seem, however, that a more adequate representation of the working employees on these wage committees would have saved fruitless discussion by bringing to bear at an earlier stage of the inquiry the opinions and attitudes of this group.

The constructive joint attack on big problems of the industry which was planned in 1921 has not materialized in any large degree. There has been no joint consideration of such problems as unemployment, the improvement of craftsmanship, or the removal of inefficiency. In only one case, so far as is known, has an employer referred to his conference committee any question of shop policy, although it was said in 1921 that this would be one of the main purposes of the guild. So far has the guild gone from feeling the importance of joint discussion and consideration of the problems of the industry that it is exceedingly difficult to get a quorum for a chapter board meeting, and since 1925 again and again meetings have been postponed. So long as employer members do not feel enough interest in the guild to come themselves and send their employee representatives to the chapter board meeting once a month, it can not be expected that employees should have great interest in the guild as a cooperative enterprise.[11] On the other hand, should the employee group develop leadership and take the initiative in making proposals, it could force a more active interest on the part of employers.

Weaknesses of the Guild

A number of weaknesses of the American Guild as it is now operating may be summarized as follows:

1. The small number of plants included, due to lack of interest of the employing printers, is a serious handicap to the organization in competing with the unions for the good will of the employees of the industry. Preference in employment, when it applies in only 13 plants, does not mean a great deal. The guild has as yet made slight progress toward the comprehensive organization pictured in its early literature.

[11] The executive manager on Apr. 19, 1928, wrote as follows: "The employer members have never hesitated to send their employee members to the meetings and have never done anything to block them, except in a very few cases of emergency, when they felt that they could not spare them on that particular day. This year the board has adopted a meeting at noon, and there has been a full quorum each month of the three since it was inaugurated in February. It looks now as if the employers and employees will always have a full representation at each meeting and that there will be no further postponements."

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2. Because of the narrow territory covered by the guild, its influence on wage standards is very limited. It is probable that in Baltimore the union wage scales have more effect on earnings in the industry than do the normal scales established by the guild. It is difficult to visualize the guild as ever being such an extensive organization as to be able to exert such a standardizing influence on wages paid by the numerous small plants of the industry as that exerted by the unions when they are at all strong. The printing industry with its numerous small units is one in which the pressure from below by the trade-unions has served an important function in standardizing costs, stimulating efficiency, and putting limits to price cutting. Certainly the guild does not now perform this function, for its scales are all lower than the wages actually paid to the majority of skilled workers.

3. Meetings of the chapter board or the chapter and issues of the paper which is designed to keep the membership informed of the activities of the organization have been too irregular to keep up interest. The guild is not at present functioning as an effective means of expression and communication between the two groups. A recent suggestion of some of the men that the employee representatives should meet by themselves before meeting the employers has value. A general meeting of representatives from all the plants would make the employee members on the chapter board better informed of what the employees in general were saying, and put them in better position to meet the employers. Such meetings of men from all plants would permit also of an exchange of experience among the plants, and might arouse interest in the possibilities of the guild. If such meetings could help to develop leadership on the part of the employees they would contribute to the value of chapter board meetings and to the success of the guild as a whole.

4. The lack of definite organization and regular elections of conference committees in some of the plants means inevitably a loss of interest among the rank and file, and a failure to accept the organization as having a vital contribution to make to the welfare of the employees. The insurance features continue and serve their purpose regardless of the plant organization, but it could not be expected that there would be interest in the machinery for appeal and constructive use of the organization unless the workers have themselves set up the machinery in the plant. It is not surprising that in those plants where there have been no elections of the chapel officers, there has been little or no use of the conference committee.

The success of the guild in promoting a good relationship in the industry varies widely from plant to plant. Where there is a tradition of a pleasant relationship and the guild organization is set up and active, the guild contributes to the good morale in existence. There is no magic in the guild, however, sufficient to overcome suspicion and create an atmosphere of cooperation when there is no active plant organization and little interest of the employer.

5. The fact that foremen and superintendents have been allowed to represent the employees is a weakness. In many cases foremen are nominated by the men in their own plants, the men saying that they choose their best man to represent them. There is, however, always a possibility that when foremen are eligible to election

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men may vote for them for the sake of policy, rather than in the belief that they will best represent the interests of the workers. It would seem wiser that foremen should be separately represented in some way, but should not represent the journeymen. On all committees, moreover, a more adequate representation of the working employees would do away with failure to get at what is in the minds of the people, and would also, by putting more of the men in position to meet and discuss problems of the organization, arouse more interest and possibly develop needed leadership. It is, of course, true that the employees could at any time put through a provision of this sort should they wish to take the initiative.

6. A serious weakness of the guild lies in the failure of its employee members to develop leaders and to make use of the possibilities of the organization. The employees who have shown initiative and leadership are few. Some employers admit a distinct tendency for many of the more skilled employees to gravitate toward the unions. It seems probable also that among those who have leadership ability there is a tendency for interest to lie in the direction of the union, the traditional form of organization in this industry.

As an industrial government, the American Guild has succeeded in establishing certain laws. A week's notice of discharge, preference to guild members, regular payment for overtime, and the right of appeal from unjust discharge, unfair discrimination, or other cause of complaint, are established as customary in the guild plants. In trying to legislate on wages the guild has had less success. The classification system on which it worked for so long has had no definite effect, and the normal scale, the only legislation on wage levels, is so low that it has little relation to the wages paid skilled people. Of other legislation there has been little. The machinery for appeal, meanwhile, has been little used, and the conference committees which were to act as advisory boards for management have not been called upon to perform that function. Interest in the guild on the part of the majority of the employee members has been more in the insurance and the social features than in the possibility of having a share in the control of the industry. Interest of the employers has been chiefly to give their employees something which would take the place of unionism. Having established the guild, they have continued to pay their share of the costs, but to a large degree have left the organization to run of itself, and have given little thought to its possibilities for joint action on problems of the industry.

In another aspect the American Guild of the Printing Industry is a form of employee organization, or a union. The years of its life in Baltimore have seen the competition of this sort of organization with old-line unionism. In the guild, the cooperative organization which includes employers as well as employees, the initiative comes from the employers. If the guild gives more to the people of the printing trades than unionism could, it is only because of the interest of the employers. The guild is of value to the workers in the industry only so long as the employers maintain an active interest and consent, paying their share of the costs and dealing collectively through the machinery set up. The employees in the guild are without the power which comes through the backing of a strong

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national organization with a treasury. From their standpoint the guild is good if it procures for them through cooperation and without force what they could get through the unions with perhaps the threat of force. But if the employers are not interested and the guild fails to show tangible results, the organization will be without appeal and a turn toward the unions, which have more vitality because the employees have there more power, will inevitably result.

The American Guild of the Printing Industry has lasted seven years. It has accomplished certain things in financial protection to the employee members and in promoting good will. To be the permanent force which some of its proponents hope for it, it would need to accomplish much more, and would require for that purpose a much wider and more active interest on the part of the employing printers.

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Chapter 3.—Graphic Arts Industrial Federation of Greater Boston

The early months of 1922 in Boston saw the birth of an industrial organization based upon a theory of cooperation, a belief that groups whose interests conflict to a considerable degree can find a basis for confidence, mutual good will, and cooperation, and that by providing for regular meeting and joint consideration of problems by those immediately concerned, they can find satisfactory solutions without resort to force or threat of force. This organization is the Graphic Arts Industrial Federation. It is still functioning in 1928. To learn to what extent the theory of the organization has proved workable in the first six years of the experiment is the purpose of this study. Since the roots of the organization go back into the economic condition and the earlier industrial relations history of the Boston industry, we must first consider these factors.

The printing, publishing, and bookbinding industry is one of the leading industries of Boston. In greater Boston, including Cambridge and Norwood and other towns within 15 miles of Boston, in 1925 printing and publishing was the largest industry in number of establishments, and second only to the boot and shoe industry in the value of its products. It included approximately 600 plants and employed 11,000 workers.[1] The daily newspaper branch of the industry, which is quite separate and distinct from the rest of the industry, employs some 2,500 workers. A second very important group is that of the book publishers, printers, and binders. Here in some half dozen large plants, some of them employing up to a thousand people, are found over 3,500 printing-trade workers. Finally there are the commercial printers and binders, a large number of very small plants with only a handful of employees or none, and a few, probably not over 40 plants, which employ from 25 people up to 200 or more each.

The newspaper branch of the industry works on a union basis. The book houses in the past for the most part found it advisable to work in harmony with the unions and to be known for a "fair attitude" toward organized labor, although since 1921 this position has not been so general. The commercial industry, on the other hand, has in large part a record of open-shop operation, although always there has been a group of plants entitled to the use of the allied printing trades label. Estimates of the proportion of commercial printing done under open-shop conditions at the present time vary from 70 per cent to 80 per cent. The open-shop section is in part strictly nonunion, at least in the intention of the employers, and in part is actually open shop with union members working openly with nonunion people. A brief sketch of the labor history of the com-

[1] Massachusetts Department of Labor and Industries. Census of Manufactures, 1925. Advance sheets.

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mercial industry before 1921 will give the background of the present situation.[2]

The record of joint conferences and agreements between the organized commercial printers and the printing trade-unions of Boston dates back at least to 1889, when in an effort to enforce a uniform scale of wages the Master Printers' Club, forerunner of the Boston Typothetæ, and the typographical union signed a "uniform price list." Ten years later a 1-year agreement between the typothetæ and this union began a period lasting until 1921 during which the typothetæ was continuously in agreement with at least some of the unions in the industry. These agreements, however, differed from many trade agreements in the industry in that they did not call for the closed shop. They included, typically, only provisions as to wages, hours, and overtime payment. In 1904, after a six weeks' strike of the typographical union a 2-year agreement was made which included provision for arbitration of disputes during the life of the agreement. Lest there should be misunderstandings, however, most of the typothetæ offices posted a notice declaring in unmistakable terms that they were open shops, in which there was to be no discrimination between union and nonunion employees.

In 1906, after an unsuccessful strike of the typographical union for the 8-hour day, the typothetæ voted to hold no further conferences and to make no further agreements with this union. It was ten years before the union succeeded in making another agreement with the typothetæ. In the meantime a series of agreements was signed with the pressmen and the press feeders. Wage increases were granted to the composing-room employees at the same time as to the other crafts, although there were no typographical-union agreements, and the 8-hour day went into effect generally in all departments in 1909.

In 1913 certain book houses reported pressure from the publishers to put their plants in such condition that the publishers would no longer be embarrassed by reports that they were unfair to organized labor. A suggestion to give preference in employment to members of the typographical union was refused by the typothetæ. Several book plants, nevertheless, entered into preferential agreements with the Allied Printing Trades Council, which covered all the unions, including the bookbinders and the bindery women.

The typographical union in the meantime conducted an active organizing campaign, and early in 1916 secured a contract, scale of wages, and arbitration agreement signed by the Boston Typothetæ and union-shop employers, and effective until March 31, 1921. The typothetæ agreed to make the scale, hours, and working conditions of the agreement effective in every typothetæ composing room. The agreement went further for union offices, moreover, and provided for the closed shop and regulation of apprenticeship, while prohibiting work for "struck shops." There were to be no strikes or lockouts in those shops which signed the agreement, and all disputes, including disagreements over a new scale or a contract, that could not be settled

[2] This material was secured chiefly from the minutes of the Boston Master Printers' Club, Boston Typothetæ, and Boston Typothetæ Board of Trade from 1887 to 1927; from Leaves of History from the Archives of Boston Typographical Union No. 13, compiled and printed for Boston Typographical Union, December, 1923; and from interviews with employers and union officers.

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by conciliation were to be referred to arbitration. Two book houses, as well as many of the union commercial plants, were party to this agreement. The typothetæ open shops, however, again posted the open-shop notice which they had first used in 1904.

In 1917 the typothetæ for the first time made agreements with the bookbinders' unions, to expire late in 1921. Several book houses renewed their preferential agreements with all the trades except the typographical union, which because of its closed-shop agreements with a part of the industry was unwilling to sign a preferential agreement. These contracts provided for the conditions established in the agreements between the typothetæ and the unions, and for adjustment of all disputes by conciliation or arbitration.

The years 1917 to 1920 in the Boston printing industry, as elsewhere, were years of unrest. The cost of living rose rapidly, and shortage of labor put the unions in position to force their demands, although, on account of uncertain business conditions, the employers urged that the contracts should be maintained. During 1917 and 1918 increases were negotiated with all the unions. When further demands were made early in 1919, the typothetæ discussed the cardinal points of a labor policy recently adopted by the International Joint Conference Council, and voted to adopt those points providing for recognition of the cost of living compared with 1914 as the basic factor in wage adjustments, annual readjustments of wages based upon the cost of living and the economic condition of the industry, and the settlement of disputes through conciliation and arbitration. The typothetæ did not care to bind itself, however, to one of the cardinal points—to "pay at least a living wage; scales below this to be adjusted in frank recognition of the basic principle involved." The employers were willing to adjust wages on a cost-of-living basis, but because of lower scales in competitive cities wanted the adjustment made over a period of time. Accordingly, agreements were made with all the unions for a series of increases, the agreements to expire on March 31, 1921, except for the bindery unions, whose contracts lasted until the fall of 1921.

The year following June, 1919, however, was a time of extremely rapid rise in the cost of living, and in many cities wage increases based on these increased costs were being secured by the printing-trade unions. The Boston Typothetæ, nevertheless, voted that its agreements had been made with an understanding for no further requests, and refused to meet the typographical union committee to discuss a request for additional increases. Following the second increase under the terms of the agreements, the unions asked for further negotiations. Conferences were refused during an unauthorized strike of the bookbinders against a typothetæ plant on a jurisdictional question. When the joint committee of all the unions finally met the employers, the typothetæ offered to increase wages according to the increase in the cost of living. This was unsatisfactory to the press feeders, the lowest paid group of men, and they ceased work in an unauthorized "vacation." When the president of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union ordered the feeders to return to work, they did so with the understanding that an acceptable wage adjustment would be arrived at. The typothetæ then offered to increase wages substantially on a cost-of-living basis, say-

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ing that this was a voluntary offer which would not impair in any way the existing contracts. The unions and the employers agreed to make a flat wage increase in order to give the lower paid crafts more than they would get on a percentage basis. A $3 increase was agreed upon tentatively by the typothetæ and the bindery women's union. Before the increase for the men was agreed upon, however, disagreement arose among the unions, some demanding a straight 30 per cent increase for all, while the electrotypers and bindery women's unions wished to continue the terms previously discussed. The typothetæ therefore refused further conference with the joint union committee. On September 22 the typothetæ notified the unions that it would grant a "voluntary increase" of $4 to all journeymen and of $3 to all journeywomen, retroactive to September 10. An agreement for this increase was signed by the typothetæ and the electrotypers' union. The bindery women's union voted to accept the $3 increase and so notified the typothetæ. The other unions, however, declared that the adjustment was unsatisfactory.

The typothetæ nevertheless said that it had done everything that conditions warranted and that the public was in no frame of mind to stand higher prices and put the increase into effect.[3]

The 1921 Break

The contracts between the typothetæ and the typographical, pressmen's, press feeders', and electrotypers' unions were to expire on March 31, 1921, while those of the bindery women's and bookbinders' unions extended until October and December, 1921. By January, 1921, it was apparent that business conditions had changed and that the volume of printing was decreasing, while buyers of printing were demanding lower prices. The employers accordingly wished to reduce labor costs on April 1. The situation was complicated by the demand of the unions for the 44-hour week on May 1, 1921. The agreement by which the shorter work week was to go into effect nationally in the printing industry had been entered into by the International Joint Conference Council, representing the international unions, the Printers' League of America, the closed-shop branch of the United Typothetæ of America, and the International Association of Employing Electrotypers. While the Boston Typothetæ was not affiliated with the closed-shop branch of the United Typothetæ of America and had no part in making this agreement, the Boston unions assumed that the reduction of hours was to go into effect in Boston as well as in other cities. A very strong movement of the employing printers in all sections of the country against any reduction in hours in this time of depression received the active support of the Boston Typothetæ.

When, therefore, the the typographical and pressmen's unions asked to negotiate new contracts to be effective on April 1, 1921, the typothetæ declared that it would negotiate only on the basis of 48 hours, a wage reduction in line with general conditions, the open shop,

[3] The unions had agreed with the statistician for the employers that the cost of living had increased 110 per cent since 1914. These increases brought the weekly scale for hand compositors to $41, from $21 in 1914; cylinder pressmen $43.50, from $23 in 1914; cylinder feeders $36.50, from $16; bookbinders (forwarders and finishers) $41.50, from $21; and bindery women $22.20, from $11 in 1914.

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and no arbitration agreements. The unions insisted that they could negotiate only on the basis of a 44-hour week after May 1, 1921, as hours were a national matter. The electrotypers' union met the typothetæ on March 26 and declared that it expected those employing electrotypers, typothetæ members, who were also members of the International Association of Employing Electrotypers, to live up to the 44-hour agreement. It did not yet know, however, whether its international union would insist upon strict enforcement of the 44-hour week. The typothetæ nevertheless refused to discuss any contract until it received assurance of the continuance of the 48-hour week.[4]

Two days later the typothetæ voted to post notices that, effective April 4, 1921, the "voluntary increases" of September, 1920, would be discontinued and that the resulting scale would be effective for six months. Although the agreements with the bindery unions extended until the fall of 1921 and no discussion of wages or hours had taken place with those unions, the typothetæ announced that the reduction applied to the bindery department also, since the increases of September, 1920, had been voluntary on the part of the employers and not part of the signed agreements.[5]

No arbitration agreements were in effect between any of the unions and the typothetæ. The agreement under which the typographical union had worked from 1916 to March 31, 1921, and which included a provision for arbitration, and that unless either party gave notice a year before expiration the arbitration clause should be renewed for another five years, had been terminated by a narrow vote of the union. The union accordingly lacked whatever strength that agreement might have given it in this juncture. The unions then had the choice of accepting the reduction announced by the employers and continuing work at 48 hours with no contract or fighting. They decided to fight, and on April 4 about 2,000 men and women struck, a large majority of the employees in typothetæ shops walking out, although many of them were not affiliated with the unions.

Whether the entire industry would follow the typothetæ in reducing wages and refusing the reduction in hours was an important question. The unions found that the union-label houses and some of the typothetæ houses which were engaged in publishing weekly papers or other periodicals and could not afford any interruption were willing to continue relations with the unions. No wage reductions were put into effect in this minority of plants.[6] Of the book printers and binders, many of whom were members of the typothetæ, only one, Ginn & Co., did not make the wage reduction effective. Several of these houses, including Ginn & Co., had agreements with the pressroom and bindery unions and the Allied Printing Trades Council extending from 1918, 1919, or 1920 to 1922 or 1923, and providing that the scales agreed upon between the typothetæ and the

[4] Minutes of conference between industrial relations committee of Boston Typothetæ and the Boston Electrotypers' Union No. 11, Mar. 26, 1921.

[5] The bindery women's union had, however, in September, 1920, accepted the $3 increase which had been tentatively agreed upon in committee with the typothetæ industrial relations committee, and had so notified the employers, thus making the increase an agreed-upon one.

[6] Except in special cases, the typothetæ plants which made agreements with the unions were asked to resign.

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unions should be paid, that preference should be given to union members in employment, and that all disputes should be adjusted by conciliation or arbitration. Two houses, the Plimpton Press and Berwick & Smith, arbitrated under the terms of their agreements and took the pressroom, bindery, and electrotype workers back at the scales in effect before April 4, 1921.[7] The pressroom and bindery unions waived their demand for the 44-hour week and returned to work in these plants at 48 hours. The Plimpton Press urged the typothetæ to attempt a settlement with the typographical union, but as the union continued in its stand for 44 hours the employers refused to enter negotiations. Other book houses, including the Riverside Press, declared themselves on a nonunion basis.

The typothetæ advertised widely for help and began to fill the places of the strikers, while the unions paid strike benefits to all who came out with them. After some weeks, however, the pressroom and bindery unions found their funds exhausted, and no further help forthcoming from their international unions, and were forced to suspend benefits. The typothetæ announced on May 26, 1921, that it would have no further dealings with the union leaders, that no conferences had been or would be held, and that former employees who wished to regain their positions should make application in person. By early June all of the unions except the typographical union had given up the 44-hour demand. The typothetæ insisted that employees could return to work only by giving up their union cards, and gradually many employees returned to typothetæ shops on a nonunion basis, and at the wage scale which had been announced on April 4. The pressroom and bindery unions lost heavily in membership, and the typographical and electrotypers' unions in a less degree. Since that time the typothetæ has continued to refuse any conference with the unions, and has been on a nonunion basis.

Union Relations Since 1921

Since 1921 the typographical union has negotiated with a group of some 30 plants which organized as the Employing Printers' Association of Greater Boston. When the 44-hour week went into effect in union plants in May, 1921, the union set its hourly rate at 87 cents, making its weekly rate for 44 hours slightly above the typothetæ scale for 48. In November, 1921, an agreement was made with the Employing Printers' Association for this scale, all overtime to be paid at the rate of time and a half. On April 1, 1924, an increase to 92 cents an hour was agreed upon, and on January 3, 1927, a 3-year contract went into effect making the scale 96 cents an hour. The typographical union also has many members in the open-shop machine-composition houses, most of the linotype and monotype operators therein being union men. Many of these open-shop firms are typothetæ members. The policy of the union is that its members in 48-hour plants should receive the 44-hour scale plus time and a

[7] The decision in the Berwick & Smith case declared that in those cases in which the union had voted to accept the increase offered by the typothetæ and had so notified the typothetæ the increase became a part of the contract. According to the decision in the Plimpton Press case, the increase had been established within the terms of the Plimpton agreement and the scale could not therefore be changed except by establishing another scale by agreement with the employees.

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half for the last four hours. The union now has no written agreements with any book plants. With two of these plants, however, a friendly relationship exists, with informal understandings for a basic 44-hour week and overtime for all time over 44 hours.

The pressroom, bindery, and electrotype unions have had no agreements since 1921 with any organization of employing printers. The pressmen, press feeders, and bookbinders, having small membership except in the book houses, have not been able to make demands, and have continued in union plants on the 48-hour week at the wage scales which prevailed before the typothetæ reduction of April, 1921, during reconstruction after their disastrous battle. With several book houses these unions have continued friendly relations, either through signed preferential agreements as before 1921, or with informal understandings. Ginn & Co., a private plant, in all its agreements makes a scale higher than the general union scale for each craft. Some of the other book plants, however, have been nonunion since 1921. The electrotypers' union in 1923 secured a renewal of its agreements with two book houses, with an increase of $4, making the scale $47.50, $5 above the typothetæ scale.

Summing up the position of the unions in the Boston printing industry, we find the typographical union with its greatest strength, as always, on the newspapers. Through the Employing Printers' Association its closed-shop agreement in the commercial industry covers 30 plants, of which many are small. In the open-shop machine-composition plants, however, it has a considerable proportion of the skilled man operators. The other unions, while having members in the union commercial houses, and to some extent in the open shops, have the majority of their membership and their greatest strength in the book houses with which they have preferential agreements.

The Typothetæ Plan

The break between the Boston Typothetæ and the unions may fairly be described as the result of a number of motives, important among which was the desire of the employers to escape the changed conditions which had been brought about in their plants by the war and postwar conditions. Had all the unions been willing to continue on 48 hours, possibly agreements could have been reached on March 31. The refusal of the unions to commit themselves to 48 hours at that time brought the posting of the reduction in wages by the typothetæ employers a month previous to the date upon which the 44-hour issue would have been determined. And the defensive strike of the unions gave the typothetæ the not unwelcome opportunity to change to nonunion conditions of operation.

The reasons for this attitude and the counts in the typothetæ indictment of the unions were several. It must be remembered, in the first place, that most of this group of employers had always run open shops, and had agreed with the unions, if at all, only upon wages and hours. The growth of power of the unions during this period appeared of ominous import. Moreover, the Boston industry had experienced undeniable abuse of power by the unions in certain cases, of which illegal strikes of the bookbinders and press feeders were instances.

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The typothetæ felt that trouble was artificially fomented by union officials for the sake of their political purposes. They believed that the position of the employers was in some cases misrepresented to the rank and file of the unions, and that many disturbances could have been avoided if the employers had been able to get more directly to the employees with their problems. They considered that the affiliation of their employees with the international unions prevented the proper consideration of local problems, as when the attitude of the International Typographical Union on the 44-hour week question made an agreement based on local conditions impossible. And finally, the typothetæ believed that the union form of organization was detrimental to the interests of the industry, for it was based upon antagonism of interest, ignoring the existence of a common interest in the welfare of the industry and specifically in production. In the words of one of the typothetæ leaders, it was hoped that in a different sort of organization "by organizing to deal with matters of common interest, it would be possible to mitigate the rôle of force in industrial relations."

By the fall of 1921 the labor situation had settled down to a long seige on the part of the typographical and electrotypers' unions, while the pressroom and bindery unions had been forced to give up strike benefits, and large numbers of these crafts had returned to typothetæ shops at 48 hours and the reduced scale of wages, under nonunion conditions. The typothetæ realized that if it was to maintain its nonunion position it must give its employees some substitute for the unions and satisfactory working conditions which would remove any need of the workers for trade-union organization. Accordingly, a committee was appointed by the typothetæ in November, 1921, to formulate a plan.[8]

On December 5, 1921, upon report of this committee the typothetæ voted to accept in principle a plan for a "form of organization which would give the employees representation upon all questions of mutual interest." On January 10, 1922, the typothetæ adopted a detailed plan, providing for group insurance and a Graphic Arts Industrial Federation. The federation was to consist of all typothetæ shops whose employees should vote to adopt the plan. A joint industrial board was to be established, with representation of both employers and employees of these shops, its members to receive instructions from and to be responsible to their own groups, and the decision of the board to be final. All matters of mutual interest would be open to consideration. The plan was to be based upon an organization of employees in each shop. According to the prospectus, "By means of these representative committees, both employers and employees will have an equal voice in such questions of mutual interest as may arise, and each will have an opportunity to suggest methods for improving the industry and the conditions of those engaged in the industry."[9]

The next step was to present the plan to the employees. This was done by shops. In some cases a dinner was held, after which the executives withdrew and the employees were asked to vote upon the plan, and if they accepted it to elect their representatives. In other

[8] This committee consisted of Henry P. Porter, of the Oxford Print; C. Howard Roberts, of the Riverside Press; and Walter J. Phillips, of the Southgate Press.

[9] Graphic Arts Industrial Federation of Greater Boston. An outline of organization for the graphic arts industries of Greater Boston.

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cases meetings were held in the shops. The intention was that in every case the employees should decide if they would enter the plan. A typothetæ representative visited all the shops to encourage organization. Many employees were skeptical, but there was the record of a defeated strike with financial loss to both sides, and in many cases loss of faith in the unions, many had given up their union cards to secure employment, some of the unions were almost out of business, and the employees felt their lack of any protection. Accordingly the employees decided, whether by active decision or by force of circumstances, to give the plan a trial. By March the employees' group had organized and was ready to meet the employers. The first meeting of the joint industrial board was held on April 20, 1922. A joint committee on by-laws was appointed, and upon report of this committee on May 2 the constitution and by-laws were adopted. To the detailed form of organization we now turn.[10]

Objects and Form of Organization

According to its constitution the Graphic Arts Industrial Federation consists of "open-shop employers and employees engaged in the arts of printing, photo-engraving, electrotyping, bookbinding, and other allied trades connected with the Boston Typothetæ Board of Trade." The objects will be quoted from article 3:

SECTION 1. The aim of the organization shall be to promote by mutual counsel, endeavor, and service, the interests of those engaged and employed in the graphic arts industries of Greater Boston. All matters of mutual interest shall be open for consideration.

SEC. 2. This organization is designed to promote a spirit of confidence and good will, and thereby eliminate unfortunate and costly misunderstandings which arise chiefly from the lack of a trustworthy means of communication.

SEC. 3. The organization is designed as a constructive influence in the graphic arts industries; so to improve existing conditions as to reflect themselves in greater stability of business, employment, and wages, by the joint endeavors of management and employees working together to this end.

The federation is composed of two groups—employers and employees. The employees' group consists of one representative from each shop that is a member of the Boston Typothetæ Board of Trade and the employees of which desire representation in the group. The only requirement for eligibility to the employees' group is that the representative shall be a "bona fide working employee as distinguished from an executive in any form, or those having a financial interest." The group, however, reserves the right to govern its members and to refuse to seat any applicant at any time "for sufficient cause," such cause being defined as "anything that may in a measure impair the objects of the association." The employees' group holds regular monthly meetings, at which 20 members constitute a quorum. Its officers and executive committee of nine are elected by secret ballot for terms of one year.

Each shop may form a shop organization, with officers who constitute the shop committee. Larger shops may elect representatives from each department, these representatives to elect the shop committee, while small shops may, if they prefer, elect only a shop chairman. In practice the form of shop organization is left entirely to the

[10] For constitution see Appendix C, p. 208.

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individual shop. In each case, however, the elections are to be entirely free from any influence of the management. The shop chairman represents his shop in the employees' group. It is provided that the organization in each shop may hold monthly meetings as their shop committee may direct.

The employers' group consists of one representative of the management of each shop the employees of which have organized and become members of the federation. Its officers and executive committee of nine are elected annually, and monthly meetings are provided for.

The governing body of the federation is the joint industrial board, which consists of the two executive committees of nine each from the employers' and employees' groups. The joint industrial board has full power in all matters referred to it, except that "vital actions affecting either or both groups" do not become final and binding until confirmed by the group affected.

The chairmen of the two groups alternate in presiding and the secretaries in keeping records of the meetings. Abrogation or amendment of the constitution can take place only at regular meetings of the joint industrial board by two-thirds vote of those present, after having been proposed by one or more members filing a proposal with the secretaries at least one month prior to the date of the meeting.

The constitution and by-laws end with the following summary:

> It is the intention of those interested to conduct the organization on a 50-50 basis for the mutual welfare of all engaged therein. The honest cooperation in spirit of both employers and employees will assure the successful outcome of the undertaking.

The Federation at Work [11]

The first meeting of the joint industrial board was held on April 5, 1922. The employers' group was represented by five from the printing houses, and one each representing the employing photo-engravers, edition binders, pamphlet binders, and electrotypers. The representatives of the employees' group, although not elected by departments, included men from all departments. The chairmen of the two groups, who were to preside at alternate meetings, were A. W. Finlay, of George H. Ellis Co., for the employers, and H. F. McKenna, of the University Press, for the employees. In 1928 these two men were still the leaders of the two groups.

Insurance

The first and fundamental activity of the federation was the provision of group insurance. A few plants in Boston had carried group life insurance for their employees before, but this had not been at all general. After the 1921 strike many employees had given up their union affiliations and with them their insurance and pension rights. The typothetæ realized the importance of giving their employees something to counteract the financial advantage of union membership. Accordingly a plan for life insurance presented by the Aetna Life Insurance Co. was adopted by the typothetæ at the same time

[11] The following material was secured chiefly from the minutes of the joint industrial board, of the two groups, and of the typothetæ, and from interviews with typothetæ members, shop chairmen, and other employees in typothetæ plants, employers in union plants, and union officers.

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that the federation plan was approved, and the insurance was a part of the plan as presented to the employees for their acceptance.

Under the plan all employees in federation plants were members of the federation, but only those who so elected were to come under the insurance plan. Life insurance policies beginning at $500 for those who had been in the employ of a firm for six months, and increasing by $100 for each additional year of service, were made available. The cost to the employee was at the rate of one cent per $100 of insurance. The remainder of the cost, a somewhat greater amount, was paid by the employers, the rate per employee varying according to the average age of the employees each year. In case of total and permanent disability occurring before the age of 60, the face of the policy was paid then instead of at death. If an employee should leave his employment and be reemployed within 15 days by another federation plant, the new employer would continue the insurance policy. If he should not be reemployed within this period by a federation plant, the employee could without medical examination continue his policy by paying the regular rate for his age. Employees temporarily laid off, or off because of sickness or disability were to be considered as still in the employ of the firm and their policies continued.

A few months after the organization of the federation a plan for accident and health insurance presented by the Aetna Life Insurance Co. was adopted by the two groups. Any firm that wished might offer its employees health and nonoccupational accident policies, with disability benefits of $10 per week for males and $8 per week for females, commencing with the eighth day of disability and extending for 13 weeks, and retroactive to the first day whenever disability should extend for 30 days. The cost would vary with the age of the employee and be divided between the employer and the employee.

When the life insurance went into effect, in 1922, there were 68 firms included and 2,015 employees were insured. In 1927 the number had decreased to 49 firms and 1,290 employees. Up to November, 1927, death and disability claims amounting to $63,400 had been paid. Health and accident insurance was carried in 1927 on 491 employees by 24 firms.

Wages

Since "all matters of mutual interest" are open for consideration by the joint industrial board, the subject of wages has been frequently discussed. When the federation was organized the typothetæ wage scales were those which had been posted in April, 1921, at the time of the $4 reduction that brought on the strike. The typothetæ in September, 1921, and again in March, 1922, reaffirmed these scales for 6-month periods. Meanwhile, that smaller part of the commercial printing industry which had continued operation under union conditions paid the old union scales for 48 hours, except in the composing rooms, where a small reduction in the weekly rate was effective for the 44-hour week.

It is over the question of wages that the majority of industrial battles are fought, for on this fundamental question appears the most serious clash of interest between employers and employees. The determination of wages under a nonunion joint council plan

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which is based upon a philosophy of cooperation of the two groups in industry is therefore significant in showing how the plan works and how effective it is, if at all, in modifying or directing the power of the two groups into channels which are of benefit to both. The process of wage determination under the Graphic Arts Industrial Federation will therefore be described in detail.

On June 23, 1922, at the first meeting of the joint industrial board after the organization was completed, upon the suggestion of the employers, a joint committee was appointed to investigate wage conditions and to report recommendations for the action of the organization. This committee reported at the next quarterly meeting in September its unanimous recommendation that the existing scales be continued until April 1, 1923. The recommendation was unanimously adopted by the joint board and by the employer and employee groups. Without doubt business conditions were bad, and the employees were satisfied to continue without change for the time.

At the meeting of the joint board on March 14, 1923, the employees' group presented a request for a $4 increase, to restore the decrease of 1921. A week later a second meeting was held. The employers' group, which in practice was the entire Typothetæ Board of Trade, had met in the meantime to consider the request, and had voted that no change should be made for another period of six months, and that the employers' representatives should endeavor to convince the employees of the soundness of this action. The chairman of the employers accordingly reported the belief of the employers' group that "it would be for the best interests of the industry and all concerned to make no change in the wage scale at this time." After lengthy discussion, during which the employees were not entirely convinced, the chairman for the employees agreed to report these conclusions to his group. The employees' group, on March 29, voted not to accept the decision, but that the matter of wages should be held open. It favored a flat, general increase of 10 per cent, to be effective on April 1, but voted that if this increase were not granted they would not ask for arbitration. It was known that some of the employers were in favor of raising wages at this time. On April 6 a third meeting of the joint industrial board was held on request of the employees' group. After discussion across the table, the employers reported the vote of their group, regretting that they were "unable to give any increase in wages at this time, due to business conditions, but they [were] willing to take the matter up for consideration when there [was] an improvement in business conditions in the printing industry." After that the matter dropped for the time.

On this occasion the decision was made by the employers at their own meetings and reported by their representatives to the joint board. The function of the joint industrial board in this case was to give the employers opportunity to state their case to the employees and endeavor to convince them. Although the employees were not entirely convinced and, so far as the records show, did not positively acquiesce in the decision, the matter dropped.

On July 25, 1923, the employees' group again presented to the joint board their request for a wage increase. They reported that certain plants had already increased wages to some of their people.

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Wage increases had been granted in New York and Chicago, where scales were higher than in Boston, and, according to reports, cost of living was lower. The secretary was accordingly instructed to secure cost-of-living information from the Federal Government. During the next month the typothetæ discussed the matter. Finally the typothetæ industrial relations committee recommended to the employers an increase of $3 per week to journeymen, except to cylinder feeders, and $1.50 to bindery women. On September 11 the typothetæ voted to accept this recommendation, to become effective on October 1, 1923. The following day this action was reported to the joint industrial board, and shortly after the new scales were accepted by the employees' group. A joint notice of the increase, signed by both groups, included the following statement:

> The joint board made a careful study of the factors affecting a wage adjustment and are agreed that employers will be considerably oppressed in meeting this wage increase at a time when the volume of business is at a very low ebb and economic conditions are not encouraging. The employers, however, wishing to do their level best by those in their employ, have taken the chance of being able in some way to meet this additional expense. They believe the employees will realize the seriousness of employers assuming this additional expense at this time and will give hearty and loyal support and cooperation and endeavor to increase the output of the plants.[12]

This time, as before, the decision on wages was made by the employers and communicated to the employees represented on the joint industrial board. It was a time of a small but distinct upward trend in wages, and general conditions were forcing the raising of wages in individual cases. The requests of the employees' group and the discussions of the joint board in all probability, however, brought the general raising of the wage level in the typothetæ plants more quickly than would have been the case without any organization on the part of the employees. The typothetæ scales after this increase were still slightly below the union scales.

Opposition of the group of employing photo-engravers at this time to any increase and to the maintenance of any standard wage scale led to the resignation of this group from the federation. This action was taken by the employers, not the employees, although according to the plan of the federation the employees in every typothetæ plant were to decide upon membership in the federation.

Since 1923 the question of wages has been discussed at many meetings of the joint industrial board. The electrotypers' union raised its scale in 1923 and the typographical union in 1924 and again in January, 1927. Therefore the federation members have felt that their wages should be raised. But as the question has been discussed over the table of the joint board, the employee representatives have recognized the poor conditions shown by the slackness in their own plants, and in many cases it has been the employees who have moved to lay the matter on the table for the time. In April, 1926, at the request of the joint industrial board the chairman of the employers' group spoke to the employees' group on the financial condition of the industry, and the men were apparently satisfied.

At each meeting of the board during 1927 the question of wages was discussed, but action was postponed because of the general slackness. The employers, however, promised to make every effort

[12] Printing, Oct. 20, 1923, p. 57.

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to keep men at work full time, and in many plants in spite of the scarcity of work there were no lay offs of the regular force. The wage question was quiescent only because of general conditions, and when business should become more active, more active demands on the part of the employees were to be expected. For the most part during the years 1924 to 1927 wages were discussed without the question coming to the point of a vote, or a request being made and rejected. The discussions between the two groups apparently led to agreement as to what was possible under existing conditions. To the extent that this occurred, the federation fulfilled its purpose.

Shop Practices

The Graphic Arts Industrial Federation is not a closely organized or rigidly controlled association, and for the most part such questions as shop practices are left to the determination of the individual plant. A number of matters which may be classed as shop practices, however, have been discussed by the joint industrial board, and several important decisions were made. Among these matters were the questions of membership cards, overtime regulations, apprenticeship, and vacations with pay.

One of the first matters considered by the joint industrial board was that of membership cards. A joint committee recommended that cards be issued to all employees in federation plants, cards of one color being used for journeymen and of another for all other employees. The recommendation was adopted by the board and referred to the two groups, the representatives agreeing to urge its adoption. The employees' group, however, voted that no distinction should be made between journeymen and others, and the employers' group accepted the decision of the employees. An employment bureau was established at the typothetæ headquarters, and holders of federation cards were to be given preference in employment.

One of the most important decisions of the federation was the adoption of a set of overtime regulations. While in large part the typothetæ plants had continued to pay for overtime according to the system that had been in vogue under the old union contracts, in some cases differences of opinion arose. The employees' group, therefore, in February, 1925, asked that a set of rules be adopted to standardize overtime rates in all typothetæ shops. The rules presented by the employees were adopted after slight revision, signed, and copies sent to all plants. While these rules were substantially the union rules, the employees felt that they had secured a real benefit in having them regularly adopted. In many cases they were the means of quickly settling disputes and establishing good will where there had been a possibility of serious dissatisfaction.

The important matter of apprenticeship has not been a subject of action by the federation. The typothetæ cooperates with the Wentworth Institute School of Printing, helping to select the 50 or so boys who enter the school each year, and placing them in typothetæ plants after a year's course. The apprenticeship period is officially four years, including the school year. There is, however, no detailed supervision or regulation of apprentice training or apprentice wage

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scales, either by the typothetæ or by the federation. The only action by the joint industrial board of the federation came when the electrotypers asked that their employers should agree upon the apprenticeship period, in order that the apprentices might know when they should become journeymen. When the employing electrotypers voted that the period should be four years, except in unusual cases where an extension of time might be needed, the joint board voted to accept this recommendation.

The question of vacations with pay was brought up early in 1924 and has been frequently discussed since then. One prominent typothetæ plant which follows a policy of paying wages higher than the typothetæ scale and giving more favorable working conditions, and is therefore not in the federation, has a plan whereby its employees receive a vacation with pay, amounting to one day for each month of service during the year. With this in mind, an employee suggested to the joint industrial board that vacations with pay be granted to the extent of one day off for each month in which an employee was not tardy or absent. The matter was discussed and referred to both groups for consideration as a matter of much importance. It appeared next in the records in November, when vacations were discussed particularly with reference to paying wages for Christmas Day, but no action was taken. In February, 1925, the employees' group presented a modified plan for vacations, that employees after continuous service of three years should be given one week's vacation with pay, provided the employee should take a full two weeks' vacation. Two months later, when the men asked for an answer to their request, the employers' group voted unanimously "That the vacation proposal submitted to this body by the employees' group can not be granted at this time, and that the employees' group be asked to withdraw the request." The following year, in June, the question of vacations was again brought up, and after discussion was laid on the table until September. At the September meeting the board finally voted to recommend that all firms pay regular wages for Christmas Day, and notices to that effect were sent out. As this action was in the form of a recommendation only, and was not voted upon by the typothetæ, it was not binding upon the employers, but in most cases the recommendation was followed. The employees, after more than two years, it is true, had secured a concession which was a substantial one, although less than the original request. And they do not consider the matter dead. "It takes time," said one employee representative, "but we are working on them."

Other Federation Activities

During the spring of 1923, when wages were discussed but no increase granted because of the poor condition of the printing industry, it was suggested that the financial problems of the employees might be relieved by a cooperative buying system. A considerable number of stores agreed to give discounts of 5 per cent or more on all purchases by holders of federation membership cards. Later a purchasing department was established, with a purchasing agent, who secures discounts of from 15 per cent up on a great variety of commodities, ranging from clothing and household equipment to

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radios and automobiles. As the savings made are considerable, the service is largely used and popular and it is a very important part of the federation in the minds of many employees.

In the fall of 1924 the employees' group decided that an activity which would bring employees from different plants together would be of considerable value to them by promoting acquaintance and good fellowship and increasing interest in the federation. A bowling league was organized, with teams from different plants. The employers have each year given cups to the winning team and its individual members, at a banquet at the close of the season. In 1926 and 1927 the women also had their teams and a league of their own. The weekly bowling night brings together a large and enthusiastic group of graphic arts bowlers.

The meetings of the joint industrial board and of the employees' group were at first held in the evening. By 1924 the attendance at the monthly meetings of shop representatives had decreased. To remedy this, the employees asked that the meetings should be held during business hours and the employees be paid for their time. The employers accordingly voted that the employee representatives could discontinue work at 3.30 to attend meetings of the employees' group or of the joint industrial board, without reduction of pay. The constitution had not specifically provided for regular meetings of the joint industrial board. Meetings could always be called by request of either group, but in some cases four months or more had passed between meetings. In the fall of 1925 the employees' group asked for a regular arrangement of meetings, and it was voted to meet on the second Thursday of March, June, September, and December.

Shop Organizations and Their Work

The foundation of the Graphic Arts Industrial Federation is the shop organization, for the groups which elect the members of the governing boards are composed of representatives from the various shops. The constitution and by-laws, however, are not specific as to the purposes, duties, and powers of the shop organizations. In the outline of organization which was originally presented to the employees for their approval appears the following statement about these organizations:

> The plan provides that each employer shall arrange for a complete organization of his employees within the shop. He should establish close contact with them and encourage a free expression of opinion from all employees. He should lay stress upon the fact that cooperation is one of the chief features of this plan.

In the minds of the employers who sponsored the plan the shop organization had a very important function. It was to promote a friendly relationship between the employer and his employees by providing a means of free expression and securing the prompt bringing to light of any dissatisfaction and the elimination of its causes. The shop chairman, elected by the employees, was to be their spokesman, and whenever necessary present their case to the management. While this was nowhere definitely stated, it was assumed that if a cause of difficulty was not straightened out in any shop the employees

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could appeal to the joint industrial board, and the decision of the board would be final and binding.

The form of organization within the shop might vary with the conditions. In practice a great variety of types of organization is found. In many cases the organization is very informal, there being only a shop chairman. In others a complete shop council is found, with representatives from each department. In one case the entire group of employees is organized into a society which meets monthly and has officers who form the shop council. Much difference is found in the degree of interest and in the amount of activity of the shop organization. The differences depend chiefly upon three factors—the interest and activity of the employer in promoting the organization, the quality of leadership in the employee group, and the need for a formal organization, depending upon the size of the plant.

The fact that so many commercial printing plants are small makes the need for an organization within the shop much less than in the large-scale industries. Of the 42 plants which were members of the Graphic Arts Industrial Federation in January, 1927, 24 had 25 employees or less, and 32 had 50 or less, leaving only 10 with over 50 employees in their printing and binding departments. In such small plants, and plants, too, in which the employees are in large part a skilled and intelligent group, the traditional barriers between employer and employee are less than in many industries, and the chance that grievances will arise and grow through lack of expression is not great. In such plants, also, questions which arise can in many cases be handled very simply by a single shop chairman with the employer, and any other organization would be unnecessarily cumbersome. From the standpoint of the federation, however, there is always the danger of a lack of knowledge of and interest in the federation in shops which are not regularly organized and functioning as shop units of the larger organization. As a result there have been constant appeals to the employers and employees to keep the shop organizations active. In a bulletin issued by the joint industrial board in December, 1925, and signed by the joint chairmen, such an appeal is made:

> The federation may be made more serviceable if the individual shop committee and proprietor will make their own internal organization more active. Monthly meetings of the committee and quarterly meetings of the whole shop group would help to stimulate interest in the federation. It is also quite possible that by contact outside business hours the atmosphere in the shop and between the shop and the management would constantly reach a happier condition.

Unfortunately for the purposes of this study, the informality of organization in the shops is shown by the lack of any records as to the activities of the shop councils or shop chairmen in serving their constituents. By conversations with shop chairmen, other employees, and employers the endeavor was made to learn how the federation functioned in typical plants.

In the three largest typothetæ printing plants, each of which employs 100 or more, shop councils are in existence, with representatives elected by each department and a chairman elected by the council. The procedure in handling any question depends upon the seriousness of the case. Some difficulties are straightened out by the

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department representatives with the foreman or superintendent, while in other cases the chairman goes to the employer directly. In each of these plants the question of payment for overtime was a source of serious difficulty, which was settled by the adoption of rules for overtime by the joint industrial board or later by referring to these rules. In one of the plants the shop committee has been used on questions of discipline. On one occasion the employer referred to the committee a question of this sort, agreeing to follow its recommendation, and on the decision of the committee one man was discharged and another let go later when it was convenient. Grievances in regard to promotion and wage increases have also been handled by these committees. At the time of the wage increase in September, 1923, the agreement was for the new scale, rather than for flat increases to all employees. This brought much dissatisfaction and called for discussion and adjustment in individual plants. In one of these large plants discussion between the shop chairman and the employer brought an agreement that every employee should receive some increase, regardless of whether he was already receiving a wage over the new scale.

One group among whom there is dissatisfaction in some cases is that of the press feeders. The feeders received larger increases, proportionately, during the war period than did the other more skilled crafts, and the differential between the wages of the feeders and the pressmen had been reduced. When the wage increase of 1923 was given, therefore, the employers refused to give any increase to the press feeders, and the employees' group accepted the decision. A dissatisfied member of the press-feeders' group in a large plant was taken to a meeting of the employees' group by his shop chairman to show him that the group was functioning and would do all it could for him, and he was convinced. In each of these large plants it is clear that the plan has worked to eliminate sources of dissatisfaction. The shop chairman in each of these plants has held the position since the plan was introduced in 1922.

Among the medium-sized plants one bindery has an active shop committee of three members. This plant employs people of a variety of nationalities, and its work is somewhat less skilled than that of the printing plants. Testimony from the employer, the shop chairman, and people in the shop is that the organization is useful in straightening out difficulties. Many bindery girls and men would not go to the "boss," but do bring their troubles to the shop chairman, who is successful in eliminating grievances which would hinder the work and create discontent. In this plant such social events as an annual outing and a Christmas party given by the employer contribute to the good will which is evident.

Another medium-sized plant, a printing plant, has an organization of all its employees which meets once a month. A committee representing the different departments functions to straighten out the few grievances that are presented. It has had no occasion to take any question to the general meeting.

These plants are typical of those in which the federation idea is working at its best. In others the reports are less favorable. In some of the small plants the shop chairman acts to represent his plant in the employees' group, but has not functioned within his own plant.

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whether from absence of any need or from lack of knowledge of and interest in the objects of the federation depending upon the individual case. In one of the larger plants, the employer, although a strong proponent of the federation in general, has not pushed the organization within his own plant, considering it unnecessary. There is, however, a shop chairman who has on occasion taken up various questions with the employer. It is very evident that in this plant there is dissatisfaction under the surface which has not been brought out and eliminated by removing its causes. Dissatisfaction still exists because the wage increase of 1923 was given only to those who were getting below the new scale, and there is considerable question as to whether the full typothetæ scale is paid in all cases where the people are entitled to be ranked as competent journeymen or journeywomen. In one large edition bindery the employer expressed considerable skepticism as to the federation being of any value in his plant, except as it helped in 1922 to maintain the nonunion status established after the 1921 strike. The shop chairman has had no occasion to take up many questions with the office. The chairman, however, feels that the system has been helpful in quickly taking care of complaints in the shop. For example, an apprentice who had "served his time," but whose wages had not been raised to the scale, was quickly established as a journeyman with the full scale when this oversight was called to the attention of the employer. This plant for several years had held no election. In another large bindery little interest was shown by either the employer or the employees, although there is a shop chairman, elected several years ago, who attends the meetings of the employees' group.

No complete census has been possible either of the plants or of the employees in them. However, the sample which has been reported upon is sufficient to indicate the possibilities of the federation and some of its weaknesses.

There can be no doubt that the shop organization, the local unit under the Graphic Arts Industrial Federation, is functioning in many plants. There can be no doubt, also, that in others, through lack of interest of the employers or of aggressive leadership on the part of the employees, there is little interest and little success in achieving that fundamental purpose of the federation, the promoting of confidence and a spirit of cooperation between employer and employee by securing a means of contact and the prompt removal of sources of misunderstanding and friction.

The right of any shop organization to appeal to the joint industrial board in case of failure to reach a satisfactory agreement upon any question of dispute with its employer is understood as a part of the federation plan, although nowhere specifically stated. No formal appeal of this sort has at any time been made in such a way as to be a matter of record. The informal discussions across the table, however, may be of more importance than formal action. The subjects which have been brought up for discussion by the employees have been of a wide variety, and have included conditions in individual plants. In some cases explanation has been all that was needed, while in others employers have taken the part of employees in straightening out difficulties. The joint industrial board in practice is a source of strength to the employees in their relations within the shops, at

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the same time that the board depends for its effectiveness upon support from active shop organizations.

Relation of Federation to Trade-unions

The Graphic Arts Industrial Federation, according to its constitution, consists of "open-shop employers and employees." Further than this there is no statement of its relations to and attitude toward the trade-unions. After the 1921 strike most of the typothetæ employers decided to run on an absolutely nonunion basis, and in many cases individual nonunion contracts were required for employment. One large plant secured a perpetual injunction against any effort of the unions to organize the establishment. By the time the federation was organized, however, such rigid war-time measures had been given up in most plants. The policy of the federation is that union people may be employed, although employers who wish to insist upon nonunion conditions may do so. The understanding is that while union members may be employed and be members of the federation with the benefits of membership, they may not be elected as shop representatives or as representatives on the joint industrial board. Many employers knowingly hire union members when necessary, although preferring not to. They often do so, however, with the advice, "Don't talk about it." In many plants union activity on the part of an employee would be dangerous.

The unions have, of course, endeavored to organize the workers in the federation plants, and when possible to place their people in positions in these plants. The pressroom and bindery unions, which lost most heavily in membership through the 1921 strike, have had some success in their organizing campaigns and have union members in many typothetæ plants, including some of those which are supposedly strictly nonunion. The typographical union has probably fewer people in the federation plants, partly because it is the strongest union locally and the one most feared by the employers and partly because the union insists upon the 44-hour week and allows its members to work in 48-hour shops only with a scale which amounts to the union 44-hour scale plus four hours at overtime rates. Another important reason is the tendency for an increasing amount of composition to be done in the trade composition houses, and while most of these plants in Boston are open shop, much of the skilled work is done by union men. The constant draining off of skilled compositors by the newspapers leaves a scarcity of such labor, which is a source of strength to the typographical union. It is significant that the typothetæ trade composition plants are not members of the Graphic Arts Industrial Federation.[13]

The policy of the employers in combating the organizing efforts of the unions has been to give advantages to employees in federation plants to equal or exceed advantages which might come through union affiliation, and through publicity to keep employees informed of the federation and its activities. In the fall of 1923 several unions

[13] The pressroom unions claimed a membership in 1927 of about 70 per cent of their numbers in 1921. The electrotypers' union reports only a very slight decrease in its membership. The typographical union lost less than 200 out of a total membership of about 2,000 book and job and newspaper. The bindery unions lost much more heavily than the others, and now have only a scattering membership except in book houses and a few union-label houses.

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were beginning active organizing campaigns. At the November meeting of the joint industrial board the employers presented a draft for a notice to be adopted and posted on the bulletin boards of all the federation shops. This was adopted by the board and by the employees' group, was signed by the joint chairmen and by the individual employer in each shop, and posted. It read as follows:

> We are advised that a number of union organizers have been sent here to inaugurate an active campaign in Greater Boston to revive the local unions.
>
> We are advising you of this matter because you may be approached and urged to join the union.
>
> Both you and this company are members of the Graphic Arts Federation. Since its inception the federation has been the means of increased friendliness and cooperation between employer and employee. As the federation becomes better known and is extended to more cities its usefulness will increase and its permanent benefits will be more apparent.
>
> It is our determination to negotiate all industrial matters between ourselves and our employees through the federation and through no other channels.
>
> We are speaking thus frankly with you so that there may be no possible mistake in your mind as to where we stand.

While this is clearly an employer notice, the employees' group was willing to accept it.

In January, 1924, the New England Printer was established by the Boston Typothetæ Board of Trade and other organizations of New England. A section of this periodical was given over to the federation for publicity, under the charge of an editorial committee. A bulletin committee also was appointed to prepare notices for the plant bulletin boards. At the end of each year a bulletin similar to that of November, 1923, has been adopted, signed, and posted. That of December, 1926, declared, "This statement is made unanimously and whole-heartedly, and your committee believes it is concurred in by every member, both employer and employee, in the federation."

Federation Membership

When the federation began activities in 1922 it included 68 firms. By March, 1923, the number had grown to 71 firms, which employed 2,200 people. By January, 1927, however, the membership had decreased to 42 plants and 1,430 employees. The loss of membership is to be accounted for in several ways: First, by the withdrawal of the photo-engravers' group following the wage increase of 1923; then by failures, consolidations, and withdrawals from business for other reasons of a number of plants; and by a few minor resignations. Since all employees in federation plants, however, are automatically members of the federation and are issued membership cards, the number of employee members does not indicate the number of employees who have an active interest in the federation. There is considerable evidence that in some of the plants the employees know very little about the organization and think of the federation chiefly as an insurance plan.

What Has the Federation Accomplished?

To estimate the accomplishments of the federation, we turn first to the direct testimony of the people concerned, the employers and employees in federation plants. All the points to be given hereafter

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were brought out by representatives of these two groups in conversation. First, the reports of the employers:

1. Since the federation was established, the industry has seen six years of peace and uninterrupted operation. The 48-hour week has been maintained, and the typothetæ plants, the largest part of the commercial industry, are for the most part on a nonunion basis. No dealings with the unions have been necessary, and the employers are able to "run their own shops."

2. A more friendly relationship has resulted between the employers and their employees. The joint industrial board has been highly successful in promoting good feeling and mutual confidence between the two groups. In the shops where the federation organization is active the employers know their employees better than they did before, and there is a better spirit. The employers believe that most of the employees are satisfied.

3. In promoting a "channel of communication" the federation has worked. Through the joint industrial board the employers learn what the people in their shops are thinking and wanting, and the employee representatives get a new appreciation of the business problems of the employers. "We have learned," said one employee representative, "that if the business doesn't go on, nobody gets a living. We are not for anything that takes away the bread and butter from anybody, much less from everybody." The employers believe also that the individual people in the shops get a straighter story of what goes on in the joint conference than they did under the old union system.

4. Within the shop the plan assures that any questions and sources of discontent will be brought to the attention of the management. There is no artificial fomenting of trouble by "outsiders," but difficulties are quickly settled within the shop. Here also the "channel of communication" is open and is effective. This is true wherever the shop organization is functioning, but is not true in every plant within the federation.

Among the employees as among the employers there is no unanimity as to the results of the federation or as to the importance of the various results. But several points were mentioned by enough employees to seem representative of the opinion of considerable sections of the employees in federation shops:

1. The fact that since 1922 there has been peace in the industry is important in the minds of many. They look back upon the disastrous strike of 1921 as a costly experience for both groups and as evidence of the futility of strikes. They consider that with better understanding on the part of employees of business conditions and problems it is possible to settle differences in some other way than by strikes, and they are for the plan which has proved this.

2. To many employees (how large a proportion can not be accurately estimated) there is a positive advantage in having no connection with the unions. They speak of poor leadership in some of the unions before 1921, and say that in many instances employees joined the unions because they had to, and not from choice. They are disillusioned with unionism and glad to try out a different system. Freedom from the necessity of paying dues to the union was mentioned frequently as an advantage of the federation type of organiza-

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tion. According to many shop chairmen, a large majority of the people prefer this arrangement.

3. The federation has brought better relations with the employers. The employee representatives on the joint industrial board testify, as do the employer members, to the friendly relations and the spirit of mutual confidence and trust existing among the members of the board.

4. Results have been obtained for the employees through the action of the joint industrial board. Many spoke of the wage increase of 1923, the payment of wages for Christmas Day since 1926, and the adoption of the rules for overtime payment as evidence that the discussions in the joint board were effective in securing concessions asked by the employees. The representatives believe that when business improves they will be able to secure wage increases and eventually shorter hours through the federation.

5. Difficulties within the shops are settled more quickly by the shop organization than under the old system when a union officer came in and all too often stirred up the trouble rather than settled it. The employers are more ready to settle difficulties with people in their own shops. Moreover, the protection of the rights of the employees through the shop organization and the right of appeal to the joint industrial board appears to many as a very real thing. To a question whether the interests of the employees were as well protected now as under the union system, one of the employee leaders said, "Yes and no. We have no funds and can't strike. But we believe things can be ironed out without strikes. We have confidence in the integrity and fairness of the employers."

6. The insurance feature of the federation is very popular. Some plants pay the entire cost themselves, while the general rule is that employees pay a small part, amounting to 10 cents per week for $1,000 of life insurance. This is, of course, very cheap insurance. Many employees compare this with the amount of insurance which they would get for union dues, and consider that they are better off. They realize, however, that the insurance tends to tie them to their jobs. They can continue insurance while they go from one federation plant to another, but if they go outside they can then continue it only by paying the regular rate for their age.

7. The purchasing service also is popular. In fact, in some plants the employees appear to know little of the federation except the insurance and purchasing features. But the purchasing agent is able to make a substantial saving and his services are largely used.

It is clear that large numbers of the employees in federation plants are quite satisfied and willing to continue with the present arrangement, feeling that their interests are protected and that the employers can be trusted to be fair. But in the background of the situation in the minds of the employees are the unions. "The federation is our only safeguard now," said one employee representative who on the whole was strongly in favor of the federation. Another declared his belief in the unions in general and their benefits, but distrust in some of the leadership among the Boston unions in the past. Another said, "I don't expect to carry a card again, but you never can tell." Such men are actively cooperating in the work of the federation and are glad to try out the federation plan.

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But if at any time any number of employees should feel that their confidence in the employers was not justified, and that their interests were not as well safeguarded by the federation as they would be by the unions, a movement back toward the unions might be expected.

The Boston printing trade-unions are, of course, opposed to the Graphic Arts Industrial Federation. While they recognize the seriousness to the union movement of the "open-shop" condition in the Boston commercial printing industry, for the most part they do not admit that the federation makes a sufficient contribution to the welfare of the employees to be a serious competitor. The union criticisms should be considered:

1. According to the unions, the federation is not an "open-shop" plan. It is not open to the unions. Union members in federation shops for the most part dare not let their union membership be known, nor talk unionism. As a broad generalization it is undeniable that this is true. In the competition between two types of industrial organization a weapon of the employer is the exclusion from employment of those who oppose his type of organization. Inevitably the typothetæ employers prefer not to hire union members, and do so knowingly only when it is necessary in order to secure competent people.

2. The federation employees do not have as much protection in the form of insurance and pension rights, and the right to be taken care of in sickness and old age, as in the union homes, as do union members. This is true, but it is also true that federation members are not paying for such things, but only a very moderate amount for insurance.

3. Wage scales are lower than are the union scales. Moreover, it is claimed that the typothetæ scales "don't mean anything" and that there is undercutting of the scales by typothetæ employers. This is a very important criticism and will be discussed a little later.

4. It is claimed that the federation gives no real protection to its employees, for "naturally" the shop chairmen and representatives on the joint board can not be free to act, and must not jeopardize their own positions by opposing the employers too strongly. No specific evidence of the truth of this general statement was given by any union officer. Careful inquiry among shop chairmen failed to bring any corroboration of the criticism. All the chairmen talked with believed that they were entirely free to support the cause of the employees, either with their own employer or in the joint industrial board. They have been convinced by the leaders of the employers' group that the employers mean what they say and will support the employees on any such issue. The representatives believe that the right of appeal to the joint board prevents the possibility of discrimination against any employee who might be too active to please his employer. It can not be denied, however, that in a shop where the organization is not in active operation with the strong support of the employer, there might be discrimination of this sort. And during periods of slack business, when jobs are scarce, a shop chairman in such a shop might hesitate, for example, to support the claim of a man to receive the full journeyman's scale. While no direct evidence of this sort has been found, it is a possibility.

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5. According to the unions, the employees in the federation have no power to force an issue, and therefore have no real power. The employers can "stall" and so prevent action, while the employees are helpless. This criticism ignores what power there may be in discussion over the table by honest and well-intentioned groups. It is quite true, however, that the employees lack economic power through this organization. Under the theory of the organization, nevertheless, differences can be settled by agreement without force. How this works out is dependent upon the caliber of the two groups, the fairness of their approach to problems, and the readiness of the employers to make needed concessions without being forced.

6. The unions declare that there is dissatisfaction in federation shops. In evidence they cite applications for membership in the unions from people in federation plants, and refer to other plants where the employees know nothing about the federation and would join the unions if they dared. There are without doubt shops where the federation organization is not functioning, where the employees are not informed as to any protection possible to them through the federation, and where the unions are therefore able to make a successful appeal for membership. In plants where wages are distinctly lower than the union scales, or where other causes of dissatisfaction are not eradicated by the shop organization, it is not surprising if the employees look toward the unions again. It has not been possible to secure evidence as to the degree to which the unions are able to appeal successfully to employees in plants where federation conditions are favorable. But there are some employees who are not ready to put all their trust in the promises of the federation, and who therefore maintain membership in the unions.

The interested testimony of employers and employees in federation plants and of the Boston printing trade-unions as to the results of the Graphic Arts Industrial Federation has been reported. But to make an objective estimate of the results and value of the federation is very difficult. In the first place, it is impossible to separate the effects of this organization from the results which would have come from the general conditions of this period. Business has not been good at any time since 1921.

New England industry in general is said to "have its back to the wall," and the printing industry, with its dependence upon other industries for its customers, is affected by the general condition. The Boston printing industry, moreover, in common with the industry in other centers, since 1920 has had a serious condition of overequipment in which the capacity of the plants is greater than the amount of orders which can be secured at profitable prices. The volume of catalogue printing, formerly a very important part of the production in Boston, has greatly decreased. The fight for business both in Boston and over a wider geographical territory results in much price cutting. Important orders have gone to other cities at reduced prices. Some typothetæ plants have been busy, particularly those which specialize in a certain service or type of printing, but many have not been busy, on the whole, for several years, and some are said to be in financial difficulties. Several failures have occurred among typothetæ plants. Among the union plants the great majority are very small, "cheap printers" whose competition is not of great

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moment. But the largest union plant ranks with the largest typothetæ plants, and several others do substantial volumes of work. Testimony is that these plants, on the whole, have been busy since 1921, and in some cases have expanded. What is the reason? The union-label work, in the first place, is confined to these union plants, and for several years an active campaign has been carried on by the Allied Printing Trades Council to further the patronage of union plants. Then the typothetæ plants during the disorganization of the 1921 strike lost work which has not come back to them, some going out of town and some to union plants in Boston. Difficulty of typothetæ plants in getting and keeping skilled men is cited by the unions as a cause of this condition, although many skilled workers are kept in typothetæ plants by paying the union scale or more. For the most part, however, the union houses have not been known for high-class work, as certain of the typothetæ houses have, and the low-price printer has an advantage in a time of severe price competition such as this.

To answer satisfactorily these questions on the fundamental economic condition of the Boston printing industry, in both its union and nonunion branches, would require a far-reaching survey which is not possible as part of this study. But the available information raises a question whether the object of the Graphic Arts Industrial Federation, "so to improve existing conditions as to reflect themselves in greater stability of business, employment, and wages, by the joint endeavors of management and employees working together to this end," has been obtained. This has been a period in which stability of conditions was much to be desired and very difficult to obtain. To the extent that the federation has maintained a standard wage scale and thus set some limits to competition it has contributed to stability. On the other hand, as it was fathered by a trade association composed only of the nonunion printers, there is under the federation plan none of the attack upon poor business conditions, by trying to educate the whole group of employing printers in good business methods, which is so important if the entire level of the industry is to be raised. That the union plants are outside the Typothetæ Board of Trade and no effort is made to secure the cooperation of all groups of employing printers, may be a more important element in the situation of the Boston printing industry than is recognized by the typothetæ.

Whatever the causes, it is clear that business has been poor, jobs have not been plentiful, and labor has not been in position to make demands. The federation will not have proved itself until it has passed through a period of active business and maintained the interest and loyalty of the employees by securing for them as much as they believe they might get through the unions.

The question of wages is very important in estimating the results of the federation. A comparison of the wage scales of the typothetæ and the unions since their relations were broken off in 1921 will be helpful;

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TABLE 3.—WAGE SCALES OF BOSTON TYPOTHETÆ AND UNION WAGE SCALES SINCE 1921

Craft, and date of adoption of scale	Typothetæ scale (48 hours)	Union scale (48 hours)
Hand compositors:		
Before April, 1921		$41.00
Apr. 4, 1921	$37.00	
May 1, 1921		[1] 38.28 43.50
Oct. 1, 1923	40.00	
Apr. 1, 1924		[1] 40.48 46.00
Jan. 1, 1927		[1] 42.24 48.00
Cylinder pressmen:		
Before April, 1921		43.50
Apr. 4, 1921	39.50	
Oct. 1, 1923	42.50	
Cylinder feeders:		
Before April, 1921		36.50
Apr. 4, 1921	30.00	
Bookbinders (forwarders and finishers):		
Before April, 1921		41.50
Apr. 4, 1921	37.50	
Oct. 1, 1923	40.50	
Bindery women:		
Before April, 1921		22.20
Apr. 4, 1921	19.20	
Oct. 1, 1923	20.70	
Electrotypers:		
Before April, 1921		43.50
Apr. 4, 1921	39.50	
Oct. 1, 1923	42.50	47.50

[1] For 44 hours.

Since April, 1921, the typothetæ wage scales have been regularly somewhat lower than those of the unions. The typographical union scale for 44 hours is slightly above that of the typothetæ for 48 hours. The scales of the other unions are on a 48-hour basis, and run above the 48-hour typothetæ scales by amounts of from $1 for pressmen to $5 for electrotypers and $6.50 for cylinder feeders. This does not mean, however, that all employees in typothetæ shops receive a lower scale than do workers in union shops. Testimony is general that the highly skilled workers, whose numbers are never sufficient to meet the demand, receive at least the union scale.

For the general run of average workers, however, the situation is different. The union scales are minimum scales, from which the only deviation is in the case of the regularly recognized apprentices. In the case of the typothetæ the scales are less rigid. The scales are for journeymen and journeywomen, and questions arise as to the definition of these terms. There has been no attempt to work out a jointly controlled system of apprenticeship, with regulation of apprentice periods, standards of performance, or wage scales, although a 4-year period is supposed to rule. There is accordingly no definite standard for a journeyman. A man who, according to an employer, is not a competent journeyman may be hired at less than the scale, and at a time when jobs are scarce many a worker is willing to take a job under such conditions. There is a real possibility of abuse, however, by employers pushing wages down regardless of the official scale in a time of dull business, and thus getting an unfair advantage over their competitors by lower costs. It is this sort of criticism which is the most frequently made of the federation system by the

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union officers. They cite many cases of federation plants employing workers at less than the scale and of such people joining the union and going to union plants at the union scale. The typothetæ, in answer to such criticisms, says that it trains many people and that workers who are getting less than the scale are learners. But again the lack of definite control permits abuses. Cases of this sort have come to the attention of the employers through the shop organizations or have been discussed and straightened out by the joint board.

Under the federation plan such grievances should always come up for settlement, but workers in many cases turn to the unions rather than to the shop organization for redress. So long as there are rumors that "the typothetæ scale doesn't mean anything," and so long as such rumors are upheld by instances of adult workers in typothetæ shops receiving less than the official scale, there is opening for the unions regardless of the facts in any particular case.

The question of control which is brought up by this problem of undercutting of wages is a fundamental one. The typothetæ and the federation have no power to control their membership, except by "moral suasion." Is that sufficient to hold in line a considerable number of employers with widely differing interests and points of view? The amount of price cutting current even among typothetæ members gives a negative answer to that question.

Another fundamental question is as to the distribution of authority under the federation plan. The constitution provides that "the joint industrial board shall have full power in all matters referred to it for adjudication. Vital actions affecting either or both groups shall not become final and binding until confirmed by the group affected." The plan originally presented to the employees for their approval provided that the decisions of the board should be final, the representatives on the board having received their instructions from and being responsible to their groups. It was said that through this organization "both employers and employees will have an equal voice in such questions of mutual interest as may arise." The plan was thus somewhat ambiguous as to the authority which was to reside in the joint board.

From discussions with the employers who worked out the provisions of the original plan there is evident some difference of opinion as to what power the employee group should have. In the plan finally adopted, however, the employers gave up none of their power to make the final decision on any requests from the employees. The vote of the board is by individuals rather than by groups, with the purpose of securing a better discussion and a more effective bringing together of the two groups. In theory, then, a single employer voting with the employee group could override his colleagues. In practice, however, the employer representatives meet and discuss any important issue before they meet the employee representatives. In some cases they go into conference with instructions. Clearly their decisions are not arrived at through the discussion with the employees. The course of the discussions of the wage question illustrates the method used. In each case when there was definite action the decision was made by the employers and communicated to the employees. The constitution provides that vital actions of the board must be confirmed by the group affected. The course of events has actually been, how-

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ever, in a number of cases, first, decision by the typothetæ, then acceptance by the joint industrial board, and finally acceptance by the employees' group.

The matters which have come before the board for definite action thus far have been in the form of requests of the employees for certain concessions. The employers have, therefore, had the right to the veto power, even if the joint board had adopted a measure. Apparently, if the employers were in the position of making a request, as for a reduction in wages, the reduction could not be put into effect until it had been confirmed by the employees' group. To this extent the employees' group has authority.

The plan makes no provision for action in case of a deadlock. It is the intention of the employers that no deadlock should be allowed to occur, but that agreement should be reached on all vital matters. In the spring of 1923, when the employers refused to grant a wage increase, the employee group voted not to accept the action and to hold the matter open for further discussion. Six months later the increase was secured. But in this case the employees had declared against arbitration, even though the increase were not granted. An agreement of the two groups was ultimately reached. Clearly the employees have no power to bring economic pressure on the employers to force a concession. But in meeting and discussing questions of mutual concern it has been possible to secure results by agreement when both sides make effort to see the interests and problems of the other group and to reach an agreement acceptable to both.

Weaknesses of the Federation

A number of weaknesses of this organization, which have already been referred to, may be briefly summed up:

1. The problem of control of wages is only partially solved. While the federation wage scales exert influence, in a time of slack business there is some tendency on the part of employers to cut wages. When the minimum scales are not rigidly enforced there is lacking the stimulus to efficiency which is exerted by rigid enforcement of wage standards and there is danger of price cutting based on differences in wage costs. The industry would be better off, in all probability, if inefficient plants which could not afford to pay the scale were crowded out by enforcing the scale. But the typothetæ can not force its members, and through the federation there is none of the pressure from below which is characteristically exerted by the unions.

2. Labor policy is the basis of organization of the Boston Typothetæ Board of Trade. The Graphic Arts Industrial Federation therefore partakes of a weakness of the organization which supports it, in that the campaign of education in business methods is limited to the employing printers in the open-shop branch of the industry, and that there is no effort to secure the cooperation and good will of the union plants in any program for the good of the whole industry.

3. The federation is only as strong as its shop organizations, and while in many shops it is strong, in others it is weak, the employees know little about it, and there are no regular elections of representatives. In such plants there is no assurance that dissatisfactions are

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being eliminated as they arise, and at any time they may prove a fertile field for union efforts.

4. Whatever protection exists to the individual employee through his right of appeal to his shop committee and, if necessary, to the joint industrial board, is implied in the fact that these structures have been set up. The rights of the employees are nowhere specifically stated, nor do the employers bind themselves specifically to certain things. This is a decided weakness—in the first place from the standpoint of publicity. If each employee had in his hands a book which declared plainly his rights under the federation there would be fewer who could claim to know little about the organization, and more use might be made of the machinery to handle differences. In the second place, such statements would go far as evidence of the sincerity of the employers.

5. The lack of unanimity among the employers is a difficulty. The leaders on the joint board can act only so far as they are able to get the consent of their group. At a time when some leaders think that wage increases would be good policy, for instance, others in the typothetæ oppose. The success of a plan such as this depends upon keeping ahead of the unions, keeping conditions sufficiently favorable so that there is no incentive to the employees to join the unions. It is not always easy to convince a group of employers of this. It would seem easier, on the whole, for individual large plants to succeed in running satisfactorily on a nonunion basis over a period of time than for a group of comparatively small plants to be held in line and standards maintained so that the organization might have a permanent success. Unquestionably the success of this or any similar organization depends upon the employers. If they are sufficiently awake to the conditions, ready to make concessions when warranted, and quick to protect the interest of employees against employers who may not be living up to the spirit of the organization, they may succeed in making the organization last. If they are not, when business improves a swing back to the unions may be expected.

6. The fact that on all requests of the employees the final decision is in the hands of the employers, and that there is neither provision for further appeal nor the possibility of pressure on the employers except through the process of discussion, indicates that the employees under the federation lack the power which under other circumstances the trade-unions have. The employers have not gone so far in their effort to compete with the unions as to give over to the federation any appreciable share of the control traditionally exerted by the employer. While many employees, in spite of this, believe that the employers will be fair and are willing to give the plan a chance to prove itself, there are some who are more skeptical and therefore are members of the unions. This fundamental weakness of the employees' group is a weakness of the federation in its competition with the unions.

7. Although the commercial printing industry of Boston is unquestionably in bad condition, and the federation was "designed as a constructive influence in the graphic arts industries," no effort has been made to use the organization for any constructive work on such questions as efficiency, production, apprentice training, or wages in relation to production.

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The Graphic Arts Industrial Federation has lived for over six years. That fact alone is sufficient to call it successful to a considerable degree. It has made possible the maintenance of nonunion or open-shop conditions in the greater part of the commercial-printing industry of Boston during the years of depression which have lasted since 1921. It has not grown, however, but rather has lost membership, first, through the loss of the photo-engravers' group, then by several failures, and by the dropping out of small plants which have not been replaced. Nevertheless in the group of larger typothetæ plants in many cases the federation is functioning actively and giving a considerable degree of protection to the employees.

The joint industrial board has resulted in a very real feeling of respect and confidence between members of the two groups, while the discussions of the board have secured for the employees a number of concessions. Without doubt both employers and employees have been better off under this organization than under a nonunion condition with no organized means of communication between the two groups. The chief weaknesses of the federation are its lack of specific assurance to the employees of certain rights and protections, the absence of any far-reaching degree of authority in the joint industrial board of which employees are a part and of any appeal of the employees over the veto of the employers, and the lack of any means of control over the entire group of employers. The chief strength of the organization comes through the belief of the employees that the employers will be fair, that they will do whatever conditions warrant, and that therefore the rôle of force in securing for labor what it should have will prove unnecessary. Strength of the organization then depends to a very large degree upon the attitudes of the employers and the extent to which they justify this confidence of their employees. The personalities of some of the employer leaders, who have won the confidence of the employees, play a very large part in this situation. There is ground for question as to what degree of permanence can be expected from an organization whose strength is so largely a matter of personalities.

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Chapter 4.—Open-Shop Bookbinders of New York

New York has long been the strongest center of trade-union organization in the printing industry. To establish in one branch of the industry in such a center a well-organized industrial relations plan of a different sort was the difficult undertaking of the employing edition bookbinders of New York. Following a widespread strike in 1921 a system of shop councils and a general joint council was adopted, which has remained in effect until 1928, and has indicated by its existence and activity that it is to some degree achieving its purpose.

New York is the largest center in the country for edition bookbinding, that is, the binding of printed books. Edition binderies typically are plants of substantial size, employing over 100 people. In New York some 20 plants are responsible for a very large proportion of the product of the industry. The problem of organizing and securing joint action from the employers is accordingly very much more simple than in the printing industry with its numerous small plants. The plants are organized in the Employing Bookbinders' Association of New York.

Until 1921 the edition binderies recognized and dealt with the bindery unions, although on the part of the employers there was considerable dissatisfaction with the situation. Instead of one strong union, there was a series of unions, the printed-book binders, stampers, gilders, paper cutters, and bindery women.

This division among the unions led to confusion and jurisdictional problems. There were, moreover, many complaints of irresponsibility and of restriction of production. In April, 1921, this dissatisfaction came to a head. It was a time of great business uncertainty, while the approach of the date for the establishment of the 44-hour week was anticipated with apprehension. On April 5 four unions called a strike in one of the plants on a local question. This action was met by a notice of 22 employers on April 11 that as the unions had taken this action in violation of agreements and in breach of good faith, the employers could no longer deal with them, but would operate open shops, with a wage reduction and the 48-hour week. Union employees were invited to remain under these conditions. The strike at once became general and tied up a large proportion of the industry. As this was a slack time the plants were able to hold out and to train new help. The unions on the contrary lacked the necessary finances to wage a successful fight. The International Brotherhood of Bookbinders, with which the local unions were affiliated, on May 1 found itself engaged in a nation-wide strike for the reduction of hours, and quickly became bankrupt. The New York unions were decisively defeated, and many of their members gave up their union membership and drifted back to work. Except for a very few plants, the industry was established on an open-shop basis.[1]

[1] Printing, Apr. 16, 1921, p. 55; Apr. 23, 1921, p. 44; July 2, 1921, p. 47.

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This victory achieved, the employing bookbinders turned to a plan to make their position permanent. They decided to establish for the open-shop group of the Employing Bookbinders' Association of New York a series of shop councils, with a general council representative of employers and employees of all the plants. According to one of the leaders of the employers, it would be seen from this experiment whether the employers as a group were capable of conducting labor questions in such a manner that the men would be better satisfied than when under union control, or whether it would become necessary for the men again to affiliate with the union because of the inability of the employers to maintain for them fair and equitable treatment in the establishments.[2] Seventeen plants, employing 2,500 people, joined in this experiment.

The plan of this organization may be seen from the by-laws of the general council and of the shop councils of the open-shop group, Employing Bookbinders' Association of New York, and from the shop rules and wage scales for men and for women. These documents, first adopted in 1922, are now (1928) in effect with revisions. The analysis which follows is based upon these documents. The open-shop group prefers not to permit at the present time a detailed study of the operation of the plan in the various establishments. In the following therefore is presented the form of organization which is functioning through regular meetings, but no record of how much of its purpose it has accomplished is possible.

The council plan of the open-shop bookbinders of New York differs from those of the open-shop printers in Boston and Baltimore in the emphasis it puts on shop organization. This is the result of the difference in the size of plants. While in Boston and Baltimore most plants are small, so that there is an advantage in leaving the question of shop organization to be determined according to the needs of the plant, the members of the open-shop group of the Employing Bookbinders' Association of New York all employ from one hundred to several hundred people. A regularly established council in each establishment was therefore a necessary part of this industrial relations plan. A series of joint shop councils, meeting regularly in the various plants, with a general council representing all the plants to legislate for the industry, was the substance of the plan adopted.

The general council is made up of one employer and one employee representative from each shop. Each employee representative is elected by the employees of his shop, after being elected to the shop council, and serves on the general council until his term expires on the shop council. Decisions of the general council are made by a three-fourths vote. No procedure is established in case of failure of the council to reach a decision. The powers of the general council are comprehensive. It formulates wage scales and shop rules, acts upon matters referred by any shop council, may review any shop council decision when it formally votes that such a review is for the good of the industry, may call employers and employees as witnesses, and may amend the by-laws.

[2] Brassil, Daniel S.: Address to convention of Employing Bookbinders of America, Cleveland, Oct. 16–18, 1922.

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A standing committee of five employees elected by the employee representatives on the general council and an executive committee of five employers act jointly as a committee to consider any questions referred to them by the general council.

The by-laws provide specifically for the establishment in each plant of a joint shop council to meet at regular intervals to discuss matters of mutual interest. The council consists of 3 representatives of management, 2 female employees, and 4 male employees. Time and piece workers elect their representatives separately, according to the distribution of time and piece work in the shop. Employee representatives are elected by secret ballot and majority vote of the employees. Nominations are made by secret ballot on the first pay day in January and July. On the second pay day of those months the employees vote on 12 names having the highest number of votes, keeping the proper proportion of time and piece workers, and the 4 men and 2 women with the largest number of votes are elected to the shop council. On the third pay day of January and July, from the shop council representatives, the representative to the general council is elected. All employees over 16 who have been employed for 6 months by the open-shop group are entitled to vote, while those over 21 who are classified in the wage scale and have been employed in the open-shop group for 2 years may hold office.

Each shop council holds regular monthly meetings. Its decisions are by a majority vote of each group. Its chief duty is to see that the shop rules and scales are observed and to report any infraction to the general council. The shop council has no power to change the wage scale. Any piecework price not covered by the wage scale, however, is to be settled in the shop. In case of a disagreement over a piece price the shop council makes an adjustment, which is reported to the industrial relations manager and to the general council, and extends until otherwise ordered by the general council. Whenever a shop council fails to agree upon any subject the matter is made the first order of business at the next meeting, unless by a majority vote of those present it is referred immediately to the general council for final decision. Employees are urged to take up all grievances and suggestions with their foremen, either alone or with their representative, and if the matter is not satisfactorily adjusted to bring it before the shop council. The shop rules specifically mention complaints over wages or conditions of employment as matters which should be brought to the attention of foremen for adjustment. All questions from a shop must be discussed by the shop council before they are brought to the general council for action. Both groups on a shop council have the right to withdraw temporarily for private consideration of any question.

Employee representatives are paid by their employers for all time spent at monthly meetings of both their shop council and the general council. All meetings of shop councils and the general council are presided over by the industrial relations manager, who has no vote. This industrial relations manager, who in practice is the secretary of the open-shop group of the Employing Bookbinders' Association of New York, is therefore in the strategic position of being in constant touch with all points of the organization and with the developments in every plant.

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The basic activity of the general council is the formulation and promulgation of the shop rules and wage scales. These rules and scales have been revised several times during the life of the organization, and wages have been increased as they have in the general printing industry in New York. The shop rules establish the 48-hour week, overtime rates, the list of holidays customary in the industry, and other rules. Lost time is to be deducted from the weekly wage, while in case of lay off for lack of work the employer pays up to the time of lay off and notifies of the approximate length of the lay off. There is no provision for the payment of a full day's wages as is customary in the printing industry in New York. Rules for discipline are given, infraction of which make an employee subject to immediate discharge. A set of apprentice regulations is included, providing for indenture of apprentices, a 4-year apprenticeship, a ratio of 1 apprentice to 5 experienced men, and examination of apprentices at 6-month intervals to insure that they receive instruction and make progress. A 2-year apprenticeship for women is provided. An employment bureau operated by the open-shop group keeps a careful record of all workers in the plants and provides a place for workers to register and to apply for employment.

Wage scales are established for all the classified skilled positions and for apprentices. A careful classification, with definitions of each position, is followed by the scales for both time and piece work. For men time rates vary from $30 up to $54, but $44 and $46 are the rates for the larger proportion of positions listed. For women time rates range from $20 to $30, with $28 the scale for 15 out of 24 positions.[3]

Life and health insurance, paid for partly by the employers and partly by the employees, is an important feature of the activities of this organization.

An introductory note to employees in the shop rules and wage scales booklet, with statements in the text and in the by-laws of the councils, makes clear the hope of the open-shop group through this organization to secure cooperation and industrial peace under a system which would give every employee an opportunity to advance according to his ability and to receive wages above the minimum if he becomes a better worker than the average. Much emphasis is given to the statement that no restriction of output is to be recognized. The familiar slogan "A fair day's pay for a fair day's work" is the promise of the employers.

Without a study of the records and of the results in the shops it can not be said to what extent the open-shop group has achieved its purpose. From the outline of organization given in the by-laws and the rules certain points of strength and weakness appear which may be indicated.

The following points of weakness appear from a study of the structure of this organization:

1. Under the by-laws there is no power to enforce the standards agreed upon. Maintenance of the standards of wages, hours, and conditions depends entirely upon the good faith of all the plants,

[3] For comparison, the minimum scale of New York Paper Cutters' Union No. 119 on Mar. 1, 1928, was $48 for paper cutters and bindery machine operators. The basic scale for Bindery Women's Union No. 43 was $29.50.

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for there is no way to bring pressure upon them as is done by a well-organized union.

2. There is a lack of specific assurance of protection to the employees in the rules. There is no guaranty of freedom of speech or specific statement that employees will not be discriminated against for activities in protecting the interests of employees. There is no definite provision for appeal from discharge, although the right is implicit under the general right to bring complaints for adjustment.

3. Because of the lack of these guaranties, there is danger that grievances may not be brought up and eliminated by adjustment. While the monthly meetings may be an effective means of promoting confidence of the men in the management, grievances do not come to the surface unless the employees are sure that to make complaints is both a safe and a useful practice.

4. No provision is made for arbitration in case the general council is unable to reach a decision by a three-fourths vote. Even if the intention of the employers is never to allow a need for arbitration to arise, still a provision for arbitration would be a valuable assurance to the employees of the good faith of the employers.

On the other hand, the plan of this organization shows certain elements of decided strength:

1. The fact that the edition binding industry in New York is made up of a small number of plants, and that the greater part of production is represented in the organization, makes more easy the usually difficult problem of control and maintenance of standards under such a plan as this.

2. The existence of shop organization in every plant, with regular meetings and regular elections under the supervision of the central office, should help to keep alive the interest of both employers and employees.

3. The frequent and regular meetings, both of the shop councils and of the general council, give a very valuable opportunity for acquaintance of the two groups, and for the promotion of mutual interest and cooperation on the problems of the industry.

4. The presence of an industrial relations manager who, through acting as chairman of all councils, is in touch with the situation in every plant, and puts his full time on the job of maintaining a satisfactory relationship between the employers and employees is a source of strength to the organization.

Before a final appraisal of this plan could be made, however, it would be necessary to know whether the plan of control established by this organization is effective enough in maintaining the standards of wages, hours, and conditions to eliminate competition based upon differences in labor conditions; whether the joint machinery is effective in bringing into the open and eliminating all sources of dissatisfaction among the employees; and whether the employees feel that this organization protects their interests as to wages, hours, and working conditions as effectively as would union organization.

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Chapter 5.—The Printers' League and Collective Bargaining in New York

New York City is unique among centers of the book and job printing industry in the United States, for it produces nearly 20 per cent of the book and job product of the country. Its nearest rival, Chicago, is responsible for under 18 per cent, and no other city produces as much as 5 per cent of the total.[1] The Chicago industry, however, includes a strong nonunion group and its association of union employing printers speaks for only a minority of the plants. In New York, on the other hand, there exist strong organizations on the part of both employers and labor, and a very large proportion of book and job printing is produced under union conditions. Collective bargaining under these circumstances takes the form of highly developed wage-scale and working-conditions contracts and arbitration agreements, with machinery for administering the agreements and handling problems as they arise. These agreements represent a large scale and far-reaching experiment in organization for joint control and for joint attack on problems of the industry. What kinds of problems arise, and how are they handled? To what extent do the organized employers and employees cooperate in an effort to solve these problems, and to what degree is an effective control of the industry established by these means? These are the questions to which answers are to be attempted in the following pages.

The Industry

Printing is one of the major industries of New York City. The book and job branch includes approximately 1,500 to 2,000 plants, and from 30,000 to 35,000 wage earners.[2]

As is typical in this industry, the New York book and job industry includes a very large number of small plants and a small number of large establishments, the large plants doing a large part of the business. This is shown in the following table based on reports of the factory inspector.[3]

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[1] U. S. Census of Manufacturers, 1925. Statistics for industries, States, and cities, Tables II, IV.

[2] The U. S. Census of Manufactures for 1925, which omits plants with an annual value of products of under $5,000, reports for the book and job industry of New York 1,359 plants and 20,622 wage earners. Plants which both publish and print periodicals are classed with newspapers. In 1922, according to reports of the New York factory inspector, in Manhattan below Fifty-ninth Street, a section of the city which included over 80 per cent of the entire industry, the book and job industry, including periodical printing, had a total of 1,357 plants and 30,324 employees.—U. S. Census of Manufactures, 1925, Summary for States and cities, pp. 141–144; Hinrichs, A. F.: The Printing Industry in New York and Its Environs, Regional plan of New York and its environs, Economic series, Monograph No. 6, pp. 17, 48–53.

[3] Hinrichs, op. cit., pp. 48–53.

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TABLE 4.—NUMBER OF PLANTS AND EMPLOYEES IN BOOK AND JOB PRINTING INDUSTRY IN MANHATTAN SOUTH OF FIFTY-NINTH STREET, 1922, BY SIZE OF PLANT

Number of employees per plant	Plants	Employees	Number of employees per plant	Plants	Employees
1 to 2	313	480	100 to 249	26	3,472
3 to 4	222	768	250 to 499	16	5,729
5 to 9	286	1,917	500 to 999	5	3,695
10 to 19	245	3,334	1,000 and over	1	1,421
20 to 29	105	2,509			
30 to 49	78	2,929	Total	1,357	30,324
50 to 99	60	4,070			

Of the 1,357 book and job plants in the section of Manhattan south of Fifty-ninth Street in 1922, over 800 had less than 10 employees each, but these 800 plants employed only 10 per cent of the total number of workers. The 108 plants which employed 50 or more each had on their payrolls 60 per cent of all the workers in the industry.

New York is a highly specialized center, in contrast to many smaller cities where most plants do general commercial printing. There are a large number of unspecialized plants, particularly among the smaller shops, but specialization is typical of the larger plants. The chief specialty, and the one in which the absolute necessity for uninterrupted operation has largely determined the development of labor relations, is periodical printing. Other important specialties are book printing, advertising typography, machine composition, law and financial printing, poster printing, color printing, and engraved effects. These specialized groups are for the most part strongly unionized.

Three other factors have had a considerable effect upon recent developments in the industry and upon the relations between the employers and the unions. In the first place, since 1921 the New York industry has worked upon a 44-hour week basis, although in competing cities very large volumes of work are still produced under the 48-hour week. This lower wage scale, longer hour competition from cities which did not establish the 44-hour week in 1921, is a serious problem to New York. A second factor is a tendency for periodical printing to leave New York, due to a combination of causes, including labor costs, rents, transportation facilities, and postal zone rates. In 1927, of 40 magazines of national distribution published in New York, 21, with 175,000,000 copies annually, were printed outside New York, while 19, with 144,000,000 copies were printed in the city. New York Pressmen's Union No. 51, which is well qualified to speak on this point, is building on the theory that in time New York will have no large volume work but will be a center for commercial work instead of a periodical center.[4]

This loss of large work reduced New York's share of the total book and job printing product of the United States from 22.2 per cent in 1914 to 19.8 per cent in 1925. Chicago during the same period increased its share from 16.5 per cent to 17.7 per cent.

The third factor is a technological change. Large-cylinder presses, which in the past have produced the great bulk of presswork, are

[4] Arbitration proceedings, Printers' League and Printing Pressmen's Union No. 51, Dec. 19, 1927: Brief of league and statement of President Philip Umstadter of union.

[5] U. S. Census of Manufactures, 1914, vol. 1, pp. 359, 1074; 1925, Statistics for industries, States and cities, Tables II, IV.

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being displaced in a large measure by small-cylinder presses with automatic press feeders, and by the still smaller automatics, or automatically fed job cylinder presses. These presses are fast, efficient, economical to operate, and capable of doing much of the work formerly produced on the large presses. They have come into use very rapidly during the last five or six years, large numbers of them going into the small shops. Such a change in the technique of the industry has called for many adjustments. Skilled pressmen displaced from the large presses have needed to be trained in the operation of the new presses. Assistants who formerly fed the sheets of paper by hand into the large-cylinder presses, or operated automatic feeders on such presses, now, in many cases, operate feeders on two smaller presses, or assist the pressman on two automatics, while in some cases the pressman operates one press without any assistant. The number of assistants needed has been greatly reduced, with consequent unemployment and displacement from the industry. The determination of the complement of men on machines is a difficult problem for the collective bargaining machinery of the industry, as will be seen later. Moreover, these small presses have been rapidly adopted in the small shops, which are difficult to organize and control. The result has been the development of open-shop competition on commercial work to an extent that makes a serious problem for the union plants.

The book and job industry is only one branch of the printing industry of New York. The newspaper industry is entirely separate and distinct. It is strongly organized on both sides, and is entirely union. More or less closely allied to the book and job printing industry are several other industries. While much bookbinding is done in printing establishments there are also two distinct branches. Edition binding, or the binding of printed books, is an important industry, for the most part on an open-shop basis, and organized in the Employing Bookbinders' Association of New York City, with a general council representative of employers and employees in the open-shop group. Binding for the trade, including commercial, pamphlet, and blank-book binding, is organized in the Bookbinders' Trade Association. Labor in the trade binderies has been seriously disorganized, but at present (1928) the association is negotiating with the unions to organize the entire industry in an effort to stabilize labor conditions. The photo-engraving and electrotyping and stereotyping industries also have their organizations on both sides, and negotiate labor contracts, while in lithographing union conditions rule for part of the industry.

In the book and job industry the association of employers is the New York Employing Printers' Association. This is a trade association, a local branch of the United Typothetæ of America. Its activities include cost finding and accounting, credits and collections, educational courses, the operation of an employment bureau, information service, and special activities of various groups. The association includes 500 printing plants, with a total annual mechanical pay roll of $22,000,000. Those members who wish may join labor sections to cooperate on labor problems. The open-shop section is an inactive skeleton organization. The closed-shop section is the Printers' League, with a membership of 150 plants, including most of the important union plants. The entire association, moreover, is

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predominantly union, for 78 per cent of the dues are paid by union plants.[6]

The Printers' League, although a section of the New York Employing Printers' Association, is entirely autonomous. As its membership includes a very large proportion of the important union plants, it speaks for the entire union part of the industry on all matters affecting the relations of the employers and the printing-trade unions. The object of the league, according to its constitution, is "to promote sound labor relations, policies, and dealings through collective labor contracts." The league negotiates all union contracts and adjusts with the unions any differences which arise between an employer member and a union during the life of the agreements. Under the contracts machinery is set up for the orderly settling of any disputes, and there can be no interruption of operation by strike or lockout during the life of the agreement. The contracts are made in the name of the league. To secure the protection of the contracts, each league shop must sign a contract with the league, indicating the union or unions which the shop recognizes, and agreeing to abide by all the terms of the contracts between the league and the unions in question. A plant may be released from its contract only by agreement with the unions through the offices of the league, or by the termination of the particular wage-scale contract. The unions enforce the terms of the league contracts in all union shops, but nonleague plants do not have the opportunity of joint settlement of disputes through the machinery set up in these contracts. Finances for the usual activities of the league are supplied from the funds of the New York Employing Printers' Association. Special assessments may, however, be levied by the league upon its own members.[7]

The employees in the book and job printing industry in New York are organized in a series of powerful, independent, craft unions. These unions, with the international unions with which they are affiliated and their membership in 1928, are listed in the following table:

TABLE 5.—MEMBERSHIP OF NEW YORK PRINTING-TRADE UNIONS HAVING CONTRACTUAL RELATIONS WITH THE PRINTERS' LEAGUE [a]

Union	Book and job membership	Newspaper membership	Total
International Typographical Union:			
Typographical Union No. 6	6,800	3,400	10,200
Mailers' Union No. 6	315	495	810
International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union:			
New York Printing Pressmen's Union No. 51			3,500
Cylinder pressmen	2,775		
Job pressmen	725		
New York Printing Press Assistants' Union No. 23			2,800
Cylinder press feeders	2,100		
Job press feeders	700		
Paper Handlers and Sheet Straighteners Union No. 1	550	300	850
International Brotherhood of Bookbinders:			
New York Paper Cutters' Union No. 119	1,000		1,000
Bindery Women's Union No. 43	1,000		1,000
Total	15,965	4,195	20,160

[a] Data furnished by union leaders. The Bindery Women's Union has not been in contractual relations with the league since the expiration of its contract on Sept. 30, 1927.

[6] Report of special committee of the New York Employing Printers' Association, May 23, 1927.

[7] Constitution and by-laws of Printers' League Section, New York Employing Printers' Association (Inc.), adopted June 16, 1924; also descriptive pamphlet of Printers' League.

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No data are available as to the exact degree of their organization, but it is estimated that the highly skilled groups, the typographical and pressmen's unions, control well over 85 per cent of the competent members of those crafts. Cylinder press assistants also are strongly organized. Organization in the rapidly growing field of job cylinder presses, however, is considerably less extensive among both pressmen and assistants than in the field of the larger presses. Organization in the commercial binderies has been unfavorably affected by the general disorganization in the bindery industries of New York and of the international union since 1921. The bindery unions are therefore less strong than the unions in other departments. Bindery Women's Union No. 43 in 1924, when its membership was slightly greater than in 1928, stated that its organization in the commercial printing plants, disregarding the edition and trade binderies, was 26 per cent strong.[9]

The unions all act independently in conducting negotiations and making contracts with the Printers' League. Except in very rare cases matters are handled by the league with one union at a time. The unions, however, cooperate in an Allied Printing Trades Council of Greater New York with the other unions in the allied trades, the newspaper pressmen's union, various bindery unions, foreign language typographical unions, and the photo-engravers, stereotypers, and electrotypers. The council promotes the use of the Allied Printing Trades label, encourages organization by a publicity campaign against the use of nonunion printing, and provides a place for consultation and possible joint action on any matters affecting the welfare of the trades.

The relations of the book and job unions with the Printers' League are the interest of this study. The plan is to show how the agreements have developed, the nature of the agreements, with their machinery for administration, and finally, through a somewhat detailed study of the day-to-day administration since the adoption of the long-term contracts in 1924 and 1925, to see in what ways and to what extent joint control of the industry is carried on through these agreements. First, a brief sketch of the developments prior to the adoption of the 1924 and 1925 agreements is necessary.[10]

Collective Bargaining Before 1924

The earliest "scales of prices" or wage scales in the New York printing industry were not the result of collective bargaining, but were scales voted and put into effect by the unions. Sometimes the employers were consulted, and sometimes strikes followed serious resistance to new scales adopted by the unions, but although joint conferences were held, the present-day method of agreeing upon a scale and signing a contract for a stated period was unknown. It was not until the late nineties that definite agreements between the organization of employers and the unions began to appear. Late in 1897 an agreement was signed between the New York Typothetæ, the local associa-

[9] Arbitration proceedings, Bindery Women's Union *v.* League, Oct. 30, 1924.

[10] As the secretary of the Printers' League acts as secretary for all joint conferences, the chief source of material for this study has been the minutes and other material in the files of the Printers' League. This has been checked and supplemented by data from trade journals, union periodicals, and conversations with Printers' League representatives and union leaders.

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tion of employing printers, and Typographical Union No. 6 for a reduction of hours. Two years later the typothetæ signed an agreement to govern overtime rates for machine offices. Not until 1902, however, was there a general agreement covering all types of work in the composing rooms. In this year, a time of prosperity, in order to assure stability of wages and a period of peace, an agreement was made between the typothetæ and Typographical Union No. 6, establishing a scale for all composing-room work for three years and providing for arbitration of any disputes during the period.[11] This agreement was renewed for a year, with an increase in wages, but then on January 1, 1906, the friendly relationship was broken by a strike for the 8-hour day, part of a national movement for a reduction of hours, which left a considerable section of the New York industry temporarily on a nonunion basis.

Among the employers who early granted the 8-hour day was Mr. Charles Francis. While the strike was still on and feeling running high in the industry, Mr. Francis issued a call for a meeting of all union employers who felt that it would be for the good of the industry to organize an association which would recognize the unions, make agreements with them, and establish the method of settling differences by joint conference, conciliation, and arbitration rather than by strikes. Four employers answered the call. A second call was more successful, however, and resulted finally in the organization of the Printers' League. By 1909 the league had 55 members, employing 10,000 workers, and its experiment in a new method of industrial relations by constitutional process was well begun. The efforts of the league resulted in a series of agreements, first with the press feeders, or Franklin Union No. 23, early in 1907, then with Pressmen's Union No. 51, and early in 1908 with Typographical Union No. 6. These agreements recognized the 48-hour week and established stable wage conditions and the principle of settlement of all disputes during the life of the agreements by the method of conciliation through joint conference committees and arbitration. Arbitration agreements and wage scale contracts of this character were continued into the war period.[12]

The war and postwar years of shortage of labor and rapidly rising prices put a severe strain upon friendly relationships and the habit of constitutional action between the unions and the league. Sharp changes in conditions called for quick adjustments in wages. Machinery was inflexible, however, and the league attempted to insist upon the maintenance of the contract terms. Direct action in the form of strikes and strike threats was the inevitable result and was successful in increasing wages. In 1917 and twice in 1918 wage increases followed use of these tactics. On the second occasion, in 1918, the War Labor Board had been appealed to and had awarded increases to all the unions. When all the agreements expired on October 1, 1919, the industry found itself in the most serious conflict since 1906. The arbitration agreements of the composing room and pressroom unions had been terminated by union notices. The pressroom unions were in conflict with their international union over internal union affairs and had seceded. These unions, with Typo-

[11] Stevens, George A.: New York Typographical Union No. 6, pp. 342, 374.
[12] Stevens, op. cit., pp. 364–367; Francis, Charles: Printing for Profit, pp. 315–324.

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graphical Union No. 6, were disposed to use direct action to force their demands, including an immediate reduction of hours locally, although the Printers' League through the International Joint Conference Council had agreed with the international unions that the 44-hour week should be established on May 1, 1921, as part of a national movement. The league decided to fight the issue of direct action versus constitutional methods and in an effort to force reestablishment of the authority of the international union locked out the secessionist pressroom unions. The compositors, supporting the pressmen, took an unofficial and illegal "vacation." The league, however, had the support of the international unions and of the local allied trades-unions. After a stoppage of eight weeks the men accepted defeat and returned to work, the pressroom unions reaffiliated with their international, and constitutional methods were reestablished in the industry.[13]

Arbitration agreements and wage contracts providing for immediate wage increases and for the introduction of the 44-hour week on May 1, 1921, were then made between the league and all the unions, to expire in the fall of 1921 or 1922. A vital clause to insure flexibility with changing conditions and prevent any need for direct action, provided for the readjustment of wages at stated intervals, based upon the cost of living and the economic conditions of the industry. Under these agreements uninterrupted operation was secured during the remaining period of rapidly changing conditions. Arbitrations were held at each adjustment date to determine the scale of one or more of the unions. Such adjustments in the fall of 1920 increased all scales, and twice in 1921 decreased the scales of all except Typographical Union No. 6, whose contract had expired, leaving the union no longer bound by the provision for change according to the cost of living and the economic conditions of the industry. In two successive arbitrations in 1921 and 1922 the scale of "Big Six" was unchanged, in spite of unfavorable business conditions. When the contracts and arbitration agreements of the other unions expired in 1922, Pressmen's Union No. 51 threatened to strike unless its scale were restored to an equality with that of the typographical union, and the pressmen and the other unions then succeeded in negotiating substantial increases.

A step toward a more stable condition was marked by the series of contracts negotiated at this time. Contracts, so far as possible in uniform terms, were signed between the league and the four pressroom unions and the paper cutters, effective from January 1, 1923, to September 1, 1924, with an arbitration agreement extending for four months beyond the expiration of the contracts. The bindery women's contract was to expire at the same time as the others. No. 6, in making a new contract in the fall of 1923, again arbitrated and received a wage increase, which was then given also to the pressmen. The new typographical union contract, like those of the other unions, expired in September, 1924. The typographical union, however, made no arbitration agreement other than the provision in the contract for the settlement of disputes during the life of the agreement.

[13] Silcox, F. A.: New York situation, book and job branch of printing industry, industrial conflict of 1919 (manuscript); Printers' League: History of wage scales and arbitration agreements with various unions (manuscript).

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From 1917 to 1923 the industry had undergone a period of stress. Under rapidly changing conditions constitutional methods had broken down in favor of direct action. After the conflict of 1919 constitutional methods were reestablished. The provisions for readjustment according to changes in the cost of living and economic conditions proved very useful for this unusual time. As conditions became more normal, however, less frequent adjustments were needed, and gradually the industry approached stability. The contracts which were to expire in the fall of 1924 prepared the way for a new period.

Contract Making, 1924 to 1928

The determination of wages, hours, and working conditions is the acid test which proves the essential character of any industrial relations organization. A study of this process should make clear whether the situation is one in which the balance of power is so strongly on one side or the other that collective bargaining is a form without substance, or whether on the other hand there is the reality of strength on both sides of the table and a collective bargaining process which results in a coordination of the interests of both groups. A study of the making of the collective contracts in the book and job industry of New York of recent years should accordingly be illuminating.

All the contracts between the Printers' League and the unions were to expire in September, 1924. An arbitration agreement extending to the end of the year had been made by the league with the pressroom unions and the paper cutters, but no such agreement was in effect with Typographical Union No. 6. The employers looked forward with considerable anxiety to the expiration of the No. 6 contract. A strike would be a very serious thing, particularly for the periodical houses. With regard to the other unions there was less anxiety. Should the new contracts not be agreed upon before the expiration of the arbitration agreements, the employers knew that the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union, in the words of its president, George L. Berry, was "committed to the process of conciliation and arbitration in the settlement of industrial disputes," and not to "precipitate or engage in strikes or other industrial discords so long as the employing printer or publisher is willing to arbitrate."[14] The position of the International Typographical Union was not so clear. The previous summer President Howard in conference with a committee of closed-shop employers from New York and Chicago had refused to commit himself to always indorsing arbitration upon the expiration of a contract when there was no overlapping arbitration agreement.[15] It was possible therefore that "Big Six" would be permitted to force its demands to the point of a strike. Such a strike, in which the book and job compositors would be supported by the newspaper members who would continue at work, could not be faced with equanimity by the employers.

The Printers' League considered that business conditions called for wage decreases and planned to ask a 10 per cent reduction from each

[14] American Pressman, January, 1924, p. 26.
[15] Bird, F. H.: Report to chairman of Closed Shop Association on conferences with the executive council of the International Typographical Union, Aug. 23, 1923.

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union. Before entering negotiations, however, the league wished to safeguard the industry against any interruption of operation by securing an arbitration agreement from the typographical union. In April, accordingly, a league letter asking No. 6 for such an agreement began a long correspondence between the league, No. 6, and President Howard of the International Typographical Union. The union position was that while it favored arbitration in general, it was unwilling to commit itself in advance to an arbitration in which a union demand for a wage increase could be offset by a league demand for a decrease. The league considered this one-sided, and refused to enter negotiations until an arbitration agreement had been made to protect the interests of both parties during the negotiations and assure unbroken production. In May the union voted an assessment for a defense fund, and in June the Printers' League authorized an assessment upon each member, varying from $50 to $5,000, for an emergency fund. Finally in August the union officers retreated from their previous position and agreed to proceed to negotiate a contract, and to submit points of difference to arbitration, union laws not being subject to arbitration. When the agreement was ratified by the union and the league it was possible to go to work on the contract. Four months had elapsed before the union conceded the league's position and renounced for this occasion the use of its powerful strike weapon. Faced by the determination of the league as shown in its collection of an emergency fund, the union did not force the issue to a test of strength.

Negotiations then proceeded on the request of the union for a $5 wage increase and of the league for a decrease of a similar amount, with changes in shop practices asked by both groups. Twenty-seven meetings of the conference committee were necessary to thresh out all the details of the contract and reach agreement, but late in October agreement was accomplished, and the proposed contract was accepted by both the union and the league. The contract was for a 3-year period, with no increase the first year, and a $1 increase on October 1 of 1925 and 1926, making the scale $53 at the beginning and $55 at the end of the contract. The employers were willing to pay by these increases for the security of a long-term contract, while the union also believed that the stabilization of wages in these terms for three years would be of advantage to the industry. Several minor changes were made in shop practices. A joint discharge committee, which had been omitted from the previous contract, was reestablished to review appeals on discharge.

A new provision was to the effect that the overtime law as enforced in the newspaper offices should be in full force and effect in the book and job offices of New York. This overtime law, based upon a so-called "six-day law" of the International Typographical Union, is an attempt to reduce unemployment by preventing the working of excessive overtime and securing a more equitable distribution of work. It requires that any members, except foremen, who accumulate eight hours of overtime, must cancel this overtime by taking a day off and putting on a substitute. This law had long been in force on the newspapers, where substitutes are always available, but it had not been considered feasible for book and job offices with their greater variety of work. Discontent among unemployed members never-

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theless forced the demand, and the league conceded the point although with some misgiving. Difficulties in the enforcement of this law have required many adjustments, as will be seen later in connection with the administration of the agreement. The new contract was, on the whole, considered a satisfactory bargain by both groups. The employers were assured peace and certainty of wage conditions for three years, while the union, in addition to other concessions, had secured a total wage increase of $2.

Since Typographical Union No. 6 is the strongest and most aggressive of the local unions, the results of its negotiations are always awaited with interest by the other unions, for the settlement with No. 6 has in the past usually determined in general the terms made between the other unions and the league. On this occasion as No. 6 had agreed to no increase for the first year of its contract, and the same "nothing-one-one" arrangement would probably be accepted by the others, there was no need of haste although the contracts had expired on September 1.

Settlement of the pressmen's contract was delayed because of the amalgamation of the job pressmen, formerly organized in Job Pressmen and Job Feeders' Union No. 1, with Pressmen's Union No. 51, while the job feeders joined Press Assistants' Union No. 23. The joint committee of the league and the union undertook a thorough consideration of the relation of job presses to cylinder presses, and a reasonable reclassification of presses upon which to base scales. It was agreed that all automatic job cylinders, the rapidly increasing group of small, fast, automatically fed cylinder presses, should be classified with cylinder presses, and receive the minimum cylinder-press scale. This reclassification meant an increase of $5 in the minimum scale for these presses, although in practice the cylinder scale was already being paid by most of the league plants. The job pressmen not affected by this reclassification refused to accept their old scale without change, and it was necessary to take this point to arbitration. Aside from this question, Pressmen's Union No. 51 agreed to accept the settlement made with No. 6, a 3-year contract with no increase the first year, and $1 additional on the 1st of October of 1925 and 1926.

The job pressmen's scale was arbitrated in March, 1925, before Mr. John A. Fitch, the mutually agreed upon arbitrator. Two sessions were held, in which the union and the league presented briefs and rebuttals and discussed the issues over the table with the arbitrator. Formality was strikingly absent, and a friendly relationship very evident. The union asked a $3 increase in the basic scale, while the league asked no change. Whatever the scale decided upon, the $1 increases of October, 1925 and 1926, were to go into effect. The union based its claim chiefly upon the fact that the differential between the scales of job and cylinder pressmen had been increased since 1920, and was much greater than in other cities. It claimed also that the skill of job pressmen warranted an increase in wages, and that the industry could pay the scale asked because it was busy, the volume of work was increasing, and work was sold at a profit.

The league argued that the major crafts had agreed to no immediate increase in wages; moreover, since 1914 the scale of job pressmen had increased out of proportion to the other crafts; the scale

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was now considerably higher than that in surrounding territory; and, most important of all, the job-press branch of the industry in New York was overwhelmingly open shop and working 48 hours a week. Until the union should organize these nonunion shops and reduce their lower cost competition there was no justification for a demand for an increase. The union admitted the existence of a large number of open shops, but claimed that most of them were very small shops which it was impossible for either the union or the league to organize, that their output was small compared with that of the union shops, and that this competition was chiefly on a cheap grade of work. The arbitrator in his decision held that the change to a higher differential since 1920 appeared a break with precedent, and that the smaller differential in other cities was probably a fairer measure of difference in skill; the question of relative skill was, however, impossible of proof, and differentials therefore should be settled by collective bargaining rather than by reference to an arbitrator; on the ability of the industry to pay an increase neither side had proved its point, although the existence of open-shop competition was clear. The arbitrator was in doubt as to how much weight should be given to the union argument, although he believed some recognition was required. He therefore increased the minimum scale from $43 to $44.[16]

Once the job pressmen's scale was settled the contract of Pressmen's Union No. 51 was signed. Press Assistants' Union No. 23 was the next in order. From the standpoint of both the employers and the union, the question of the complement of men on presses was of as great importance at every negotiation as the question of scale. The coming of the automatic press feeders and the automatic job cylinder presses was reducing the number of jobs for press feeders. Inevitably the union endeavored to hold onto jobs by insisting upon the old complement of men required by contract, in spite of technical changes.

The contract of 1923 recommended that no pressman should operate more than one job cylinder press without the aid of an assistant. The union now asked that this should be made mandatory, in accordance with the law of the international union. The employers, however, during the previous fall had consulted President Berry of the international, and had assurances from him that he would recognize the changes taking place and meet the problem. The league insisted that several classes of work could be handled without an assistant and were so handled in open shops. Agreement was finally reached permitting pressmen to operate two small job cylinders not over 17 by 22 inches in size on black work without an assistant, while for color or half-tone work an assistant should be employed. The union had asked a wage increase, but finally accepted a contract the same as the other unions, with no immediate increase and $1 more on October 1 of 1925 and 1926.

The contract between Paper Cutters' Union No. 119 and the league was quickly settled. The previous summer the union had approached the league with a request for a 5-year arbitration agreement, in order that it might have a signed agreement in case an impending difficulty

[16] Arbitration proceedings, job pressmen, Pressmen's Union No. 51 and Printers' League Mar. 13–25, 1925.

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with its international should develop. The league was willing to give this assistance to a union with which it had most friendly relationships and signed such an agreement both with Paper Cutters' Union No. 119 and with Bindery Women's Union No. 43. Two-year contracts, providing for opening of the wage scales in October of 1924 and 1925 were also signed. After the other unions had completed their contracts Paper Cutters' Union No. 119 made another contract with the league, with the same period and the same terms as those of the others, to take the place of that signed the previous summer. When Mailers' Union No. 6 and Paper Handlers' and Sheet Straighteners' Union No. 1 had signed contracts also in the same terms, the negotiation of contracts was complete. The industry then had in effect contracts lasting until September 30, 1927, with all the unions except the bindery women, whose contract was to expire in 1926.

In the fall of 1924 the bindery women had asked for a wage increase, but had been refused, and had dropped the matter until the other contracts had been completed. In the fall of 1925, however, the union requested an adjustment, under the terms of its contract, because of the increases to be received by the other crafts. Since 1921 the bindery unions, including Bindery Women's Union No. 43, had in large measure lost control of the various sections of the bindery industry in New York. The edition plants, with very few exceptions, had been nonunion since 1921, when they established shop councils and a joint council representative of a group of plants on a nonunion basis. In the trade binderies, doing pamphlet, blank book, and commercial binding for the trade, there were no contracts and union standards were no longer maintained. The membership of the bindery women's union had decreased from 2,100 in 1920 to 1,100 in 1925. It was therefore impossible for the union to enforce throughout the city the standards of wages and hours which were established in its contract with the league for the commercial binderies. Only 32 league plants formally recognized the bindery women's union. When the league therefore declared that it could not consider a wage increase, the union demanded arbitration under the terms of its arbitration agreement.

Arbitration hearings were held in October, 1925, before Mr. Charles Stelzle. The union, in its case prepared by the Labor Bureau (Inc.), laid great stress upon a charge that the bindery women's union was discriminated against by the league, in that it was refused the increases of October, 1925 and 1926, which had been agreed upon with the other unions, and that its scale was below the peak scale of 1920, while the scales of most of the crafts were above those of 1920. The union claimed a wage increase also on the ground that its scale of $27.50 was not a living wage, for its members averaged only 41 weeks' employment in the year, less than the other crafts, and moreover 72 per cent of its members had dependents. Finally the union claimed that the employers could afford the increase as business conditions were good. The league, on the other hand, pointed out that the bindery women had received since 1914 the highest percentage increase of all the unions, and that its scale was the highest in the country. It claimed, moreover, that the league attitude was not discriminatory but based upon economic necessity, for the union was

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only 13 per cent organized, and that in the face of disorganization in the industry there was no protection to the union plants from low-wage, long-hour competition. The living-wage argument, under these conditions, was said to be impracticable.

The union in rebuttal pointed out that 1914 was not a fair basis for comparison as at that time there was no contract and wages were very low. The wages of the other crafts as well as of the bindery women were now the highest in the country. The argument of non-union competition it declared irrelevant as the loss of membership had been entirely in the edition plants which did not compete with the league plants, and organization among commercial plants was as good as it had ever been, amounting to 26 per cent of the industry organized or maintaining union conditions. The league agreed that organization of the bindery women group was very difficult, but it insisted that competition from the nonunion trade binderies was very serious. The arbitrator in his decision of November 19 held that the bindery women should not be discriminated against in regard to the increases of October, 1925 and 1926, since if the union had received an excessive increase from 1914 to 1920, this had been balanced by the loss since 1920; while recognizing the difficulty of the living-wage argument, he believed that some weight should be given to this point; with regard to the question of competition due to the lack of organization he felt that while the situation was serious, it was no more so than in previous years. He therefore ruled that the bindery women should receive an immediate increase of $1 and a further increase in October, 1926, at the time of the increases to the other unions, piecework rates to be increased in proportion; in other words, that the union should receive the same settlement as that made with the other unions.[17] A new contract was then entered into, effective from November 19, 1925, to September 30, 1927.

For the first time since 1917 the industry faced a period of nearly two years for which all wage questions were settled. Both groups could devote their energies to other matters than the negotiation of wages. Peace was assured by the machinery set up in the contracts and to be described later for the settlement of differences during the period. Moreover, arbitration agreements lasting beyond the period of the contracts, to allow additional time for the negotiation of new contracts under a guaranty of peace, were in effect between the league and the pressroom and bindery unions. Only Typographical Union No. 6 and Mailers' Union No. 6, both members of the International Typographical Union, did not make such arbitration agreements.

When 1927 came and the expiration of this group of contracts approached the industry found the same fundamental problems as in 1924–25, with certain new aspects to add difficulties. The exodus of large volume periodical work from New York had continued. To what extent the place left by these losses was being filled by increases in the field of smaller commercial work was a question on which there was no conclusive evidence. The use of the small automatic job cylinder presses, a development already well under way in 1924, had progressed, but more rapidly in the small open shops than in the

[17] Arbitration proceedings, Bindery Women's Union No. 43 and Printers' League, Oct. 5 and 30, 1925: Decision of arbitrator, Nov. 19, 1925.

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union plants. With this development the opportunity of employment for press feeders decreased. Press Assistants' Union No. 23 in three years had taken in practically no new members and had seen some 300 cylinder press feeders drop out of the union. The New York union plants, moreover, were still faced by competition on a lower cost basis from 48-hour nonunion plants in other centers. As a result of a combination of factors, particularly the loss of large work, the changing technique which displaced large numbers of the semi-skilled press assistants, and a volume of business smaller in 1927 than in 1926, an unemployment problem of unusual dimensions faced this industry as it did many others at this period. These elements all affected the negotiations for the new contracts.

Discontent of the unemployed members of the unions led to a demand for a reduction of hours from 44 to 40 per week in the hope of decreasing unemployment by sharing work. The union demands included also, as customary, proposals for wage increases and for various changes in shop practices. The Printers' League proposals were dictated by certain problems: First, to insure that there should be no reduction of hours, as New York already had to compete with a large volume of work from 48-hour plants; second, to secure a reduction in the complement of men on presses in line with changing technical conditions; and, finally, to secure any possible concessions which would reduce costs. In particular the league hoped that it might be able to eliminate the priority and overtime laws from the typographical union contract on the ground that they were not adapted to book and job plants.[18]

As was usual, each union negotiated its contract separately with the league, except for joint conferences on certain clauses affecting both the pressmen and assistants. Separate league committees were set up to negotiate with the typographical union and with the pressroom unions. In making the contracts of 1924–25 the league had settled first with the typographical union and had then, on the basis of that settlement, reached agreement with the other unions. In 1927, however, the situation was more complex. Negotiations proceeded simultaneously on the contracts of Typographical Union No. 6, Pressmen's Union No. 51, and Press Assistants' Union No. 23. The interests of all groups were affected by developments in any of the others.

Through a long process of bargaining, jockeying for position, and playing for time, both the league and the unions watched every move in an effort to seize any advantage. The complex interrelationships of interest can only be suggested. Between Typographical Union No. 6 and Pressmen's Union No. 51 were the questions whether No. 6 would as usual "set the pace" by making an agreement which would then be accepted by the other unions; or whether No. 51 would enhance its prestige by making its own settlement first; and in the latter case, what effect would this have upon No. 6 and its settlement; and would the unions stand out together in the demand

[18] The priority law, which had been introduced into the book and job contract in 1923, after having been long enforced on the newspapers, provided that foremen might discharge only for four reasons—incompetency, neglect of duty, violation of office rules or of laws of the chapel or union, and to decrease the force—and that discharge to reduce the force must be accomplished by discharging first the person or persons last employed, increases in the force to be accomplished by reinstating such persons in reverse order before other help might be employed. The overtime law provided for the canceling of accumulated overtime by taking a day off and putting on a substitute.

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for the reduction of hours. Between Pressmen's Union No. 51 and Press Assistants' Union No. 23, both locals of the same international union, was a distinct clash of interests in regard to the complement of men on presses. The number of jobs for press assistants and for pressmen would be affected by the decision whether automatic job cylinder presses should be manned by pressmen with no assistants, or by one pressman on two presses with the aid of one or two assistants. Any concession by No. 51 would force No. 23 in self-defense to make concessions also. The league would be quick to use whatever advantage it could from this rivalry. Finally internal politics in the International Typographical Union and the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union would materially affect the support given by the international union officers to the demands of the various groups, whether on hours, wages, or complement of men. The league, in deciding how much pressure it could safely bring to bear, would shrewdly estimate the effect of such political influences upon each situation. It could oppose the demand of the typographical union for a reduction of hours with unusual firmness, knowing that there was little likelihood of the union's receiving strike sanction from the international on this issue. Meanwhile the minor unions would wait, knowing that their hours, wages, and length of contract would be determined to a large degree by the settlements made by No. 6 and No. 51.

After an exchange of proposals for the new contracts in July, conferences began in early August between the committees of the league and the three unions. Following the procedure of discussing each clause in detail and agreeing upon those acceptable to both groups, certain progress was made. When, however, the question of hours was reached, a deadlock arose. The league declared further negotiations useless until the demand for the reduction in hours was withdrawn, as the 40-hour week was neither a debatable nor an arbitrable issue. Accordingly negotiations were broken off, although all agreed that contracts should continue in force until new agreements were adopted. President Howard, of the International Typographical Union, called on by "Big Six," urged the league to modify its position, but without result. After six weeks, on September 27, the league proposed to No. 6 that the question of hours be referred to arbitration, open to an award of 40, 44, or 48 hours. The union, however, refused to consider such an arbitration, since the 44-hour week was an International Typographical Union law. Again there was delay. In the meantime the pressroom unions withdrew their demand for the reduction in hours, and on October 5 they resumed negotiations and began in earnest to thresh out with the league the question of the complement of men and other shop practices. When the league thereupon requested Typographical Union No. 6 to end delays, it was promised a meeting with the executive council of the International Typographical Union. Nevertheless it was November 15 before the executive council came to New York. Shortly after this No. 6 requested arbitration, and on November 28 a conference was held to begin preparations for arbitration. Again, however, negotiations were abruptly broken off when the league insisted that any arbitration on the issue of hours must be in terms of 40, 44, or 48 hours.

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Pressmen's Union No. 51 meantime made progress and reached agreement with the league on all the terms of its contract except the wage scale and the period of the contract, and on December 13 it agreed to arbitrate these issues. Events moved rapidly thereafter. The International Typographical Union council again came to confer with the Printers' League, and the typographical union voted to continue efforts for a settlement. On December 17 and 20 the international officers conferred at length with the league committee, while on the 19th the pressmen's arbitration hearing was held. On the 21st, during the executive session of the pressmen's arbitration board, the I. T. U. officers proposed to the league committee that Typographical Union No. 6 withdraw its demand for the 40-hour week in exchange for a 5-year contract with a $1 increase each year, the league to withdraw for the time its opposition to the overtime and priority laws. The international officers promised, however, to make an effort to modify these laws in their application to book and job offices at the next convention of the International Typographical Union, and that any modification should immediately take effect in New York City. Two days later the pressmen's arbitration board, made up of representatives of the union and the league and the impartial arbitrator, having received no word from the other committee of its impending agreement, met in executive session, argued over the issues, and finally adjourned with a decision of the impartial arbitrator awarding $1 increase effective until September 1, 1929. On the same afternoon the committee of the league and the typographical union accepted the proposed 5-year contract, with $1 increases each year, to be referred to the two organizations for ratification.

The imminence of the pressmen's settlement had stimulated efforts to reach agreement on the part of the typographical union. The union scale committee then reported the proposed contract to the union. After 5 months' effort to secure a reduction of hours, the committee reported, it was forced to the conclusion that conditions beyond its control made it impossible at this time to establish the 5-day week. While the members of the committee were inherently opposed to long-term contracts, it was impossible to secure adequate wage increases for a shorter term. The adoption of the proposal was accordingly unanimously recommended. Among the rank and file strong opposition was felt to so long a contract, since it meant a 5-year postponement of the 5-day week. Nevertheless the wage increases were substantial and the advantage to the union in stabilized conditions for five years was seen. Moreover, this contract was decidedly more favorable than that secured by the pressmen by arbitration, and in view of the pressmen's decision it was very unlikely that No. 6 could secure anything better. As a result the contract was accepted, on referendum vote, by 3,965 to 3,592, a majority of only 373. The result was swung favorably by the vote of the newspaper men, for the book and job vote showed a small majority against the proposal.[19]

In the negotiations for the contract of Typographical Union No. 6 the chief issues, from the standpoint of both the union and the

[19] Monthly Bulletin, New York Typographical Union No. 6, Dec. 31, 1927; Printing, Dec. 31, 1927.

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league, were hours and wages. In the pressroom contracts, on the other hand, the chief controversies revolved around the question of the manning of presses. When Pressmen's Union No. 51 and Press Assistants' Union No. 23 withdrew their demand for the reduction of hours and resumed negotiations, on October 5, the chief questions to be decided were the number and size of presses which a pressman might operate, the requirement as to the use of assistants, and the number of men required on web presses. The pressmen took the position that the trend of the industry toward automatics should be recognized and encouraged by making necessary adjustments in shop practices. They therefore agreed to permit a pressman to operate two automatic job cylinder presses up to 29 inches in size, the limit in the previous contract having been 22 inches. The question of assistants they said was a matter to be negotiated by No. 23. In regard to the next group of presses, the small cylinders over 29 inches, with automatic feeding attachments, the pressmen agreed to extend from 36 to 42 inches the upper limit of this class within which a pressman might operate two presses, the question of assistants again being left for the league and No. 23 to decide. The union, however, was in favor of 1-man operation of this type of press; that is, that a pressman should operate a single press with no assistant, with a differential of $5 over the basic scale. This agreement was made in spite of strenuous objection of Press Assistants' Union No. 23 to this elimination of assistants on the ground that it was an invasion of the jurisdiction of No. 23.

The number of men required on web presses (large presses which print from a roll of paper rather than separate sheets and are used chiefly on periodical work) had been an issue during the life of the previous contract. After long controversy a clause was now agreed upon which conceded the right of the plant to operate single-roll web presses without a second pressman on black work when there was none of a list of attachments in operation. These most serious issues being settled, other shop practices were agreed upon. Then on December 13 it was agreed to send to arbitration the question of the wage scale and the length of the contract. While agreement might have been possible, the league hesitated to make an agreement which would have affected the settlement to be made with the typographical union.

In the meantime negotiations had proceeded between the league and Press Assistants' Union No. 23. The union had for years insisted that an assistant should be employed on every cylinder press, whether hand or mechanically fed. In 1925 it had conceded that on the smallest automatic job cylinders, those not over 22 inches, a pressman might operate without an assistant on black work, or with one assistant on two presses for half-tone or color work. On all presses over this size, however, an assistant was required for each press. Although the league showed that the use of these presses was progressing much more rapidly in the nonunion shops than in union plants, the union insisted upon maintaining its position. As to the pressmen's decision to operate presses up to 42 inches with no assistant, No. 23 appealed to the international union for support of its jurisdiction. The union and the league were still in deadlock

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over these issues when the arbitration between the league and the pressmen took place.

Mr. John A. Fitch, who had arbitrated the scale for job pressmen in 1925, was again chosen as arbitrator. On December 19 occurred the hearing on the request of Pressmen's Union No. 51 for a $5 increase and of the league for a $5 decrease. The union based its claim for an increase largely upon the argument of skill, and an unfavorable comparison of its wages with those of many skilled crafts in New York City; it pointed to an upward trend in wage scales generally; and argued that the economic condition of the industry permitted an increase, for the industry was expanding in spite of the loss of large-volume work, union membership had increased 14 per cent since January, 1925, and there was comparatively little unemployment among the members of No. 51.

The league argued that a decrease in wages was justified and required by competitive conditions; wages were higher in New York than in competing cities, while an excessive complement of men and other shop practices favorable to labor increased labor costs until it was impossible for New York plants to compete on large-volume work; seven large plants had moved out of New York, while of a large volume of periodicals of national distribution published in New York, 55 per cent was being printed outside; in New York the use of automatic job cylinder presses was increasing much more rapidly in the open shops than in the union plants; a wage decrease was therefore needed in order to reduce costs and so enable the industry to compete; moreover, there would be no advantage to the industry in a long contract unless it provided a wage decrease to relieve this competitive condition. The union, freely admitting the loss of large-volume work, claimed that the movement was the result of many factors of which wage costs were only part, and that the place of large work was being filled by smaller commercial work which was expanding in volume. The league nevertheless held that the volume of work had been less than in the previous year, and that the growth of membership of the union had been due not to expansion of the industry, but solely to the organizing of open shops and to the development of the new method of operation, one man to a press without an assistant, in place of a pressman over two presses with assistants. The arbitrator, after two executive sessions of the board, made his decision on December 23. He held that in the exodus of large-volume work, which had been proved, labor cost was one factor; that there was apparently some increase in business and that the ruin claimed by the league had not been proved; and that it was impossible to determine what the wage should be to compensate skill; the union, however, asked an increase at a time when the employers might well be apprehensive, while the league asked a decrease in the face of an opposite trend in wages; certain evidence of the expansion of the industry led the arbitrator finally to the conclusion that the industry could stand a slight increase; he therefore awarded an increase of $1, effective until September 1, 1929, the date asked by the union.[21]

[21] Arbitration proceedings, Pressmen's Union No. 51 and Printers' League, Dec. 19, 1927. Decision of arbitrator, Dec. 23, 1927.

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Had the arbitration board been aware of the agreement being entered into on the same afternoon for a 5-year typographical union contract, with $1 increases each year, it is very possible that the award would have been different. Nevertheless the decision was on the whole favorably received in the industry, although some dissatisfaction existed on the part of the pressmen in view of the more favorable contract secured by No. 6. It has already been seen how the pressmen's contract was a factor in securing the ratification by a small majority of the typographical union of their 5-year contract. Future adjustments with the pressmen will necessarily be affected by the existence of this typographical union contract. In spite of the independent paths followed by these two unions in their negotiations, their interrelated interests definitely affect their final settlements.

Following the settlements of the two major unions, Press Assistants' Union No. 23 asked a wage increase and suggested arbitration. The important issue of the number of automatic feeders to be operated by an assistant was still to be determined, however. Early in January President Berry, of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union, announced that the agreement of the pressmen to operate automatic presses one man to a press with no assistant was an infringement of the jurisdiction of No. 23 and would not be permitted by the international union. No. 23, moreover, still continued in its refusal to permit an assistant to work on more than one press over 22 inches in size. For several weeks a deadlock held. Finally, on February 3, negotiations were resumed, and in conferences in which Vice President McHugh of the international union took an important part, a compromise agreement was made. The pressmen's arrangement for 1-man operation, with no assistant, of presses up to 42 inches, was to hold only in case of an odd press. Where there were two presses they should be operated by one pressman with an assistant. The assistants, on the other hand, retreated from their old position of one assistant to each press and agreed that on presses up to 42 inches in size one assistant should be employed on two presses, under a pressman. This very important concession for which the league had long worked was finally forced by the prior concession by the pressmen of 1-man operation with no assistant. The concessions made by the two unions may be seen in the table following, which gives the complement of men on automatic presses as required by the union contracts in 1925 and in 1928.

TABLE 6.—NUMBER OF MEN REQUIRED ON AUTOMATIC PRESSES BY UNION CONTRACTS, 1925 AND 1928

Presses	1925	1928
2 automatic job cylinder presses, not over 17 by 22 inches:		
Black work	1 pressman, no assistant.	1 pressman, no assistant.
Half-tone and color work	1 pressman, 1 junior assistant.	1 pressman, 1 junior assistant.
2 automatic job cylinder presses, 22 to 29 inches	1 pressman, 2 assistants.	Do.
2 small cylinder presses, pile fed, 29 to 42 inches	1 pressman, 2 senior assistants.	1 pressman, 1 senior assistant.
1 small cylinder press, pile fed, to 36 inches (extended to 42 in 1928).	1 pressman, no assistant.	Only in case of odd press, 1 pressman, no assistant.

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The assistant on two presses receives a differential over the minimum scale of $3 in the case of junior assistants on the smaller presses, and $4 in the case of senior assistants on presses over 29 inches. In exchange for the concession on complement of men, the press assistants secured the same contract terms as the pressmen, $1 increase and a contract expiring in September, 1929. Three points in regard to complement of men and scales on special presses at one of the large plants were left to a special committee to determine, with reference to arbitration should it prove necessary. The contracts of Press Assistants' Union No. 23 and of Pressmen's Union No. 51 were then signed and underwritten by the international union.

The remaining contracts were quickly made, on terms similar to those of the others. The mailers entered into a 5-year contract like that of "Big Six," providing $1 increases each year, while the paper cutters accepted a $1 increase each year in a contract lasting to September 30, 1930. The paper handlers and sheet straighteners made a contract like those of the other pressroom unions, with a $1 increase effective until September 1, 1929. Only the bindery women failed to secure an increase. The league declared that the union controlled so small a proportion of the industry and that so few of the union members were in league plants, that it was useless to negotiate. The 34 league plants which had previously recognized the union decided not to sign contracts at this time. No contract was entered into, therefore, by the league.

In the spring of 1928, following these lengthy negotiations, the prospect before the industry was of a long period of stability and peace. The powerful typographical union had entered into a 5-year contract, while following in its footsteps the mailers and paper cutters had secured similar contracts extending until 1932 and 1930. The three pressroom unions had accepted $1 increases to last only until September 1, 1929. As in the past, however, the settlement made by No. 6 has usually largely determined conditions for the other unions, the terms of the No. 6 contract will without doubt influence the conditions of all the crafts until 1932. These negotiations resulted in postponing until 1932 the issue of the 40-hour week. For this postponement the league is paying No. 6 a $5 wage increase over a 5-year period, in a bargain which appears to the employers a satisfactory one, although only a small majority of the union voted their approval. Progress was made also on the long-fought issue of the manning of presses. With a more liberal provision, the union plants now have a better opportunity to meet competition. During a time of stable conditions and uninterrupted operation, meantime, the unions will have an opportunity for further efforts to organize the open shops in New York.

The negotiation of two sets of contracts, those of 1924–25 and those of 1927–28, has been surveyed. What appears in regard to the relations between the New York unions and the employing printers from such a survey? On the union side the situation is to a considerable degree dominated by Typographical Union No. 6. This union, particularly powerful because of its inclusion of the newspaper men as well as of the book and job compositors, is disinclined to relinquish any right to freedom of action in negotiating its con-

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tracts, and does not enter into arbitration agreements extending beyond its contract dates. Its international union, moreover, is very strong and follows an opportunist policy, without making any definite commitments to a policy of arbitration when no arbitration agreement is in effect. Yet under these circumstances, when the league in 1924 made an issue of arbitration, refused to negotiate until the union should agree to arbitrate any issues not settled in conference, and backed its position by collecting an emergency fund, the union gave in. The contract thereupon negotiated was, however, one in which the union won many points, including a $2 wage increase over a 3-year period and the enforcement of the overtime law. In 1927 again the league was successful, after long negotiations, in postponing the 40-hour week, but could do so only by giving the union a very favorable contract, with $1 increases every year for a period of five years.

The pressroom unions, in contrast to Typographical Union No. 6, belong to an international union which of recent years has committed itself very definitely to a policy of conciliation and arbitration, and to meeting changing technical conditions in the industry by adjustments of union policy.[22] The pressmen and press assistants, moreover, unlike the compositors, do not include the newspaper workers in the same local union and accordingly lack that source of strength. These unions regularly enter into arbitration agreements extending a month beyond the expiration of their contracts. Little fear is felt by the employers of interruptions of operation during negotiations. The wage settlements of these unions are usually strongly influenced by the settlement made by Typographical Union No. 6. On the manning of presses, the most important issue between the pressmen and assistants and the employing printers, the record shows a considerable power in union hands. Press Assistants' Union No. 23 was able for more than 10 years to insist that an assistant should be employed on every cylinder press whether or not it was equipped with a mechanical feeder. Only in 1928, forced by changing conditions which were inexorably eliminating its members and by the recognition of these changes by the pressmen's union, did the union agree that an assistant might operate two mechanical feeding devices. Pressmen's Union No. 51 has been more ready to accept changes in its rules with changes in technical conditions, but until 1928 it maintained a complement of men on web presses which was strongly opposed by the employers. The adjustment of these problems has been long and difficult. The remaining unions in the New York industry are comparatively weak. They profit from the strength of the others to secure much the same terms in wage adjustments and length of contracts. Only the bindery women, who both lack the support of any strong union and are very poorly organized in the New York industry, have no bargaining strength because as a union they have little to offer the league, and in 1928 were unable to secure either wage increase or contract.

Without venturing into any doubtful field of abstract justice, an appraisal of this situation must recognize it as one with considerable strength on each side. The balance of forces brings a testing of

[22] American Pressman: Convention proceedings, 1924, pp. 110, 131; March, 1925, p. 21; August, 1925, p. 18; January, 1928, p. 26.

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strength at intervals when the contracts are to be renewed, with the victory seldom complete to either one or the other group. If the group of stronger unions appears to have somewhat more power to protect their interests than have the employers, yet concessions are made under the influence of economic conditions, attitudes of the international union officers, the power of the league to secure united action by the employing printers, and varying degrees of recognition of common interest in the welfare of the industry. The result of collective bargaining represents to a considerable degree a coordination of the interests of these groups, with advantage to both parties. Through their agreements these groups establish standards of working conditions in the industry, and machinery is set up to maintain these standards, with joint responsibility for their enforcement. To these agreements, with their joint machinery and the day-to-day administration by the unions and the league, the story must now turn.

The Agreements of 1928

The agreements in effect in 1928 represent the development of a long series of contracts and provide standards of practice on a large variety of subjects. Since 1923 the league has endeavored to secure uniformity in its contracts, and all but that with Typographical Union No. 6 now follow a standard form and so far as possible are in the same terms. The details of the agreements may be seen in the contracts of the typographical union and the pressmen's union in the appendix.[23] The purpose here is to indicate the matters covered by the agreements, certain provisions of particular interest, and the machinery for administration. The list of agreements, with their dates, is given in the following table:

TABLE 7.—AGREEMENTS IN EFFECT BETWEEN PRINTERS' LEAGUE AND PRINTING-TRADE UNIONS, 1928

Union	Arbitration agreements		Shop rules and wage scale contracts		Basic wage scale, April, 1928
	Inception	Expiration	Inception [1]	Expiration	
Typographical, No. 6			Oct. 1, 1927	Sept. 30, 1932	$56.00
Pressmen, No. 51	Oct. 1, 1927	Oct. 1, 1929	Jan. 1, 1928	Sept. 1, 1929	56.00
Press assistants, No. 23	Jan. 26, 1928	Oct. 1, 1929	Jan. 26, 1928	Sept. 1, 1929	45.50
Paper cutters, No. 119	June 1, 1925	Dec. 31, 1929	Mar. 1, 1928	Sept. 30, 1930	48.00
Paper handlers and sheet straighteners, No. 1	July 1, 1925	Dec. 31, 1929	Apr. 1, 1928	Sept. 1, 1929	38.00
Mailers, No. 6			Mar. 1, 1928	Sept. 30, 1932	41.00
Bindery women, No. 43	Nov. 19, 1925	Dec. 31, 1929			29.50

[1] Except for Typographical Union No. 6 and Press Assistants' Union No. 23, effective first day of first full fiscal week after date.

The arbitration agreements which are in existence between the league and all the unions except the typographical union and the mailers, both members of the International Typographical Union, provide in brief for the employment of members of the unions, at wages and conditions established in the scale contracts, no union members to work for lower wages or longer hours, and the league to be protected against any form of concerted interference with the peace-

[23] See pp. 213 and 224.

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ful operation of the departments concerned, while all disputes over the provisions of the scale contracts are subject to arbitration when they can not be adjusted by conciliation. Both parties pledge themselves to maintain the conditions established in the contracts. The machinery for administration is made as simple as possible. Whenever a difference of opinion arises it is referred to an officer of the union and a representative of the league, in practice the secretary, for conciliation, and if conciliation fails, to a joint conference committee of five from each group. Decision is by majority vote of each group. If the decision is unsatisfactory to either party, appeal may be made to arbitration by an arbitrator chosen by the joint conference committee. Delay is guarded against at each stage by the provision of time limits which could be invoked in case of any deliberate delay, but which in practice have not been needed. Conditions obtaining before the initiation of the dispute must remain in effect pending the findings of the joint conference committee or the arbitration board. Findings of the committee are binding unless appeal is taken to arbitration, in which case the award is binding upon both parties. If either party refuses to put the award into effect, all aid and support of the firm or the members of the union refusing compliance are to be withdrawn and their acts publicly disavowed. To secure the protection of this arbitration agreement as well as of the scale contracts in the case of each union, the employer must sign up with the league to recognize the various unions and to observe the terms of their contracts.

Each union makes its arbitration agreement and scale contract separately with the league, and each conference committee is made up of representatives of that union alone and the league conference committee for the department concerned. In case of any issue involving more than one union, the various conference committees can be called to meet jointly for that occasion.

The shop rules and wage-scale contracts also include brief sections on the settlement of disputes, providing particularly that all complaints should be adjusted within 30 days; that the chapel chairman is the official representative of the union and the foreman the official representative of the employer in dealing with the chapel chairman; that union representatives may enter the workrooms only with permission of the business office, such permission to be accorded whenever possible or the employee desired sent for and every facility given to further the business in hand. The league and the union reserve the right jointly to investigate conditions.

Since Typographical Union No. 6 and Mailers' Union No. 6 have no arbitration agreements, their wage-scale and shop-rules contracts include a section on interpretation which provides for the life of the contract the same guaranties as are provided by the arbitration agreements of the other unions. Any controversies over interpretation or enforcement of the contract are settled by reference to the union president or his representative and to the president of the league or his representative, or, when conciliation fails, to a joint conference committee. Should the joint conference committee fail to agree within 10 days, either party has the right of review by an arbitrator chosen by the committee, whose decision is final.

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The body of each contract provides detailed rules on such matters as wages, hours, holidays, overtime payments, complement of men, foremen, character of work, payment of wages, subs and extras, quitting work, lay offs and discharges, and apprenticeship. The result is a complex and technical body of law, which attempts to lay down rules to cover all combinations of circumstances in order to avoid disagreements during the life of the contracts. It is not surprising that constant appeals come to both the league and the unions for interpretations of these laws. The field of possible serious dispute during the life of the contracts is narrow, however, because of the extent of the field covered by jointly agreed-upon rules, on which there can be questions only of interpretation.

The right of appeal from discharge is incorporated in all the contracts. Upon demand the foreman must give the reason for discharge in writing. Appeal may be made to a joint discharge committee of three members of the league and three members of the union, decision of which committee is final. If the committee of six can not reach a decision, it selects a seventh man, the decision of the committee so constituted to be final. In the case of all but one of the contracts, appeal from discharge is provided for only in case the worker considers that he has been discriminated against because of his union activities. There is no other restriction of the right of the foreman to discharge. The contract of Typographical Union No. 6, however, includes the "priority law," which is as follows:

> Foremen of printing offices have the right to employ help, and may discharge (1) for incompetency, (2) for neglect of duty, (3) for violation of office rules (which shall be conspicuously posted), or of laws of the chapel or union, and (4) to decrease the force, such decrease to be accomplished by discharging first the person or persons last employed, either as regular employees or as extra employees, as the exigencies of the matter may require. Should there be an increase in the force the persons displaced through such cause shall be reinstated in reverse order in which they were discharged before other help may be employed. Upon demand, the foreman shall give the reason for discharge in writing. Persons considered capable as substitutes by foremen shall be deemed competent to fill regular situations, and the substitute oldest in continuous service shall have prior right in the filling of the first vacancy. This section shall apply to incoming as well as outgoing foremen. Members legally discharged according to the provisions of this section, except to reduce the force, may be reinstated only at the option of the foreman: *Provided*, That after a period of one year any member may seek employment in an office from which he has been discharged.

This law protects members of Typographical Union No. 6 in their seniority, and does not permit a foreman to select his force on the basis of competency. By restricting discharge to four reasons the law protects the older men and prevents a foreman from turning out old members of a force to replace them with younger and faster men or with his friends. Unless a man can be proved to be incompetent he can not be discharged and a more competent man kept in his place. In taking a new position, a man goes to the foot of the priority list of the new plant. The law therefore discourages shifting from plant to plant. Although there had been difference of opinion in the union as to the advantage of this law, on the request of the union it was incorporated in the contract in 1923, after having been enforced on the newspapers for a long time. Discharge may be appealed on the

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ground that the discharge is not for a permissible cause, or that the foreman has not proved his case. As will be seen later, under this law many more cases are appealed than are brought by any other of the unions.

The attitude of Pressmen's Union No. 51 on this question of priority is quite the antithesis of that of No. 6. The pressmen believe that priority works against the interests of the skilled man, and prefer that the most competent man should hold a job regardless of priority, in order to give an incentive for the development of skill. They hold that the competent man does not need protection from his union to hold his position and action is taken on discharges only when discrimination for union activity is charged. The differences in attitude of the two unions are in part explainable by differences in the crafts. Although many compositors are specialists and key men in their plants, a greater part of the work of the composing room is of such a character that any skilled journeyman can step into a job and fill it satisfactorily than is true of the work of the skilled pressmen; while more of the presswork requires special experience of the particular job and press, making it difficult to substitute one pressman for another. This difference in the degree of interchangeability among pressmen and among compositors makes the priority law possible, although not necessarily advantageous to the men, in the composing room, while in the pressroom it would not be possible. A second difference between the two crafts is that in the composing room the advantage of increasing experience as a man grows old is offset to greater or less degree by his tendency to slacken speed, which puts him at a disadvantage in competing for jobs. A desire for protection in seniority rights is a natural consequence. In the pressroom, on the other hand, while slowness is a disadvantage in make-ready, it affects only a part of the work of the pressman, and may be completely compensated for by his technical knowledge, which increases through long experience. The old pressman needs no protection in the field in which he has experience. The resulting differences in attitude of the two major unions will be seen to affect the administration of the contracts and the whole relationship between the unions and the league.

Administration of Agreements

The enforcement of the complex body of law that constitutes the agreements between the Printers' League of New York and the printing trade-unions is no small matter in an industry of hundreds of plants. The responsibility for enforcement necessarily is carried chiefly by the unions. The league has no means of checking conditions in the numerous plants, nor of forcing the maintenance of standards agreed upon. The unions, on the contrary, through their members employed in the various plants are constantly in touch with conditions, send organizers to investigate complaints of violations of the agreements, and through their ultimate power to withhold their labor are able to enforce compliance with the terms of the contracts. The unions enforce the wages, hours, and working conditions of the league contracts upon all plants in which union members are

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employed. It is only the league plants, however, which have the right to the adjustment of disputes through the joint conference committees of the unions and the league.

A considerable part of the work of administering the agreements consists in answering requests for interpretations. Both the league and the various unions are constantly called on by employers with such requests. The day book of the league shows a great variety in the subjects on which rulings are given. The most frequent are as to the wage scales on certain machines or processes, and how to figure overtime pay under various complicated circumstances. Other queries, taken at random, were as to whether a firm was entitled to another apprentice, priority rights, the jurisdiction lines between two unions, advice on a proposed discharge, the manning of a press, what changes would be necessary and what would be the additional cost to unionize a certain plant, interpretations of the overtime law, and the right to compensation for time lost through the failure of an employee to keep an engagement. These are typical of the questions constantly answered by the league office and the officers of the unions.

In the great majority of cases the matter ends when information is received from the union or the league and put into effect. In some cases, however, the employer is dissatisfied with the ruling given and does not carry it out, or the union organizer finds what he considers a violation of the contract, asks the plant to remedy it, and is refused. Whenever such a difference of opinion arises between a league plant and a union, the matter becomes one for adjustment between the league and the union concerned. An effort for informal adjustment is the first step, under the contract. The usual procedure is for the secretary of the league or his assistant to meet an officer of the union at the plant to make a joint investigation. There it is usually possible to agree upon the facts, and often to reach an immediate settlement by agreement. Delay is avoided and many cases need go no further. Only when the union officer and the league representative fail to agree upon a settlement, or the plant objects to the interpretation made or settlement suggested, a joint conference committee meeting may be called for by either party. The representatives of the union and the league have full authority to settle the dispute at the plant, unless it is one in which the settlement will establish a precedent. In such a case the question must be considered by the full joint conference committee. The decision then establishes a precedent and is published as instructions to the entire industry, in order to maintain standard practice. Often such decisions are incorporated in the contracts at the next negotiations. Earlier decisions are often referred to as precedents, in spite of the contract provision that "no precedents or previous conditions are recognized in the interpretation of these contracts." This clause is only rarely invoked, and precedents have considerable influence, although they do not bind the joint conference committees.

The league keeps a record of all complaints which become a matter for joint action by the league and a union, whether settled by informal adjustment or by a joint conference committee. From these records an analysis has been made of all complaint cases from Oc-

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tober 1, 1924, when a typographical union contract began the period of long-term contracts, until July 1, 1928. Table 8 shows the subjects of these 190 cases for each of the unions.

TABLE 8.—COMPLAINT CASES BETWEEN PRINTERS' LEAGUE AND UNIONS, BY SUBJECT, OCTOBER 1, 1924, TO JULY 1, 1928

Union	Wage scale	Overtime pay	Discharge	Complement of men	Financial claims	Jurisdiction	Overtime law	Miscellaneous	Total
Typographical, No. 6	2	4	31	2	4	4	10	22	79
Pressmen, No. 51	11		3	12	14	3		12	55
Press Assistants, No. 23	3	2	3	5	6	1	1	7	28
Paper Cutters, No. 119			1			2			3
Bindery Women, No. 43	3					2		2	7
Paper Handlers and Sheet Straighteners, No. 1						7		1	8
Mailers, No. 6						1			1
Several unions						1		8	9
Total	19	6	38	19	24	21	11	52	190

The great majority of these cases were issues between the league and the three major unions, the typographical, pressmen's, and press assistants' unions. The preponderance of typographical union cases is due to the large number of its discharge appeals. For all the unions, discharge cases outnumber all other causes of dispute, but 31 of the 38 cases are of typographical union discharges. The second largest group of complaints is on financial claims, including claims of employers for compensation because of failure of men to keep engagements, and of men for a full day's pay under the rule requiring a day's pay for all employees called to work unless discharged for incompetency or disobedience of rules. Questions of jurisdiction also provided a large group of cases, as did interpretations of wage scales and the rules on the complement of men.

Table 9 shows the disposition of all complaint cases. Of the 190 cases, 97, or over half, were settled on the whole in favor of the union contention, while 63, or one-third, were settled in favor of the league. The remaining 30 were compromised or no decision was reached. Of the informal adjustments, 57 per cent favored the unions, while of the much smaller number of settlements by joint conference committees, 72 per cent were favorable to the unions. Of all cases, the typographical union won 45 cases against the league's 29; the pressmen 25 and the league 17; and the press assistants 15 against the league's 9. It is interesting also, although the cases here become too few to permit of much generalization, that the typographical union won nearly 60 per cent of the cases informally adjusted and two-thirds of its joint conference committee cases; the pressmen won 46 per cent of their informal adjustments and 78 per cent of their conference committee cases; and the press assistants 60 per cent of the informal adjustments and 75 per cent of the committee cases.

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TABLE 9.—DISPOSITION OF ALL COMPLAINT CASES BETWEEN THE PRINTERS' LEAGUE AND UNIONS, OCTOBER 1, 1924, TO JULY 1, 1928

Union	Informal adjustments favorable to—		Joint conference committee adjustments favorable to—		All cases			
					Favorable to—		Compromise or no decision	Total
	Union	League	Union	League	Union	League		
Typographical, No. 6	35	24	10	5	45	29	5	79
Pressmen, No. 51	11	13	14	4	25	17	13	55
Press Assistants, No. 23	12	8	3	[1] 1	15	9	4	28
Paper Cutters, No. 119	1				1		2	3
Bindery Women, No. 43	3		[1] 1	[1] 1	4	1	2	7
Paper Handlers and Sheet Straighteners, No. 1	4	3	1		5	3		8
Mailers, No. 6		1				1		1
Several unions	2	3			2	3	4	9
Total	68	52	29	11	97	63	30	190

[1] Determined by arbitration.

Table 10 gives a more detailed analysis, by subjects, of the disposition of all the cases which were referred to joint conference committees for settlement. The preponderance of decisions favorable to union contentions is again very striking. Discharge cases accounted for the larger proportion of the typographical union cases, while the pressroom conference committees were devoted chiefly to questions of wage scales, financial claims, and complement of men.

TABLE 10.—DISPOSITION OF ALL COMPLAINT CASES REFERRED TO JOINT CONFERENCE COMMITTEES, BY SUBJECT, OCTOBER 1, 1924, TO JULY 1, 1928

Union and subject	Decision favorable to—		Compromise	No decision	Total
	Union	League			
Typographical, No. 6:					
Discharge	7	5			12
Overtime pay	1				1
Overtime law	1				1
Priority				1	1
Discrimination	1			1	2
All subjects	10	5		2	17
Pressmen, No. 51:					
Wage scale	7	2	1		10
Financial claims	3	2		1	6
Complement of men	1		2	2	5
Jurisdiction	2				2
Overtime	1				1
All subjects	14	4	3	3	24
Press assistants, No. 23:					
Wage scale	1				1
Financial claims	2				2
Complement of men		[1] 1			1
Overtime			2		2
Discharge			1	1	2
All subjects	3	1	3	1	8
Bindery women, No. 43:					
Wage scale	[1] 1				1
Liability of plant for theft		[1] 1			1
All subjects	1	1			2
Paper handlers and sheet straighteners, No. 1: Jurisdiction	1				1
Paper cutters, No. 119, and paper handlers and sheet straighteners, No. 1: Jurisdiction			1		1
Total	29	11	7	6	53

[1] Determined by arbitration.

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As discharge appeals make up the largest group of cases, they have been made the subject of a special analysis. Table 11 shows the disposition of all discharge appeals, whether settled informally or referred to a joint discharge committee.

TABLE 11.—DISPOSITION OF ALL DISCHARGE APPEALS, OCTOBER 1, 1924, TO JULY 1, 1928

Union and disposition of appeal	Method of adjustment			Total
	Informal agreement	Union dropped case	Joint discharge committee decision	
Typographical, No. 6:				
Reinstatement	5		7	12
Discharge upheld	8	6	5	19
Total	13	6	12	31
Pressmen, No. 51: Discharge upheld	1	2		3
Press assistants, No. 23:				
Discharge upheld		1		1
No decision			2	2
Total		1	2	3
Paper cutters, No. 119: Discharge upheld	1			1
All unions:				
Reinstatement	5		7	12
Discharge upheld	10	9	5	24
No decision			2	2
Grand total	15	9	14	38

Of the 38 appeals during the period studied, in 24 cases the discharge was upheld, while 12 men were reinstated. In two cases no decision was made, in one case because it concerned a nonleague plant which was not entitled to the use of the machinery for joint adjustment, and in the other case because the union undertook to find another place for the boy concerned.

All but seven of the cases were brought by Typographical Union No. 6. The other unions do not contest discharges unless discrimination is charged and in none of the cases of this sort brought up during this period was the charge upheld. The priority law of the typographical union, however, limits discharge to four reasons—incompetency, neglect of duty, violation of rules, and to decrease the force. Since a man discharged must go to a new plant and become the last on the priority list there, the incentive to contest discharge is considerable in the case of men of several years' priority standing. Unless the discharge is to decrease the force, in which case this must be done in priority order, the firm must be able to prove incompetency, neglect of duty, or violation of conspicuously posted rules. This is not always easy. Nevertheless in 19 of the 31 cases brought by Typographical Union No. 6 the discharge was upheld, while in each of 12 cases the man was reinstated. Of the 19 cases in which the discharge was upheld, only five were brought to a joint discharge committee. In the remainder the union officers either agreed with the league representatives, upon investigation, or later dropped the cases.

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Of the reinstatements the majority were by decision of the joint discharge committee. The majority of all joint discharge committee decisions, also, were for reinstatement, showing that the union officers accept the discharge without bringing it before a committee, except when they believe they have a strong case.

The typographical union discharge committee is elected from the floor of the union, instead of being appointed by the president. This gives an additional incentive to the union officers to settle discharge cases without bringing them to the committee. Only 12 of the 31 cases came to the joint discharge committee for decision. The practice is for an officer of the union to meet a representative of the league at the plant to investigate. Evidence is taken from all concerned, usually the facts are agreed upon, and when the facts are clear a decision can be agreed upon at once. Often such a joint investigation brings out sources of trouble within the plant and is helpful to the management in eliminating difficulties. Sometimes the union agrees that the management has proved its case and accepts the discharge. In other cases the league representatives agree that incompetency, or whatever the complaint, is not proved by the facts and advise the plant to reinstate. When the plant and the union fail to agree, however, the case is brought to the joint discharge committee.

A few concrete cases will show how this machinery works. A man discharged for incompetency claimed a day's pay for reporting for work and not being taken on although others of lower priority standing had been put to work, and claimed that incompetency, the reason given for his discharge later, had not been proved. The joint discharge committee ruled that the fact of failure to put to work in priority order was clear. The man was therefore entitled to pay for that day and for four and a half days' lost time following, before the discharge. As to the question of incompetency, however, the committee gave much weight to an affidavit signed by the entire chapel testifying to the justice of the foreman. Moreover the man's record in other plants was not good. The committee therefore voted against his reinstatement.

In another case a machinist was discharged for neglect of duty, for failure to keep the machinery in good and clean condition. The chapel chairman upheld the foreman, while the chapel voted 20 to 12 that the discharge was fair. The union organizer, however, ordered reinstatement based upon an opinion of an expert machinist, whom he had brought in, that the room was in good condition. The joint discharge committee, nevertheless, felt that the vote of the chapel was significant, and denied the claim for reinstatement and back pay.

Another man was discharged for neglect of duty in refusing to work overtime. The facts were clear. On Saturday noon the man had been asked to wait a few minutes and had refused. On Monday morning he had been discharged. The chapel voted that he should be reinstated. The foreman told him to come in Tuesday for a decision, and then refused to reinstate him. The union then ordered reinstatement but was refused. The man had offered no explanation to the foreman of his refusal to work overtime, although as it developed later the reason was that he had an appointment with his wife. The union considered this a legitimate reason, and demanded

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reinstatement with back pay. The joint discharge committee decided that since the man had done satisfactory work in this plant for eight years he should be reinstated, and since he had been told to report on Monday and Tuesday, he was entitled to pay for those days. He should not be paid for the other days lost, however, since he should have explained to the foreman the reason for his refusal. The committee made it a general rule that when a man was requested to work overtime he was obligated to do so according to an International Typographical Union executive council decision, unless he gave the foreman a reasonable excuse why it was not possible.

In another case a young man was discharged after having worked satisfactorily for four years. He had been taken off ad work and put on another sort of work which he did not like. After hours he told the foreman that he would refuse to do any more of this work. The foreman said refusal would mean discharge. The man claimed that the night foreman could not discharge him. The next night he was discharged for insubordination. The union claimed that there had been no insubordination, as the conversation took place after hours. The employers held that this was insubordination even if it had taken place out of the office and that it was an outrage to bring such a case before the committee. Motions to reinstate with back pay, and without back pay, were not seconded. Finally it was decided unanimously that because of the youth of the man and the fact that no work had been offered him and actually refused he should be reinstated without back pay. It was a compromise decision, but meant valuable discipline for the young man.

Another man appealed when he was discharged for loafing in the culmination of a series of aggravations. In the joint discharge committee the union president held that the foreman had a reputation for fairness. It was decided unanimously to deny the plea for reinstatement. However, the committee believed that the man had learned a lesson by this experience, and asked the secretary of the Printers' League to intercede with the foreman in his behalf.

Hiring, firing, and discipline in these union offices are in the hands of the foreman, who is always a member of the union, although he is the representative of the employer in the plant. The union representatives on the joint discharge committee are inclined to take the position that a foreman with a reputation for fairness should be upheld in a discharge. When a foreman can make a clear case of incompetency, neglect of duty, or violation of rules, he is sustained. Most of the cases come under the first two reasons, as easier to prove, and under each reason more discharges were upheld than were reversed. In the cases where the men were reinstated the proof was not clear, or there were extenuating circumstances which caused the committee to feel that justice was done by giving the man another chance. The joint handling of discharges, whether informally by the officers of the two organizations, or by the formal committee, has a useful effect upon discipline, since discharges for sufficient cause are sustained, and often serves an educational purpose in pointing out to the management difficulties within their organizations.

The advantages in the joint handling of discharges, both to the men and the firms, in the educational effects and in preventing injustices to the men in specific cases, do not, however, overcome the

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serious objection of the employers to the priority law in general since it restricts their freedom to select their forces on the basis of competency. The priority law, which is a feature only of the typographical union contract, is a source of considerable friction between the union and the employers.

Discharge cases accounted for only 14 of the 53 cases settled in joint committees between the league and the various unions in the period under review. Some of the other cases handled will illustrate the method of joint dealing with problems which develop during the life of the agreements.

Two cases brought by the typographical union involved charges of discrimination in reducing premium wages because of union activities. In the first case the employer had violated the contract by reading a first proof, although he was not an active member of the union. This was reported to the union by one of the compositors, who was receiving more than the minimum scale. He was then reduced to the scale in the middle of the week. The league insisted that a plant could reduce premium wages at any time for any reason as there was no legislation on premium wages. The union contended that a reduction in wages could not be made in the middle of a financial week. The league agreed with the union that the practice was not on a basis of broad equities. The company was therefore instructed to pay for the week at the old rate, and warned that the reading of first proofs by the employer was a violation of the contract. In another plant two men who had testified for the union in a discharge case were reduced. The company claimed that they were reducing expenses, that several had been laid off, and that others were to have their premiums reduced the following week. Again the league declared that it would consent to no decision legislating on premium wages, or establishing a precedent in this matter, while the union insisted that the firm had no right to reduce a man's wages on account of his union activity. No decision was made on this issue, but as the men had been reduced in the middle of the week they were each awarded back pay.

One of the most serious issues between the league and the typographical union arose over the priority law. This law had been accepted by the employers in the 1923 contract in the belief that it would reduce shifting from plant to plant and so would have a tendency to reduce premium wages. Serious opposition to the law developed among the employers, for the variety of work in book and job offices made it a serious handicap to the office to have to keep their men on in order of priority rather than according to their competence for the work in hand. Moreover, a survey of premium wages in the fall of 1926 showed that in four years the percentage of hand compositors receiving over the scale had increased from 37.5 to 43 per cent. Among machine operators however, the percentage receiving over the scale had decreased from 89 to 78 per cent although the proportion getting more than $10 above the scale had increased.[24] The priority law had not shown the clear-cut effect hoped for.

[24] Bureau of Industrial Relations, New York Employing Printers' Association. The premium wage situation in the Printers' League Section, New York Employing Printers' Association, September, 1926. Also comparison with premium wage survey of June, 1922.

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In the summer of 1926 one of the large plants decided that drastic action was necessary. This was an old plant which had in its composing room many old men, some of whom had been there 40 years or more. Under a new management the firm found its composing room so overburdened with these old compositors that it could not produce efficiently and economically. It found a way out by practically closing the department, reducing it to a handful of men and for several months sending most of the composition to trade plants. The firm considered that it had no further responsibility for these old employees since for years it had been contributing to the union pension funds by paying the union wage scale to these men. According to union rules, a man laid off for lack of work may protect his position by leaving his union card with the plant. If, however, he takes his card and goes to work elsewhere he loses his priority in the first plant. In this case, nevertheless, the union told the men that it would protect their priority, and many of them went to work elsewhere. After some months the plant began to build up a force again. The union then insisted that the men laid off should be replaced in priority order. This was refused by the plant. The union in joint conference committee sessions insisted that the company had broken the contract, that its action was merely a subterfuge to get rid of the old men, and that the union therefore was justified in its ruling.

The league insisted that under the contract only the men who left their cards in the office were protected. The union refused to permit a joint conference committee decision or to arbitrate, as priority standing is not subject to review by the conference committee, and threatened to strike if its interpretation were not put into effect. The firm and the league held to their position, however, and the union did not use force. This case is illustrative of a serious problem in the industry. The plants must be able to produce efficiently and economically. On the other hand, there are the human problems of men who have worked a lifetime for a company. In this case the firm gained its purpose, and the union did not force the issue. But the problem remains and may arise in other plants. No constructive solution has been worked out.

The overtime law also has been a source of friction. This law, which was accepted by the league in the 1924 typographical union contract, is an effort to reduce unemployment. The plants have found many difficulties with the requirement that each man who accumulates eight hours of overtime must cancel overtime by taking a day off and putting on a substitute. Often the substitute is not competent to handle the work, and at best he is unfamiliar with it. In the case of specialists it is impossible to replace them for a day. After a few months' experience a joint conference committee agreed upon a set of rules in interpretation of the law. The regular must furnish a sub capable of doing his class of work. If a sub proves incompetent he can be discharged within a 3-hour period and paid only for the time actually worked, while if a competent sub can not be supplied within 30 days the overtime is canceled. Men could cancel eight hours of overtime for any holiday on which they did not work. When the 1927 contract was adopted no change was made in the overtime law.

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In November, 1927, however, the union ruled that holidays should not cancel overtime and declared that since the manner of canceling overtime was a question involving the application of the law of the International Typographical Union the league had no right to interfere. When the league appealed to the executive council of the international union the council agreed with the local union that the league could not interfere in the application of International Typographical Union law but held that in this case that was not the issue. Since the union had made a new contract in which the overtime law was unchanged, it had "morally obligated itself to continue conditions which had obtained under the previous contract, except where the contract had been altered by agreement." The council held that "the union can not afford to be placed in a position which permits those with whom it enters into contracts to challenge its good faith," and therefore reversed the ruling of the local union.

The pressroom conference committees must often decide on highly technical matters. The technical knowledge of the employers and the union men on the committee makes it possible to arrive at a satisfactory decision. If a new machine comes into the market a scale must be made for it, establishing a proper differential with other machines. Sometimes a definition of a process must be made, to establish which of two scales is applicable, as in the case of a controversy as to whether a job was poster work or close register work requiring a higher scale. Only technicians could make a decision upon such a fine point. On one occasion Pressmen's Union No. 51 called upon a large plant to pay a differential of $1.50 to each of the pressmen on McKee process presses because of a certain attachment. In the joint conference committee, however, the foreman testified that full responsibility for these attachments was given to a special man and that the responsibility of the pressmen was not increased. The union held, nevertheless, that the pressman was responsible for the entire operation of the press and had to watch the attachment and call the specialist when he was needed. The committee agreed that it was better for the industry in general not to recognize a division of responsibility, but that the pressman should be responsible for the entire press. They ruled, therefore, that the plant should pay the differential provided in the contract, in spite of its special organization.

The press assistants' contract recommends that in the event of any press working overtime the man employed on that press should be given preference for the overtime, except in case of emergency, and that repeated claims of emergency should be subject to determination by a joint committee. In one plant two regular assistants were ordered by the foreman to work overtime on presses on which subs had been employed during the day, and did so. The union then ordered them to turn the money over to the subs. The league protested that the question should have been brought to a joint committee, and that the union action was putting the men in danger of being discharged for refusal to work overtime or of being fined for doing it. The union claimed that this was an internal union matter, that the subs wanted their overtime, and that it was a matter of moral obligation for the other members to give it to them. According to the company, this case had been an emergency when they were

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not sure enough of the competence of the subs to trust the work to them. The joint conference committee decided that the recommendation of the contract should hold, but that in an emergency the foreman should try to get the sanction of the chapel chairman. If he failed he would still have the right to do what he considered necessary pending an appeal to the joint committee. In this way a difficult type of situation was handled in a manner to protect the rights of both groups.

Issues as to the complement of men on presses are among the most difficult and important of all between the league and the pressmen's and press assistants' unions. It has been seen how in the contracts of 1928 the unions made certain concessions on the manning of automatic presses. The complement of men on web presses also has been an active issue since 1925, after having been raised by the employers some years earlier. The issue became active in 1925 because of competition of large New York plants on periodical work with plants in other cities in which web presses were operated by union men with a smaller number of men than the New York unions required. Pressmen's Union No. 51 finally, after long discussion in joint conference committees, agreed to meet competition in particular cases when necessary to keep a job. In one case it made a concession, but in another it allowed a large periodical job to be lost, and the press on which this job had been printed to be moved out to a New Jersey plant, rather than make such a reduction in the complement of men as would have enabled the New York plant to renew its contract. No. 51 hoped at the 1926 convention of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union to secure action toward equalizing working conditions over the country, but it failed. The union then admitted the necessity of concessions, and in its 1928 contract agreed to remove the second pressman on single-roll web presses on black work with no attachments except the folder. The employers had wanted also to eliminate the utility man, a member of Press Assistants' Union No. 23, from web presses. Active discussion of this issue had been under way since 1923. President Berry of the international union in January, 1928, disavowed any claim of the union to "an arbitrary right in the determination of the number of men required to operate presses" and declared that such questions should be worked out on the basis of facts.[25] Influenced by this attitude of the international union, Press Assistants' Union No. 23, when it made its 1928 contract, finally agreed to submit to a special committee for determination, with the right to submit to arbitration if necessary, three questions affecting the operation of one of the large plants. Among these questions was "the determination of cases in which utility men are needed on webs." The other questions, as to the scale on a certain press and the need of a second assistant on another press, were settled by agreement, but the question of utility men was referred to arbitration. Early in June, 1928, Dr. William M. Leiserson was chosen as arbitrator.

The case involved the operation of 7 presses and the jobs of 14 men, the utility men or oilers on each press on the two shifts. To the Printers' League the question was entirely a technical one—were

[25] American Pressman, January, 1928, p. 26.

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these men needed and did competitive plants use them on similar presses? To the union, on the other hand, it was a human question involving the livelihood of 14 men at a time when there was much unemployment in the industry and a lack of other such jobs in New York. The human problem clouded the technical issue so that the union claimed that all these men were needed. Apparently the union leaders were unwilling to take responsibility for a decision, although they were fighting a losing case.

Three hearings were held early in July, at which each side presented briefs, testimony of experts was given, and the presence of some of the men involved was a constant reminder of the human side of the problem. The board also visited the plant in question and other plants which were used in comparison, in an effort to clarify the technical issues.

The league rested its case upon technical necessity, using as evidence the fact that similar presses elsewhere were operated with fewer men than in New York. The clearest case was in the Chicago union plant already mentioned, where identical presses were operated with four men instead of five, although certain differences in the work clouded the comparison to some degree. Evidence was given from other plants near New York. The league claimed that the work of the utility men could be absorbed by the other men on the presses. Finally it claimed that due to the efforts of the unions to hold such jobs, of 176 web presses in New York in 1920, about 80 had left the jurisdiction of the local unions. The plant in question had been asking relief for eight years. It now asked that it receive equal treatment with its competitors.

The union case, which was prepared by the Labor Bureau, emphasized the human side of the problem, that the discharge was asked of 14 men who were competent and skilled, and had in some cases worked for this firm as long as 15 years, and would not be able to get similar jobs in New York. It claimed also that the firm should prove its need of relief by showing its books. The arbitrator, however, ruled out this claim on the ground that the firm was not asking financial relief but an equalization of its conditions with that of its competitors. On the technical issue, the union claimed that the work of the utility men could not all be absorbed by the other men on the press without harming the quality of the work. It urged that if there were too many men on these presses, the utility man was not necessarily the one who should be removed. And finally on the comparisons with other plants the union emphasized differences in the presses and the work on which they were running from that in the plant in question.

After two executive sessions with the board, the arbitrator rendered his decision. He regretted that the issue as submitted was limited to the need for the utility men rather than the broader question of the whole complement of men on these presses. On the technical question he considered the evidence somewhat inconclusive, because of variations in the work of different plants, although he believed that five men were probably not needed on these presses. He therefore ruled that the firm "is justified in removing the utility men from the presses, but it is not justified in discharging them from its employment." As fast as other jobs could be found for these men, they should be trans-

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ferred. Thus the change would be made gradually, and easy adjustments could be made if it were found that any of them were needed on these presses. The arbitrator urged that such a decision made possible the development of a constructive policy for dealing with all such questions. The principle of the decision was that "the employer shall be free to make improvements in methods of production, but that such changes shall not be made at the expense of the workers who have been faithfully performing their duties." Such a principle adopted as a permanent policy would permit the making of all necessary improvements as fast as they ought to be made, while fully safeguarding the interests of both employers and workers. The decision ended with this statement:

> No employee would lose his livelihood on account of any improvement unless the firm itself were losing and in financial straits, but changes would be made gradually, as fast as other work could be found for him. This might involve some expense to the employer, but it would be a temporary expense which he may legitimately be asked to carry. This temporary expense of making the changes gradually would be small compared to what he incurs when the workers resist improvements for fear of loss of livelihood. It does no worker or the union any good to retain men on jobs that are unnecessary, and if employees were protected against loss of employment by transfer to other work, as far as this is possible, then they must cooperate with the management in making improvements instead of obstructing changes designed to reduce costs.
>
> The arbitrator feels certain that if this policy of trying to guarantee the men that their work would not be eliminated until other work was provided for them had been adopted eight years ago when the employers say the dispute over the utility men first arose, the question would have been settled by mutual agreement long ago.[26]

The decision was on the whole satisfactory to the plant and to the league, as it established the principle that men not technically needed should be eliminated. A representative of the plant had informed the arbitrator that they would be able to absorb about half of the men immediately in other jobs in the plant. The union also received recognition of its main argument in that although the men were to be eliminated from the presses, their livelihood was safeguarded. After the adjustment was made, however, there were 14 fewer jobs for union men because of the decision, and other jobs in this plant were filled by displaced utility men rather than by calling in unemployed members of the union. In so large a plant a gradual solution of this problem of displacement was easier than it would be in the smaller plants which are more common in the industry.

In two other cases since October 1, 1924, arbitration was resorted to under the contracts. Both cases were brought by Bindery Women's Union, No. 43. One case involved a theft of clothing from two bindery girls. The union claimed that the firm's offer of $20 to each girl in compensation was inadequate and that the firm had not provided adequate dressing-room facilities. The question was submitted by agreement of the union and the league to a leading employer, Mr. Charles Francis, who ruled that, since according to legal opinion the

[26] Arbitration proceedings, Printers' League *v.* Press Assistants' Union No. 23, July 2, 3, 6, 1928. Arbitration decision of William M. Leiserson, July 19, 1928. The secretary of the Printers' League, however, believes that the arbitrator was unduly optimistic on the possibility of securing agreement on such issues. It is not always possible to absorb men displaced by changes in technique, and the unions therefore in resisting unemployment hold to jobs as long as they can. Experience with these issues has shown that compromise offers to protect so far as possible the interests of the men were turned down earlier, until finally the weight of conditions forced the unions to make concessions or agree to arbitrate.

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firm was not responsible, the offer was generous and should be accepted.

The other case resulted from a complaint of the bindery women's union in April, 1925, that a certain plant refused to pay the general scale for the examination of color work for bad sheets for which no specific scale was included in the contract. The company claimed that the work required less skill than other operations and that the union should not claim jurisdiction. It was paying $25.50, the scale for book examining. A joint conference committee decided that the work if done in the bindery came under the jurisdiction of the union and therefore required the scale of $27.50. The company, however, continued to pay the old scale. The union then asked for action by the league and the matter was referred to arbitration under Mr. John A. Fitch. The union showed that the plant formerly paid the general scale, but at the last wage increase in 1924 it failed to increase the wages of these girls. After many delays the company had told the union that it would pay only the scale for book examing. The company argued that the work was no more difficult than book examining. The union asked that the scale should be retroactive to January, 1924, when the general increase went into effect. The league, however, pointed out that the union had not taken the matter up with the league until April, 1925. The arbitrator visited the plant to see the work in process, and decided that greater skill, closer attention, heavier labor, and greater responsibility were required in the examination of color work than in book work. The scale of $27.50 was therefore justified. The scale should not be retroactive to January, 1924, however, since the union was in part responsible for the delay as it had failed to act vigorously, but should be effective as of April 8, 1925, the date on which certain girls had been transferred to this work. This decision was rendered on July 3, 1925. Three weeks later the union informed the league that as the company had refused to live up to the decision, the union would be compelled to withdraw its members. The league then took up the matter with its member, and a few days later reported that the company had accepted the decision. This case is interesting as one in which a plant objected to a decision of a joint conference committee and to the arbitration decision which followed, but finally complied under the joint pressure of the union's threat of a strike and the league's influence.[27]

This survey of the joint administration of the agreements between the Printers' League and the unions from 1924 to 1928 leads to a number of generalizations. The method of adjusting differences during the life of the contracts by joint conference committees is advantageous in several respects. In the first place, for the interpretation of contracts the method is highly successful, for the technical knowledge of the members of the committees insures that decisions are workable and in line with the custom of the trade. Many questions which come to the committees are settled with an entire absence of controversy, and in an attitude of practical interest in the welfare of the industry. Again the committees are a useful organ of education and discipline for members of both groups. Compliance of a plant with the standards jointly agreed upon may be secured by a de-

[27] Arbitration proceedings, Bindery Women's Union No. 43 and Printers' League, June 25, 1925. Decision of arbitrator, July 3, 1925.

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cision of the joint committee, when the plant would have strongly opposed the union's effort to enforce the condition. Or an employer through a discharge appeal from his plant may learn much of the conditions in his own plant and new techniques in the handling of men. At the same time a discharge case may teach the man involved needed lessons. The joint committees are used also, and legitimately, to avoid responsibility for decisions. A union officer may refuse to make a decision himself and send to a joint conference committee, or even to arbitration, a question on which the decision will necessarily be unpopular, believing that the members will accept the decision more easily from the committee than from the individual officer. Political expediency enters, but also the legitimate educational effect of a formal decision. Similarly the league may fail to convince a member of a necessary concession under the contract, and rather than oppose his opinion too strongly take the issue before a committee. Again the joint conference committees can prevent serious injustices to individual employees. The worker who is supported by a strong union is free from danger of unjust discharge or discrimination. Whether this protection does not go too far, and protect individuals at the expense of the plants in some cases, particularly under the priority law is, however, a question. Finally the joint conference committees which meet whenever issues arise during the life of the contracts keep a constant contact between the employers and the union leaders, and result in a marked understanding of each others' points of view and problems, and in many cases in a sincere friendship.

There are difficulties, however. The method of adjustment of problems by conference, however good in itself, can not overcome any tendency to unreasonable exercise of power, nor insure that each problem will be settled constructively. Powers of both groups are considerably modified by the agreements and directed jointly in the enforcement of the standards agreed upon, but it is still possible for a union to attempt to enforce its own new interpretation of a contract clause, or to long delay a needed concession, and for both groups to fail to find any constructive way out from such difficulties as arose over the priority law.

The analysis of the cases handled during the period from October, 1924, to July, 1928, showed a much greater degree of success of the unions than of the league in securing favorable decisions, whether informally or through joint conference committees. Are the unions so strong that they secure favorable decisions, even from the joint committees, regardless of the facts? Or is it probable that the unions are more often right than the employers in the contentions which become issues between the unions and the league? The latter appears to be the case, and is explained by a number of reasons. In the first place, the chief responsibility for enforcement of the contracts belongs to the unions. The unions therefore learn of violations of the contract more frequently than does the league. Many of the decisions favorable to the unions are therefore not opposed by the league in any way but are a joint effort to enforce the standards. Moreover, the union officers are likely to be more aggressive in acting against violations of the contracts than are employers. The unions must be interested in maintaining uniform conditions throughout the juris-

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diction. The employer, on the other hand, is chiefly interested in his own plant, and if he learns of a violation of the contract by a union member may neglect to take action unless his own interests are unfavorably affected.

In the second place the union officers are all men of experience in the industry, who know the contracts well. Thorough knowledge of the contracts is also the case with the official representatives of the league. The individual employer, however, often is less sure in his interpretation of the contract than are the union officers, and as a result many complaints are made the subject of action between the union and the league when there is no difference of opinion between the organizations. The percentage of union success on joint conference committees was higher than in the informal adjustments. The union officers, knowing the contracts well, are disinclined to take issues before the joint conference committees except when their case is good. The union officer usually decides whether to carry the case on. In the case of the league, however, the league representatives can not take as much responsibility as do the union officers. The final decision whether to go to a conference committee is made by the plant, and cases may be carried there against the advice of the league. It is not surprising therefore that the unions win a very large proportion of the joint conference committee cases. Finally, of discharge cases, contrary to the situation general in regard to all complaints, the league was sustained in the majority of cases, showing that the union leaders support at least to the point of a joint investigation many discharge appeals which prove to have no basis. This is obviously necessary in order to protect the interests of the man who has a good case. Of the discharge cases which reached a joint committee, however, the union won a majority, for the officers dislike to bring losing cases before the committee, although on some occasions the insistence of a union man may cause the officers to push his case further than they think wise.

Apprenticeship

One important feature of the relations between the Printers' League and the trade-unions remains to be described. This is the system of joint control of apprentice training. Over a long period a method has been evolved consisting of regulation by joint apprentice committees and, for the two chief crafts, training divided between the shops and part-time schools which are jointly directed and supported. In 1928 there were in these schools 765 apprentices, 600 in the school for printers' apprentices and 165 in the school for printing pressmen. A school for machine training for fifth year composing-room apprentices was opened in September, 1928, with approximately 60 students.[28]

The contracts between the league and the various unions lay down general apprenticeship rules, such as the ratio of apprentices to journeymen, the apprentice period, joint registration of apprentices, provisions for school attendance and for standards of shop training, and the apprentice wage scales. The ratio of apprentices to journey-

[28] Bureau of Industrial Relations, New York Employing Printers' Association. Apprenticeship training in the commercial printing industry of New York City. May, 1928.

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men is 1 to 7 or a major fraction, with a limit of 10 to an office for compositors; 1 to 4 for cylinder pressmen; 1 to 4 and 2 to 15 or more for paper cutters; 1 to 10 or fraction with a limit of 4 for mailers; and 1 to 5 for bindery women. The term of apprenticeship is 5 years for compositors, beginning between 16 and 21 years of age; for cylinder pressmen it is 4 years, after 5 years' experience as a member of one of the other pressroom unions; paper-cutter apprentices serve 4 years, beginning at from 16 to 18 years of age; mailers, 5 years; and bindery women, 2 years. Apprentice wage scales, with increases at regular intervals, are provided in the various contracts. Joint apprentice committees are established to study apprentice questions, and enforce the apprentice conditions established in the contracts, and have full power to cancel the apprenticeship of an apprentice who does not show proper qualifications for his work.

Under the typographical union contract the apprentice must be in good health and must pass an examination at the school for printers' apprentices as to his educational qualifications for the trade. If his employment is protested because of the lack of these qualifications the matter is adjusted by the joint apprentice committee. The union, with the firm and the boy, is party to each apprentice indenture. At the end of the first year, which is one of probation, the apprentice receives from the foreman a statement of his qualifications, which he files with the union. No office is entitled to employ an apprentice unless it has the equipment necessary to give proper instruction. The contract lays down definite rules as to the character of the work for each year. In the third year, for instance, the apprentice must be employed at least 75 per cent of his time on hand composition and distribution, and must be given an opportunity to set ads and job work from manuscript and assist on make-up and imposition. At the end of each 6-month (or in the fifth year each 3-month) period, when the apprentice is scheduled for advancement in rank and salary, the foreman and chapel chairman must agree as to his qualification for such advancement. In case of disagreement the matter is referred to the joint apprentice committee for a decision.

The school for printers' apprentices began in 1912 as a class in connection with the Hudson Guild Settlement House. As the school grew, however, the industry took over the responsibility for its support and control. In 1928 the school budget is approximately $30,000, with $10,000 contributions each from Typographical Union No. 6 and the league and $11,000 in apprentice fees. The school is controlled by a board of directors from Typographical Union No. 6, the Printers' League, and Hudson Guild. Attendance of all apprentices after their first year is required for one afternoon a week, time which the employers pay for, and one evening a week on the boys' time. Each employer of registered apprentices must send them to school and pay a fee of $25 a year for each boy. The boy also pays a school fee increasing from $15 for the second year to $30 for the fifth. The course of instruction includes hand composition, stone work, English as a tool of the trade, and the history, ethics, and economics of the trade. Each boy must prove his competency by passing a proficiency test at the school before he applies for his probationary card in the union at the end of the fourth year.

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Training on typesetting and type-casting machines may be elected in the fifth year, under the contract. Apprentices in offices with four or more machines who elect to study machine work, must for the last six months be employed the entire time on the machines. As no machine training is provided at the school for printers' apprentices, an active demand developed among the boys for facilities for machine training apart from the plants, in order to give opportunities to all apprentices. Opposition of the union to the provision of machine training in connection with the existing school delayed the project, but finally in April, 1928, after more than two years' discussion an agreement was made for a school for machine training to be opened in the fall of 1928. The school is established under the cooperative control and support of the New York City Board of Education, Typographical Union No. 6, the Printers' League, and the Publishers' Association, the newspaper publishers. The board of education provides floor space, light, heat and power, and the salaries of two instructors, while machines, materials, and supplementary salaries are provided by the two employers' associations. An advisory board of representatives from the two associations and the union advises with the board of education on curriculum, selection of instructors, and maintenance of technical standards. This cooperative arrangement is similar to that made in 1925 by the league and Pressmen's Union No. 51 for the school for printing pressmen.

Fifth-year apprentices in plants where they can not receive machine training, as well as the others, may now, if they so choose, attend the school for machine training instead of the school for printers' apprentices during the last year. Each machine apprentice must demonstrate to the director of the school for machine training during the first six months of the fifth year that he has the necessary qualifications to become a machine operator. Appeal on this point may be made to the joint apprentice committee, whose decision is final. In addition to apprentice training, the school will offer training in machine composition to journeymen compositors.

The system of apprenticeship in the pressroom is very complicated because of divided union jurisdiction. Apprentice pressmen must have a previous membership of at least five years in the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union. They are recruited therefore from the ranks of Press Assistants' Union No. 23, and for the first two years are under the jurisdiction of that union, before transferring to the pressmen's union. As there are more positions for assistants than for pressmen, a considerable proportion of the assistants find themselves in blind-alley jobs with no opportunity to become pressmen. The number of apprentices to be admitted each year was decided by a joint survey by the league and Pressmen's Union No. 51 of the number of pressmen and the estimated annual need for replacements, thus removing this issue from the field of controversy. Apprentice problems, however, are complicated by the fact that the apprentices are men who have already had five years or more in the industry, and are taken from a union which, because of its limited opportunity for advancement, is at a disadvantage in appealing to youths of intelligence and ambition.

The training of pressmen is controlled by the contract of the league and Pressmen's Union No. 51. A joint apprentice committee has

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similar powers to that under the typographical union contract. The committee is trying to establish definite standards of skill and requires each apprentice during the entire 4-year apprenticeship period to show an average of 75 per cent proficiency for each period, or be denied advancement. Any dispute arising from this question is determined by the joint apprentice committee. The apprentice may be assigned to any work which his foreman deems proper, within certain limitations for the first three years. During these three years he may not run more than one press, unless with the approval of the joint apprentice committee. Each registered apprentice is required to attend the school for printing pressmen for one afternoon and one evening a week, during the entire apprenticeship, and the employer must not interfere with his attendance on the stipulated days.

The school for printing pressmen was established in 1925 through a cooperative agreement between the New York City Board of Education and the Printers' League and New York Printing Pressmen's Union No. 51, "to cooperate in every way to raise through proper technical training the craftsmanship of journeymen pressmen and apprentice pressmen now employed in the printing industry." The board of education furnishes floor space, light, heat and power, and the larger part of the salaries of the instructors, while the league and the union furnish mechanical equipment and necessary material, supplement the instructors' salaries, and carry insurance on the equipment and compensation insurance for the students while in the school. The operation of the school is supervised by a joint advisory board elected by the joint apprentice committee. Each registered apprentice pays to the union as a school fee $25 per year, and a similar amount is paid by each employer to the league for each apprentice pressman in his employ. The instruction at the school includes lectures on the theory underlying presswork, practical work on all types of job and cylinder presses, and academic work in arithmetic and other related subjects. Advanced courses for journeymen are an important part of the work of the school, also. While the school is still in its early stage and is working out its methods of instruction, it makes every effort to insist upon standards. Copies of all the work of each apprentice are kept, during his entire term, and he must show a proficiency of 75 per cent in order to secure advancement at each period and finally receive his journeyman's card. The union also sends to the school for examination men who apply for a union card after having had their training in open shops, and does not accept them for membership unless they can show a 75 per cent proficiency. Open-shop apprentices are admitted to the school if they have had the necessary preliminary experience and their employers are willing to sign the 4-year indentures.

As the apprentice pressmen have all spent five years or more in the industry before beginning their apprenticeship, they are an older group than are the composing-room apprentices. In 1928 the average age at the school for printing pressmen was 30 years. These men are all running presses in the plants, and often to release them for their afternoon at the school is a hardship for the plant, although the union requires that the journeymen pressmen must if it is physically possible, "cover the press" of the apprentice during his absence.

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To secure regular attendance has therefore been a considerable problem for the joint apprentice committee. At the beginning of the second year of the school, the joint apprentice committee ruled that after three successive absences, an apprentice would be suspended until reinstated by the joint advisory board on justifiable reason presented by the apprentice and his employer, and that should the absences continue the apprenticeship might be canceled. The student council of the school protested that absences were often the fault of the foreman, and the committee agreed to hear the case of any apprentice before taking drastic action. All absences were required to be made up. In some cases apprentices and their employers were called before the joint committee in regard to absences. Where the fault was that of the apprentice he was set back a month or more in his apprenticeship or referred to the union for discipline, while some firms were required to send a boy to the school for an extra session each week for the necessary number of weeks to make up absences. Finally in the spring of 1928 the problem was attacked by a new method. Suspensions for absence had only increased absences, while in many cases the apprentice was not at fault. Employers who were called in to discuss the problem pointed out the difficulty they often found in getting work out when they were required to let the apprentice off on the stipulated afternoon.

In the course of a very frank discussion by the employers, the league representatives, and the union officers, a way out was suggested. It was agreed that if the journeymen could not cover the apprentice's press so that he could attend school, the union would send in a pressman for the afternoon, and the employer would be required to pay him only for the time he actually worked. The union offered to waive its general provision for a full day's pay for men called to work, under these circumstances. In the case of three absences, the apprentice and his employer would be summoned by the joint advisory board. If it were the fault of the apprentice, he would be set back as a penalty. If it were the fault of the plant, however, the board would order that the union send a man to the plant to cover the position, for half days at half days' pay, for enough successive afternoons to let the apprentice make up his absences. Should a plant fail to let an apprentice off when so ordered, it would be subjected to a penalty of a full day's pay for the man sent to cover the apprentice position. The employers were willing to cooperate, and it appears that the problem has been solved. It is an excellent example of cooperation to solve an important problem of the industry.

In 1928 the entire printing industry of New York City, as represented by the New York Employing Printers' Association, the Publishers' Association, the Employing Electrotypers' and Stereotypers' Association, and the Photo-Engravers' Board of Trade, and all the unions included in the Allied Printing Trades Council, petitioned the New York Board of Education for the construction of a building for a training center for the printing industry. There are approximately 2,000 students in technical training in the various phases of the industry, in addition to 2,000 boys in printing classes in continuation schools. Centralization would mean adequate facilities, the establishment of standards, and the coordination of the whole process

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of printing education with the developing needs of the industry. If this plan is carried out it will permit the operation of schools for the various sections of the industry under cooperative agreements between the organizations and the board of education, and with advisory committees to keep the training closely in touch with the needs of the industry.

The New York unions and the Printers' League have recognized a joint responsibility for the training of craftsmen and have undertaken a practical program which gives promise of exerting a marked effect upon craftsmanship in the future. It is said in the New York industry, as elsewhere, that a trade-union card is no proof of competency, and that many incompetent union members are in the field. There is, however, much testimony that the 15 years' effort of the school for printers' apprentices has materially raised the standard of workmanship in the composing rooms of New York. The pressmen's school is too young to have proved its work by the experience of the industry. Pressmen's Union No. 51, however, has a sincere interest in promoting the skill of its members and making the union card stand for a high degree of craftmanship. Its insistence that applicants from open shops must pass tests at the school before they may secure union cards is evidence of its intention. The union officers are proud of the present reputation of their members for skill, and believe that the cooperative school will make possible a more general attainment of the highest standards of craftsmanship than in the past, with benefit to all in the industry.

There are several advantages in apprentice training carried on in part in the jointly administered schools. Few composing rooms or pressrooms have a sufficient range of work to be able to introduce the apprentice to all the types of work which he may need to know in the future. The school, however, can give the fundamentals of all the most important branches and can give the theory underlying the practical work, a necessary basis for intelligent advancement in the industry, but one which it is seldom possible to get adequately in the rush of the production departments. The foremen and journeymen have little time, even when they have the necessary ability, to act as teachers, and in many cases in the shop the boy must shift for himself, picking up what he can of the vital craft knowledge.

In the school, on the contrary, instruction is given by men who are trained teachers as well as skilled craftsmen. Every effort is made to keep the instruction attuned to the practical needs of the industry through the supervision of the joint apprentice committees, made up of practical men from both groups in the industry, with the advice and counsel of representatives of the craftsmen's club, the organization of foremen and superintendents, and of the student councils of the two schools. Through the schools, also, experiments can be undertaken which would not be possible otherwise. For instance, a 3-year program has been undertaken by the National Junior Personnel Service, supported in part by the two schools, for a study of aptitude tests for the apprentices in these schools. A final advantage is in the quarterly reports of the schools to all employers on the standing and progress of their apprentices. These reports serve to keep the problem of apprentice training before the employers

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and promote their active interest, and in many plants lead to a personal interest of the employer in the apprentice with benefit both to the boy and to the industry.

Not all the problems of training in the industry have been solved, however, and questions are still asked as to the value of the schools. Skepticism is occasionally met as to whether the school training can be sufficiently practical to be worth while. Particularly at first the pressmen's school met this type of criticism from the apprentices, who after their years in the industry felt it a waste of time to go to school, and disliked the academic work. Such criticism is being overcome as the school demonstrates to the apprentices that it is able to help them. In spite of occasional criticism of this sort from employers, there is much enthusiastic belief in the schools and their practical contributions to the industry. The joint responsibility for training in the industry, assumed by the unions and the league at the expense of money and much time and interest, is having a considerable effect in establishing standards of craftsmanship and in making the attainment of these standards possible by enforcing upon both employers and apprentices training requirements decided upon by men of both groups who know well the needs of the industry.

Conclusions

The character of industrial relations in the book and job printing industry in New York City derives essentially from the fact of strong organization on the part of both labor and employers, in an industry with a long tradition of such organization. What are the results on the character of the relationships between the two groups and the control exerted over the industry?

1. Primarily because of the strength of labor organization, the standards of wages, hours, and working conditions established in the contracts between the unions and the Printers' League to a very large degree govern the New York industry. While the wages are the highest in the industry and the hours—which are according to the standard of the international unions—are shorter than in many competing cities, in New York these are generally effective among responsible plants and for substantial volumes of work. Exceptions must be noted in the case of the numerous small plants which are difficult to control and the competition of which is considerable on job work turned out on the small high-speed presses, and for bindery work. The craft system of labor organization does not carry over the strength of the highly skilled crafts to such a weak group as the bindery women sufficiently to enable them to maintain an effective organization and enforce union standards on the entire industry. With these exceptions the trade-union standards generally govern the industry. There is no aggressive nonunion group in the New York industry. New York is therefore free from the disintegrating effect of such a fundamental division in the ranks of the employers as is found in Chicago, where since 1921 discord over labor policies has encouraged price cutting and made cooperation of the employing printers on any problem very difficult.

2. The strength of the organizations and the general maintenance of the agreed-upon standards in the New York industry result in a

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friendly relationship between the unions and the employers. There is no fundamental challenge in New York of the right of the unions to existence and a share in the determination of the policies of the industry. The Printers' League is based upon a frank recognition of the trade-unions. There is therefore less of the fighting psychology usually found in the relations between the unions and the organized employers, and a somewhat greater inclination to cooperate on problems of the industry. Personal factors have had a large share in making this possible, in the quality of leadership of employers who have guided the destinies of the league for many years, and in the confidence of union leaders in the present secretary of the league and his influence over a period of nine years. In the conferences between the unions and the league the two groups meet as equals with mutual respect flowing not from sentiment but from the fact of powers and responsibilities. Many of the employers have a background of trade-union membership. The union leaders also know the industry well. While both groups are primarily concerned to protect their own interests, it is possible for them to see the problems of the other group, and to a greater or less degree to coordinate their interests. The rules adopted in the agreements narrow the field of possible conflict, and during the life of the contracts a substantial part of the relations between the unions and the league is marked by absence of controversy.

3. A serious difficulty in the relations between the unions and the employers arises from the fact that the standards established are only for the New York industry. Printing in the past has been typically manufactured and sold for the local market, but with the growth of larger plants the market has widened. Competition on large-volume work is no longer local. Some New York plants have more competition from Chicago and other cities than from New York. The absence of uniformity in hours, complement of men on machines, and other working conditions as well as wages, whether in union or nonunion plants in other cities, results in differences in labor cost which seriously affect competition and are a constant source of irritation to the plants engaged in large-volume work. This has contributed to the departure of several large plants from New York and the loss to New York of considerable large-volume periodical and catalogue work. There is need for a greater degree of standardization of conditions in competing centers, whether accomplished by union action or by agreement among the large plants.

4. The expiration of the contracts brings periodically a crisis in which the organized groups test their strength and finally agree upon new bargains. Typographical Union No. 6, the strongest opponent of the league in these tests, in any controversy with the book and job employers has the financial support of its newspaper members, and it refuses to tie its hands by any general arbitration agreement extending beyond the expiration of its contract. "Big Six" is therefore typically able to secure a favorable wage adjustment, which then affects the settlements of the other unions, and often brings them a better adjustment than they could have secured by their own strength alone. On shop practices the unions are sufficiently powerful to secure conditions some of which are objec-

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tionable to the employers. The priority and overtime laws of Typographical Union No. 6, for instance, the employers consider decidedly detrimental to efficiency, while for many years before the concessions of 1928 the pressroom unions maintained a complement of men on presses which was strongly opposed by the employers. The organized employers, however, are sufficiently strong to successfully resist the 40-hour week and to secure other concessions and modifications of union demands. In spite of restrictive shop practices, the long-term contracts, finally agreed upon, bring advantages to the employers as well as to the unions, in the standardization of conditions in New York for definite periods.

5. The method of joint administration of the agreements is highly successful in protecting the interests of both groups. Enforced fundamentally by the power of the unions, the agreements are interpreted by the two groups as questions arise, and only in case of difference of opinion is joint action necessary. The area of conflict during the life of the agreements is narrow, being restricted to interpretation of the contracts and to any new questions which come up. Since it is believed that men who know from the inside the practical needs of the industry are the best equipped to decide problems of the industry, adjustment of most problems is accomplished informally by the officers of the organizations concerned or by joint conference committees made up of representatives who know the technical problems involved. Only on very rare occasions is it necessary to resort to arbitration. The joint conference committees are often able to agree unanimously on decisions which protect the interests of both groups and serve the needs of the industry. They serve as an important means of discipline and education for both groups.

6. To what extent is there constructive cooperation of the unions and the employers? On questions of shop practices, which so vitally affect the efficient operation of the plants, a considerable proportion of the rules are mutually advantageous when made the standard for the industry. But on the minority of shop-condition issues which become controversies in the negotiation of each contract, determination is rather according to the strength of the groups than according to the needs of the industry. Thus the problems of unemployment and the need of individual workers for protection on their jobs have been answered by the enforcement by Typographical Union No. 6 of its overtime and priority laws, rather than in an attempt to work out jointly a solution which would not interfere with efficient production. Similarly when changing technique in the pressroom called for changes in operation, the league demanded reductions in the complement of men on presses, and the unions resisted concessions until conditions made it impossible for them longer to do so, but there was no jointly evolved and adopted program to meet the changing conditions and so far as possible protect the interests of all concerned. On the other hand the unions exert a constructive influence by maintaining discipline among their members, and in some cases cooperate directly with managements to improve production or increase efficiency in the departments concerned.

The outstanding example of cooperation in a constructive attack upon a fundamental problem of the industry, however, is in the pro-

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gram of apprentice training. The recognition of a common interest in craftsmanship has made possible the waiving of differences and the establishment of standards of training, jointly enforced, and made possible by the establishment of part-time schools under the supervision of joint apprentice committees. This experiment is highly significant, both in its practical effect upon the caliber of the craftsmen in the industry and as an example of the far-reaching cooperation possible by the joint direction of the power of the two groups, on problems in which a community of interest is recognized.

7. Finally, as to the relations between the management and the workers in the plants, in some cases employers consider that because so many conditions are determined in negotiations with the unions, there can be no informal friendly relations with the men in the plant, and that the union is a barrier to the development of plant loyalty and cooperation. In many other plants, on the contrary, no such barrier exists, and the relationship is entirely satisfactory, with no apparent conflict between union and plant loyalty on the part of the workers. Evidently the presence or absence of friendly cooperation within the plant is much more affected by the personalities involved than it is by the fact of affiliation of the workers to their unions.

The industrial-relations situation in the book and job printing industry of New York may be summed up as one in which the existence of strong organization on the part of both employers and labor brings with it inevitably the possibility of unreasonable exercise of power, but at the same time an opportunity for constructive action when the power of the two groups is turned toward a common purpose, as is done in the effective maintenance of standards in the New York industry and the putting into effect of a constructive program of apprentice training.

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Chapter 6.—Industrial Relations in the British Printing Industry: A Study in National Organization

The printing industry of Great Britain presents many striking contrasts to that of America. Above all is the fact that it is highly organized locally and nationally on the part of both employers and employees. Moreover, while local organizations retain a considerable autonomy, the short distances and the ease with which important committees can be convened from all parts of the country have made possible a strong tendency toward national action. Standards of wages, hours, and working conditions are for the most part determined nationally. Finally, a national joint industrial council, representing a very large proportion of the employers and the employees of the industry through their organizations, is able to confer on large problems of the industry and is recognized by the Government as the spokesman for the industry.

On the side of the employers, the chief organization is the Federation of Master Printers, with a membership of 4,000 out of 7,000 master printers in England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland. The number of important firms outside the federation is small, although many smaller firms are unorganized. The federation estimates that, omitting the London daily newspapers, its members employ 90 per cent of the labor of the industry. The federation consists of 11 alliances, or district organizations, in England and Wales and a Scottish alliance, each alliance having local organizations, and 3 Irish associations. Its function, "to deal collectively with all matters affecting the industry," includes within its scope in particular the handling of labor matters and the promotion of scientific cost methods. Several associations in the allied trades are affiliated with the federation. The London newspapers are separately organized in the Newspaper Proprietors' Association. The provincial newspapers, many of which have job departments and are represented in the federation, have also their Newspaper Society which cooperates with the federation in labor matters. The federation labor committee, an important committee including representatives from each alliance and affiliated organization, acts on all questions of standards of wages, hours, and conditions, and in all negotiations with the national unions. The local and district organizations act independently on labor questions only when national standards are not affected. It is with the general printing industry, organized on the side of the employers in the master printers' federation, that this chapter is chiefly concerned.

On the side of the employees the inclusive organization is the Printing and Kindred Trades Federation of the United Kingdom, with a membership of 153,000. It is composed of 19 societies, most of them national organizations, which retain autonomy although subscribing in general to the federation purpose to secure unity of

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action throughout the industry. The lines of demarcation between the various unions are not entirely definite nor based strictly upon departmental divisions as in America. In general, however, union jurisdiction in the different departments is as follows: The composing rooms, except for London and Scotland, are controlled by the Typographical Association, an old and powerful union. The Scottish Typographical Association which is not now affiliated with the federation, and the London Society of Compositors act independently in their territories. In the pressrooms, pressmen are for the most part under the two typographical associations, although in London there are two separate societies. The "Natsopa," or National Society of Operative Printers and Assistants, takes in a large variety of labor, chiefly semiskilled, including the feeders and assistants in the pressrooms, ink and roller makers, and web pressmen and clerks on the London newspapers. In the binderies the chief union is the National Union of Printing, Bookbinding, Machine Ruling, and Paper Workers, generally known as the paper workers. This is the largest union in the industry, with over 75,000 members. Having grown through the amalgamation of various unions, it includes a great variety of workers, the men and women bindery workers, warehouse men, and paper workers of all sorts from paper makers to box and bag workers. The remaining unions are the smaller allied groups, such as the electrotypers and stereotypers, lithographers, photo-engravers or "process workers," engravers, type founders, press telegraphists, and journalists. Finally, a unique organization is the Society of Women Employed in the Bookbinding and Kindred Trades, which, having successfully organized women in the binderies and pressrooms of Manchester, shares jurisdiction there and in several small Lancashire towns with the paper workers and the Natsopas. The jurisdiction of the various unions will be made clearer by a comparison with the American unions in the following table:

TABLE 12.—JURISDICTION OF PRINTING-TRADE UNIONS IN AMERICA AND IN GREAT BRITAIN

Department	American unions	British unions
Composing room	International Typographical Union.	Typographical Association. Scottish Typographical Association. London Society of Compositors. Association of Correctors of the Press.
Pressroom	International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union.	Typographical Association. Scottish Typographical Association. National Society of Operative Printers and Assistants. Printing Machine Managers' Trade Society (London). Printing Machine Branch, National Union of Printing, Bookbinding, Machine Ruling and Paper Workers (London).
Bindery	International Brotherhood of Bookbinders.	National Union of Printing, Bookbinding, Machine Ruling, and Paper Workers. Society of Women Employed in the Bookbinding and Kindred Trades (Lancashire).
Other	International Stereotypers' and Electrotypers' Union.	National Society of Electrotypers and Stereotypers.
	International Photo-Engravers' Union. Amalgamated Lithographers of America.	Amalgamated Society of Lithographic Artists, Designers, Engravers, and Process Workers. Amalgamated Society of Lithographic Printers.

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The federation endeavors to secure united action, but in every case the individual unions are free to decide upon their policy. When a federated union contemplates a strike it notifies the federation and, if the strike is approved by the federation executive committee, receives strike benefits. The federation, however, has no power to prevent action by a union nor to discipline it for acting contrary to the desires of the federation. The individual unions are on the whole substantial financial institutions, which pay their members benefits ranging from strike benefits, unemployment, sickness, and death payments, to pensions and other special benefits, even marriage dowries for women members in some cases. They also are agencies approved by the Government for the administration of national unemployment insurance and, in some cases, of health insurance.

In addition to these organizations the Printing Trades Alliance is a small nonunion organization including both employers and employees and functioning chiefly in London. As it performs such trade-union functions as providing unemployment and other benefits, establishing a scale of wages and hours, and maintaining an employment bureau, while emphasizing the use of conciliation and arbitration, it is registered as a trade-union. The Printers' Provident Association also provides various benefits to nonunion workers in the industry and administers unemployment insurance.

While the extent of organization varies between the trades and in different sections of the country, the trade-unions control a very large proportion of the skilled labor of the industry.

Among the semiskilled groups organization is less strong, although it is estimated as amounting to 70 per cent of the workers in the printing industry. Organization among the paper workers is now less extensive, following serious losses after the general strike of 1926. It was pointed out above that the Federation of Master Printers claims to employ 90 per cent of the labor of the industry, except for the London newspaper workers. The federation membership, however, includes open-shop and nonunion plants as well as union. While most of the large plants, and therefore a large proportion of the labor employed, are union, a great many small plants, both in the federation and outside, are nonunion or open shop. Particularly is this true in London, where the small nonunion and open-shop plants outnumber the union plants, although the great preponderance of labor employed is union. This development, which is one of long standing, has been strengthened to some degree and made more vocal since the general strike. In Scotland also there is considerable open-shop operation, particularly in the newspaper section of the industry. Trade-unionism in the printing industry of Great Britain is very strong and widely accepted, but it is not unchallenged.

Several other points in the condition of the industry should be made clear before going on to the relations between the employers and the employees. Printing is regarded as one of the "sheltered industries," which produce chiefly for the home market and have been comparatively unaffected by the dislocation in world trade which so seriously affected the great export industries. While printing was severely depressed in 1921 and 1922, its recovery has been substantial. At no time was it as badly situated as were many of the leading industries. This is indicated in the Government reports

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on percentages unemployed of persons insured under the unemployment insurance act, who are substantially all wage earners in the industries reported. In paper making, printing, and bookbinding the percentage unemployed was 9 per cent in 1921 and 6.7 per cent in 1922, compared with an average for all industries of 17 and 14.3 per cent for the two years. In January, 1928, the unemployment in printing, publishing, and bookbinding was 5 per cent, while the average for all industries was 10.6 per cent.[1] The favorable position of the industry is strongly reflected in wages, which are high in comparison with other industries. In September, 1927, the wage rates per week for hand compositors and bookbinders in certain large towns averaged 107 and 117 per cent, respectively, above their prewar rates, while for other skilled trades studied the average was an increase of from 70 to 75 per cent.[2] Conditions have been favorable, therefore, for the development of a satisfactory relationship between the organized employers and employees.

A striking feature of the British printing industry is the existence of national standards of wages and hours, which result in a well-established and regular basis for competition. National agreements between the unions and the employers divide the country into a series of grades on the basis of the size of towns and other conditions, with varying wage rates for each grade. These wage standards are generally observed by the open shops as well as by the union houses, partly because of the need to do so in order to get competent help, and partly because of the influence of the "fair-wages clause" of a House of Commons resolution which requires contractors for public work to observe the recognized trade-union conditions of wages and hours. In some national agreements London is included as the highest grade, while in the case of some crafts, separate London unions make their own agreements. London is a great newspaper and periodical center and the need of the publishers for uninterrupted operation, which makes them unwilling to resist union demands on wages to the point of a strike, has resulted in a wage level in London far above the highest grade outside. This has contributed to a strong tendency, like that familiar to the New York industry, for work to leave the city for lower cost centers. Book work has almost entirely left London. Many old London shops have established country plants and regularly produce there, perhaps 30 or 40 miles from London, a large part of their work. Because of publication convenience periodical work has largely remained in London. Discontent of London employers with the high wage level has contributed also to the open-shop sentiment which is much more prevalent in London than in the Provinces. The London situation is the least satisfactory in the system of national standards. As a whole, however, it is generally agreed that the standardization of wages and hours through national agreements has proved of great value to the industry.

The present situation differs greatly from that of 10 years ago and earlier. Formerly all agreements were local. Under the rapidly changing conditions of the war and early postwar years, however, the local determination of wages proved very unsatisfactory. This

[1] Ministry of Labor Gazette, London, January, 1928, p. 2; February, 1928, p. 62.
[2] Ministry of Labor Gazette, London, October, 1927, p. 370.

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was a time of great unrest. Cost of living was rising rapidly and wage increases followed. Increases secured by the strong unions in the larger towns were quickly followed by demands and increases in the smaller places, to be followed again by further demands in the large towns. The trade press was full of complaints of the "vicious circle" of wage increases. At the same time, in other industries, similar conditions were tending toward national consideration of problems of wages and hours.

In 1916, in anticipation of the industrial relations problems which would arise with reconstruction, the Government had set up a committee on relations between employers and employed, known as the Whitley committee, with the following duties:[3]

1. To make and consider suggestion for securing a permanent improvement in the relations between employers and employed.

2. To recommend means for securing that industrial conditions affecting the relations between employers and workmen shall be systematically reviewed by those concerned, with a view to improving conditions in the future.

The first report of the committee, on March 9, 1917, recommended that in all well-organized industries there should be set up joint industrial councils, representative of the employers and workers, to have as their object "the regular consideration of matters affecting the progress and well-being of the trade from the point of view of all those engaged in it, so far as this is consistent with the general interest of the community."

In the printing industry conversations already under way between leaders of the employers and the unions as to the future of the industry, resulted in the summer of 1917 in a betterment committee made up of representatives from the Federation of Master Printers and the Printing and Kindred Trades Federation. After long discussions, late in 1918 a betterment scheme, for the establishment of a joint industrial council in the industry, was presented to the unions and employers for their acceptance or rejection.[4]

In the meantime the unions had presented a request that hours be reduced to 48, in line with the reductions that were occurring in other industries. Hours in the printing industry were then 50 in London and 51 outside. For the first time, negotiations for a national agreement were conducted between the Federation of Master Printers and the Printing and Kindred Trades Federation, representing all the unions. The hours and holidays agreement which resulted was ratified by the master printers and the individual unions, and became effective March 3, 1919. The agreement provided for the 48-hour week with no reduction in wages, all rearrangements of hours within plants to be subject to mutual agreement. In addition, it was agreed that there should be six holidays annually, to be paid for at the ordinary rates, and one week's vacation with pay for all employees who had been in the employ of a firm for 12 consecutive months prior to June 30 of any year. A joint committee representing each federa-

[3] Great Britain Ministry of Labor, Industrial Relations Department. Report on the establishment and progress of joint industrial councils set up in accordance with the recommendations of the committee on relations between employers and employed. London, 1923, pp. 5–12.

[4] Members' Circular, Federation of Master Printers and Allied Trades, June, 1918, p. 164; January, 1919, p. 20.

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tion was set up to decide any questions as to the construction of the agreement. An important milestone in the development of relations between the two groups in the industry was marked by this agreement. For the first time all the unions acted jointly, an important issue was determined by negotiations of the two national federations, national uniform standards for hours, holidays, and annual vacations were set up, and permanent joint machinery was established to deal with all questions that might arise under the agreement. The spirit in which the agreement was reached was indicative of a new attitude of cooperation which aroused much hope for the future of relations in the industry.

On the question of wages, a feeling that all changes should be nationally determined grew rapidly during 1918. The Typographical Association began to present its wage demands for whole groups of local unions as a unit. An important agreement in the Midlands covered 32 localities, which were graded into four sections with flat rates for each section. Finally the Typographical Association agreed in principle on a national basis of wage settlement, and appointed a joint committee to negotiate with the Federation of Master Printers and the Newspaper Society. An agreement was eventually ratified and became effective on May 24, 1919. Wages in the future were to be settled on a national basis. For this purpose branches, or local unions, were divided into six grades, with wages varying for hand compositors on job work from 77s. 6d. to 62s. 6d.[5] Certain provisions for overtime and other conditions were included also. A joint labor committee was established, which should meet within 14 days and render a decision within 35 days, upon notice by either party of desire for changes in wages or conditions, or reclassification. No strike or lockout was to take place during the period named for the labor committee to arrive at a decision. Separate national wage agreements were made for Scotland and Ireland. National wage basis agreements were shortly entered into also by the other national unions with the Federation of Master Printers and with the newspaper proprietors. London rates for some crafts were included in the national agreements, and in other cases were settled by agreements with the London unions separately. Since the adoption of this series of agreements, for the first time in the history of the industry there exists nationally a coherent system of wages in which, except for certain London crafts, differences in wages between sections are determined by national agreements after joint consideration of the differences in conditions.

The entire system of agreements in the industry is rather complex. There is, first, the hours and holidays agreement for Great Britain. Then, for England and Wales as a unit, for Scotland, and for Ireland are national wage agreements with the various national unions for the general printing trade. Similar agreements exist between the newspaper society and the various unions for the provincial newspapers. London has a series of separate agreements between the London Master Printers' Association and the various London unions and between the Newspaper Proprietors' Association and the unions. A very important agreement between

[5] At par shilling = 24.33 cents, penny = 2.03 cents.

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the London Master Printers' Association and the London Printing Trades Federation establishes uniform conditions in all departments for overtime and night work. A separate agreement between certain London periodical houses and the London Society of Compositors provides for piecework on all machine typesetting in these plants. In addition to these definite agreements, various union rules governing shop conditions have from time to time been accepted by the employers or have become customary in the trade throughout the country.

Certain points of interest in regard to these agreements should be mentioned. In the first place, agreements are characteristically made without time limitation. While in some cases it has been agreed that no change should be asked for a period of a year, usually an agreement can be opened for discussion on two weeks' notice of either party, and without such notice it runs indefinitely. Both groups consider this method advantageous, for they are free to act if they so desire, but are not faced with crises at regularly occurring intervals when the agreements come up for renewal. A provision for a fortnight's or week's notice of dismissal or of leaving employment for all regular employees is included in many of the agreements or agreed rules and is generally recognized. In many cases the amount of overtime which may be worked in a certain period is limited.

Regulation of the number of apprentices is a usual feature of the agreements. Finally, joint labor committes are provided for, to which are referred any claims for changes in the agreements, or any disputes under the agreements. It is agreed that no strikes, lockouts, or other aggressive action should take place during the period named for the committee to arrive at a decision. In case of ultimate failure to agree, however, the unions reserve the right to strike. Arbitration is strongly opposed as an invasion of an ultimate right to self-determination and autonomy of each organization. To sum up, with exceptions in the case of London, this is a system of agreements entered into on a national basis between organized employers and national unions in the various sections of the industry.

The Joint Industrial Council

Turning now from this structure of agreements which form the basis of the relations between the individual unions and the organized employers, we return to the betterment scheme which was proposed in 1918 for the consideration of the entire industry. After more than a year of discussion, a joint committee agreed upon a plan for a joint industrial council for the industry. This was submitted to the unions and to the Federation of Master Printers and was adopted. On July 1, 1919, the Joint Industrial Council of the Printing and Allied Trades of the United Kingdom met and organized. The constitution as adopted and later slightly revised is summarized as follows:[6]

The council is composed of employers who are members of the Federation of Master Printers and Allied Trades or of the Newspaper So-

[6] Joint Industrial Council of the Printing and Allied Trades of the United Kingdom. Constitution and rules. See Appendix F, p. 226.

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ciety and who employ trade-unionists, and trade-unions which are affiliated to the Printing and Kindred Trades Federation. No members of any organization not in harmony with the objects of the two federations are eligible for membership. Such an open-shop organization as the Printing Trades Alliance is thus excluded. The London newspapers are outside by their own choice.

The objects stated in full detail in the constitution are indicative of the hopes and plans of the sponsors of this council. They include, briefly, to secure complete organization of employers and employees in the trade, to promote good will and cooperation between them, to devise ways and means of settling any differences, to resist the action of those who would injure the fair standard of prices and wages by disposing of their goods or labor at less than the standard mutually agreed upon, and to do all things possible for the betterment of the trade; to establish uniform hours and working conditions, assist in the maintenance of reasonable selling prices, insure the greatest possible security of earnings and employment and secure to workers a greater share in and responsibility for the determination of working conditions; and to consider apprenticeship, technical and management problems, health, legislation, and any other matters of general interest to the trade.

The council has 72 members, 36 elected by the unions and 36 by the employers. It holds quarterly meetings and has full power to consider all matters connected with the industry. All expenses are divided equally between the employers and the unions. District committees are to be formed, comprising equal numbers of employers and union representatives and having executive powers only on matters concerning their respective areas. In case of nonagreement the dispute is referred to the joint industrial council, while all matters which may concern other areas must be referred to the joint industrial council for action. Works advisory committees, representative of management and workpeople, may be established in the various plants.

The following committees of which the chairman and vice chairman and the two joint secretaries are ex officio members, and which include equal numbers from the two groups, are established: General purposes, finance, organization, conciliation, health, unemployment, and apprentices and technical education. Officers are elected for one year and the chairmanship and vice chairmanship pass from one party to the other annually. The secretaries of the two federations act as joint secretaries. An agenda for each meeting must be circulated with the notice of the meeting. Minutes of all meetings of the council and of the committees are circulated to members. In all cases a majority on both sides is required to carry any resolution or motion.

In case of any dispute of a local character, no strike, lockout, or other aggressive or coercive action may be taken until the dispute has been referred by consent of the parties to the district committee, or failing such consent to the conciliation committee. Pending such reference the dispute must remain in abeyance, both parties conforming to normal conditions. When settlement is not effected by the district committee the joint secretaries of the council must be notified. Similarly in any dispute of a national character which

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might lead to aggressive action, the joint secretaries must be notified. Upon notification of any failure to agree, they convene the conciliation committee within seven days. If this committee fails to effect a settlement, it may call a special meeting of the council within 14 days, and pending such reference the dispute is to remain in abeyance. The conciliation committee consists of the chairman and vice chairman of the council and four members chosen from each panel by the parties to the dispute. It must be observed that the limitation upon aggressive action is only until the machinery for conciliation has been used. There is no provision for arbitration or that a finding of the conciliation committee or of the council itself shall be binding in case of a dispute. After conforming to the provisions of the constitution the parties reserve the right to make the final decision for themselves.

Any member may withdraw from the council, or the council may be dissolved by either federation, upon six months' notice in writing.

At the end is a statement of three agreed principles, as follows:

Production: That the employers shall have full advantage of the individual efforts and good will of all their employees to assist in economical production, and generally in forwarding the interests of the respective houses.

That it is desirable to encourage scientific adaptation of management, workers, and machines to the work, and that the functions of the district committees and works advisory committees should include the application of this principle to individual cases.

Cost finding: That all employers should adopt and use for costing and estimating a uniform costing system approved by the joint industrial council, or be guided by any schedule of hourly cost rates issued for their district and approved by the joint industrial council.

Because the Scottish alliance of employers retains a large degree of autonomy, both on trade-union matters and on general questions affecting the industry in Scotland, it was decided to establish a Scottish branch of the industrial council to deal with all matters affecting Scotland, subject always to the national council.

A significant omission from the objects set forth in the constitution is the negotiation of wages. It was very clear in the minds of those who laid the plans for the council that it should not take over any of the functions of a negotiating body. This position has been jealously maintained throughout the history of the council. As before, all negotiations are carried on between the Federation of Master Printers and the unions direct. Upon failure to agree the good offices of the council can be called upon, but only for conciliation. So far as possible it was intended to keep the atmosphere of the council clear of the controversial spirit of the negotiating chamber. The council should then be able to consider more judicially and more effectively the large problems of the industry that are outlined in the constitution.

Nevertheless, wages are the most fundamental fact in any industrial-relations situation. Before going on to the various activities of the joint industrial council, therefore, it is necessary to consider the wage developments during the life of the council, the extent to which they have touched the council, and the degree, if any, to which the council has been able to play a useful part in these situations.

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Negotiation of Wages

Several adjustments in the national wage basis agreements have occurred, for the years after 1919 saw continued rising prices in the postwar boom and a price decline in the depression which began in 1921. In the fall of 1919 negotiations between the Typographical Association and the Federation of Master Printers over a request for a general wage increase resulted in agreement only after the joint industrial council had secured a continuation of conferences, lest the national agreement break down. Early in 1920 all the unions except the Typographical Association agreed to act jointly and secured an offer of an increase, which was accepted. The Typographical Association, however, insisted upon a larger increase and gave notice of its intention to strike. The council then intervened, insisting that no strike should be called until the matter had been referred to the council. The union finally accepted the original offer, with a provision for reconsideration should rents further increase. The Manchester and Liverpool branches of the Typographical Association, however, demanded additional increases, contrary to the national agreement. A 3-week's strike followed in these cities, against the orders of the national officers of the union and in the face of strong opposition from the labor panel of the council. Eventually the strikers were induced to return to work on the assurance that the whole question of grading and wages would be reconsidered. Further conferences of the master printers with the Printing and Kindred Trades Federation and with the Typographical Association, which again acted independently, ended in agreements for a flat increase, which was accepted by all the unions.

In 1921 the serious depression brought a request for a general wage reduction. Four of the strongest unions refused to join a federated movement, while the others acted through the union federation. Negotiations lasted from May through September. Twice the unions rejected by ballot proposed reductions. The joint industrial council stepped into the breach to secure resumption of negotiations and proposed a compromise which was accepted by some of the unions. The employers then began to post notices to put this reduction into effect generally. Finally the unions which were acting in concert and the Typographical Association agreed to accept the reduction The three other unions which had acted independently, the London Society of Compositors and the unions of electrotypers and stereotypers and of lithographic printers, were able because of their strong position to reach agreement for smaller reductions.[7]

In February, 1922, the cost of living had continued to fall, the industry was still seriously depressed, and unemployment was severe. The master printers' federation therefore again asked a wage reduction. Again certain unions acted independently. In April, when no agreements had been reached, the employers reported to the council their intention to take the necessary steps to enforce the reductions. The unions agreed to ballot their members and again the reductions were decisively refused. On June 12 the employers posted notices to put the reductions into effect. The Ministry of Labor then

[7] Members' circular, June–December, 1920, June–September, 1921; Printing and Kindred Trades Federation, annual report, 1920, pp. 10–15; 1921, pp. 8–12.

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intervened in an effort to prevent a stoppage. A joint industrial council meeting, called on suggestion of the ministry, led to an offer of a slightly smaller reduction. This was balloted upon and accepted by those unions which were acting jointly. The Typographical Association agreed to refer the matter to the Industrial Court, a governmental arbitration agency. The court ruled that the union should accept the reduction proposed. Although the Ministry of Labor and the employers held that reference to the court implied acceptance of the award, the union officers insisted that under their constitution they had no authority to accept it without a ballot of their membership, and they submitted it to ballot with a favorable recommendation.

The union nevertheless turned down the award. The council was then helpless to prevent developments. The employers put the reduction into effect and 12,000 men struck, crippling both newspaper and job offices over the country. After four weeks the union offered a conference and accepted the reduction with a variation in the dates upon which the installments of the reduction should become effective and a provision that wages would be stabilized until the end of 1923. In Scotland meanwhile, separate negotiations resulted finally in the acceptance of reductions. The London unions continued to refuse reductions after the other settlements had been made until, finally, negotiations resumed on the suggestion of the council ended in acceptance of reductions in London approximately half those accepted nationally, with an assurance that wages would not be changed during 1923.[8]

No further general changes in wage rates have taken place since 1922. Because the agreements, except for a time of stabilization like 1923, are open to adjustment at any time, a considerable number of minor adjustments are made affecting rates for particular machines, special groups of workers, or specialized plants. A number of cases in which disagreement on such questions led to reference to the conciliation committee of the joint industrial council will be mentioned in connection with the work of that committee. Since 1924 dissatisfaction among the unions with the grading of certain towns has led to a series of conferences and the final appointment of a joint regrading committee which is considering applications for changes. In April, 1928, no changes had been made in the grades as they were originally set up in 1919.

Several points in the wage policy of the industry appear from such a review of wage movements. In the first place, autonomy in the matter of wage negotiations is firmly maintained by the series of individual craft unions. While the unions may federate for joint action on wages when such action seems advantageous, at another time the stronger unions may consider that more is to be gained by independent action. Thus the London unions, the Typographical Association, and others, declined to join a federated movement in the period of reductions of 1922. In addition to this craft resistance to unified general wage determination, is the resistance of strong local unions to national agreements even within one craft. In the Typographical Association, for instance, many of the locals are very old and have a strong feeling for local autonomy. The 1920 strike

[8] Members' circular, February, 1922–February, 1923; Printing and Kindred Trades Federation, annual report, 1922, pp. 7–14.

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of the Manchester and Liverpool branches of this union showed the opposition of the rank and file to settlements on a different basis than those of the earlier period. The national agreements had considerable resistance of this sort to overcome.

The joint industrial council then is a structure superimposed upon a well-established system of collective bargaining by craft unions. Both the employers and the unions have insisted that the council should not interfere with negotiations, nor attempt to become a negotiating body. When negotiations break down, or there is a deadlock, the council is then in position to act as mediator. On several occasions during the years 1919 to 1922 the council was able to secure a resumption of conferences which led in time to agreement. The calmer atmosphere of the council chamber, in which more than the immediate disputants are represented, is helpful toward reaching a settlement. When the good offices of the council have failed, however, and a real crisis has developed, the council is helpless. During the Manchester and Liverpool strike of 1920 the council and union leaders independently expressed disapproval of the action of the local branches, but the moral pressure so exerted was not sufficient to prevent the strike, and no other kind of pressure was possible. In the general Typographical Association strike in 1922, union leaders insisted that the council should not become involved in the controversy, and settlement was reached without the intervention of the council. The council could not interfere on such a question involving the autonomy of a strong union, without jeopardizing its future usefulness to the industry. The council may, and often does, succeed in promoting conciliatory methods and an atmosphere in which agreement is possible. It can not go further and act as arbitrator.

Joint Industrial Council Conciliation Committee

Closely related to the work of the joint industrial council as a conciliator when national wage negotiations break down is the work of its most important standing committee, the conciliation committee, composed of the chairman and vice chairman of the council and four members from each panel, each party to the dispute selecting the four from its side of the council, and with the joint secretaries always in attendance. Under the constitution, no coercive action may be taken by either group until the question in dispute has been referred by consent of the parties to the district committee, or failing such consent, to the conciliation committee, and both parties must maintain normal conditions during consideration of the dispute. If the committee is unable to effect a settlement, it may call a special meeting of the council within 14 days, the dispute to remain still in abeyance. A finding of the district committee, of the conciliation committee, or of the joint industrial council is recommendatory only. After observing the constitution by referring a dispute to consideration through these channels, either party is free to take whatever action it desires. The hope is, however, that through this conciliation machinery a basis of agreement may be reached.

The work of the conciliation committee has shown a healthy growth. During the first five years of the existence of the council the number

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of disputes reaching the committee averaged under four for each year. In 1925, 1926, and 1927, however, 8, 10, and 7 disputes, respectively, were handled by the committee. These numbers take no account of difficulties settled through the agency of district committees or with the aid of the joint secretaries of the council without calling upon a conciliation committee. There is evident a growing willingness to use constitutional methods in settling disputes and to accept the council machinery for conciliation to that end. While in rare cases the finding of the committee has been refused by one or the other party, on the whole there has been great success in finding a basis of agreement acceptable to both sides. The result is an increasing confidence in the fairness and impartiality of the committee and an increasing readiness of both groups to refer disputes for its consideration.

Nearly 50 cases have been heard by conciliation committees since 1919. A large majority of these fall within three main groups of subjects of dispute, namely, questions of wages, of jurisdiction over work or the manning of machines, and of nonunion labor. Examples of the work of the committee on each of these questions will be given from the reports made to the council at its quarterly meetings.

The conciliation committee has been called upon to secure compliance with national agreements. A case in 1920 when two provincial newspapers failed to pay the increases provided in the national wage agreements was referred to the committee, which recommended compliance with the agreement and the retroactive payment of the increases. The recommendation was accepted. More frequent cases involve rates for special machines, or requests for increases affecting certain groups. In 1923, for example, the London Society of Compositors, which had long experience with piecework on the newspapers, asked that piece rates be accepted for all machine work in weekly periodical houses. Negotiations broke down and a strike was threatened. When a conciliation committee urged reopening of negotiations, further discussions resulted in agreement for piecework in an agreed list of periodical plants. In 1925 a dispute between the Federation of Master Printers and the lithographic printers over the rate to be paid on flat-bed offset presses, which had not been included in the 1919 agreement, came to the conciliation committee. Upon the committee's recommendation that no coercive action should be taken pending further conferences to agree upon a new rate on its merits, conferences proceeded and ended in agreement. The following year a similar disagreement over the rate on a new type of semi-automatic press feeder was settled by agreement under the auspices of the conciliation committee. The union had at first opposed the calling of a committee, saying that the matter of an agreement was outside the province of a conciliation committee. The joint industrial council, however, held that the committee could function usefully in promoting conference and urged the disputants to use the machinery available. A dispute with a less satisfactory outcome developed over a question of wages between the London branch of the paper workers and the Book Trade Employers' Federation, not affiliated with the Federation of Master Printers or the council. The dispute spread to the binderies through imposition by the union of

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an embargo on work from the publishers, contrary to the council constitution. The council prevailed upon the union to lift the embargo but was not able to effect a settlement of the main issue.

The most important dispute handled by the conciliation committee was one in 1925 involving the London members of the National Union of Printing, Bookbinding, Machine Ruling, and Paper Workers and threatening to affect the entire industry. After long negotiations on rates for certain machines, the union attempted to enforce on one house rates which the employers claimed applied only to periodical houses. The conciliation committee ruling, that these rates should apply to only part of the work in the house in question, was unacceptable to the union and a stoppage ensued. The council was unable to secure a settlement. To support their member the employers then issued lockout notices, while the union issued strike notices to all members of the London Master Printers' Association. The stoppage involved 15,000 members of the union. The conciliation committee, however, secured the renewal of conferences, and on the second day, in a lengthy conference under the presidency of the chairman of the council, one of the union leaders, an agreement was reached which was acceptable to both sides. Both groups agreed also in the future to respect the constitution of the council and take no aggressive action until the conciliation machinery had been fully used. That so serious an issue could be settled through the council is striking evidence of the increasing prestige and influence of the council. The annual report of the Printing and Kindred Trades Federation said of this dispute:

> Your executive committee believe that the settlement of the dispute will do much to help promote the claims of the joint industrial council upon the confidence of the employers and the unions, and that even greater readiness will be shown in the future to bridge difficulties and differences without the accumulating ill effects of disrupting trade by lockouts or strikes.[9]

In disputes over wages the work of the conciliation committee is usually confined to securing that the disputants continue negotiations in an effort to reach agreement. In matters of jurisdiction or the manning of machines, more often the interpretation of agreements is involved and the committee is in position to make definite findings. For example, a dispute between the two London unions of pressmen over the right to operate the Miehle vertical press was, on recommendation of the conciliation committee, referred to the Printing and Kindred Trades Federation for decision and its verdict was accepted, although earlier one of the unions had acted unconstitutionally in giving strike notice to enforce its claim. Findings of the committee on the right to operate the Miller high-speed press and certain bindery and warehouse machines were accepted by the unions involved. On the other hand, on a question of the manning of certain rotary presses, a finding of the committee was refused by the union and the matter went back to further discussion with the firm.

Among the most difficult of all disputes which come before the conciliation committee are those having to do with nonunion labor. The national agreements are for the most part not closed-shop agree-

[9] Printing and Kindred Trades Federation, annual report, 1924, p. 15.

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ments. The unions, nevertheless, carefully distinguish between fully union, or "recognized" houses, and those which are not entirely union and make every effort to prevent the introduction of nonunion labor into union houses or the retention in employment in union plants of men who have dropped out of the union. Complaints of such action occur rather frequently, particularly after any disruption in the industry.

In many cases the conciliation committee is called upon to act. While the first-stated object of the joint industrial council is "to secure complete organization of employers and employees throughout the trade," there are enough open-shop members in the employers' federation that the organization is loath to take an aggressive position on this question. Many of the union employers, also, are opposed to forcing union membership upon their employees. There is, under the constitution of the council, no obligation to employ only union members. The unions, on the whole, recognize the difficulties of the situation and are not inclined to push the matter in the council. The position is accepted that in general the problem of organization of the workpeople is one for the unions, as that of organization of the employers must be handled by the Federation of Master Printers.

Nevertheless, many disputes over this issue are brought to the conciliation committee. In some cases the difficulty can be settled by inducing the workers to join the union and the firm to accept the solution; in others, compromises have been accepted whereby men not on actual productive work are not required to be unionists. In several cases, however, it was impossible to secure acceptance by the firm of a settlement acceptable to the union. In one important instance the conciliation committee, after failing in an effort to induce the men involved to join the union, held that the firm should not be asked to take any responsibility. The full council discussed the question and expressed approval of the action of the committee. It recognized the right of either side to take whatever action it wished, but urged that all should make further effort to find a solution of the difficulty. The union finally compromised and did not withdraw its members. Another case which developed from the nonunion issue involved an unconstitutional stoppage of work in a union office on a job for a plant which had recently become an "unrecognized office." A conciliation committee ruled that the job in question was a complete job and under the rules of the union should not have been objected to. The union accepted the decision under protest and has continued to produce this piece of work.

In summing up the work of the conciliation committee, it must be remembered that it is a committee without powers. The only obligation resting upon parties to a dispute is to allow the conciliation machinery of the council to function before taking coercive action. This obligation is increasingly recognized and observed. While "lightning strikes" still take place, they are very rare in comparison with the frequent disturbances of the earlier days. By thus delaying action, the conciliation committee is able to prevent a large proportion of disputes reaching the stage of coercion. It has proved its ability to find an acceptable basis of settlement in a large majority of the disputes which come before it. The committee, with a per-

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sonnel selected in part for the case in question by the disputants and under the chairmanship of the chairman of the joint industrial council, sometimes a union man and sometimes an employer, has proved its impartiality and fairness in so many cases that it is gaining an increasing confidence from the industry. Although in several cases findings of the committee have been refused by one or the other party to the dispute, the success of the committee in maintaining peace in the industry is mentioned on all sides as the greatest achievement of the joint industrial council.

General Strike Settlement

The general strike of May, 1926, was a serious shock to the satisfactory basis of industrial relationship which had been developing in the industry. The printing trades were among the key industries first called out by the general council of the Trades Union Congress. Their response, in loyalty to the Trades Union Congress, was necessarily without the usual fortnight's notice and meant a general breaking of agreements and of the obligations entered into under the constitution of the joint industrial council. Fortunately for later developments, the Printing and Kindred Trades Federation had played no part in calling the strike, for each union acted directly upon call of the general council and not through the federation. Early in the strike the officers of the joint industrial council agreed that, under the circumstances, it was impossible at that stage for the council to function.

When the strike was called off on May 12, the officers of the Printing and Kindred Trades Federation at once began efforts to secure a resumption of work. The Federation of Master Printers, however, was prepared to take the employees back only on individual day-to-day engagements, as they were needed, because of the cancellation of important orders and other difficulties resulting from the stoppage, and pending a national settlement which would give assurances against lightning stoppages in the future. After three days a provisional agreement was reached by the unions and the employers, under which work could be resumed. Long negotiations then followed between the Printing and Kindred Trades Federation and the Federation of Master Printers, the Newspaper Society, and the Master Bookbinders' Association. The employers wanted guaranties against sudden stoppages and against interference by the unions with the contents of publications, assurance that the council machinery of conciliation would be used before notices were given, and provision that foremen should not be called out on strike. Finally on May 27 an agreement was reached. The agreements in force prior to the general strike were reaffirmed without change. The employers' organizations agreed to recommend to their members to give preference in employment to their former employees, as they were needed. The unions gave their word of honor that there would be no sudden stoppages of any sort in the works and that all the possibilities of the council conciliation machinery would be exhausted before giving notice in consequence of any question arising in or out of the trade. They agreed, also, not to interfere with apprentices nor to call out works and departmental managers not actually engaged in productive

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work during a strike, and not to interfere with the contents of publications, nor with the right of management to employ, promote, and discharge. The agreement was a compromise in which some of the employers' most insistent demands, as for legal guaranties against stoppages and that foremen should not be called out on strike, were omitted. The union concessions were chiefly in making definite commitments which the employers considered safeguards, although in some cases the issues had never arisen until the general strike. The essence of the agreement was in the reaffirmation of the old agreements and of the obligation to observe strictly all agreements in the industry, prevent sudden stoppages, and make full use of the conciliation machinery of the council.

The work of the joint industrial council, both nationally and in the district committes, had been interrupted by the strike. After the settlement the council officers met and were unanimous in the opinion that the work of the council should be revived. The regular quarterly meeting of the council was called, therefore. The discussion that took place at that meeting, on July 14, 1926, was remarkable, showing a determination on the part of employers and union leaders both, to turn aside from the unfortunate events of the past and proceed to make the council a greater instrument for the good of the industry than it had been before. Both groups insisted that the council should continue and that every effort should be made to carry the atmosphere of good will which prevailed in the council, down into the district committees and the works. Both believed that the mutually acceptable agreement that had been reached would lead to a strengthening of the work of the council. The feeling was summarized by one of the ex-chairman of the council in these words:

> The feeling of the council was that they were going forward in the future pledging themselves to work with greater harmony than in the past to carry out the objects and ideals of the council in order that they might find by conciliation rather than by conflict, by cooperation rather than by combat, the best means of guiding the industry in which they were concerned.[10]

Nationally, therefore, good relationships between the unions and the employers were quickly reestablished after the general strike. Throughout the industry, however, attitudes were created which are not yet entirely overcome. Resentment persists among the employers because of the breaking of the agreements, and among the men because of failure of some men employed before the strike to secure reemployment and because of nonunion movements in certain sections of the industry. The fact that the open shops were not closed during the strike has given some impetus to the open-shop movement. Important plants in the paper industry became nonunion. An important provincial newspaper established a house organization which was looked upon with great suspicion by the unions, although it finally reached a basis of agreement with several of them. The membership of the Printing and Kindred Trades Federation declined in the years 1925 to 1927 from 175,000 to 153,000, a fall chiefly accounted for in losses among the semiskilled. In view of these facts, the establishment of mutual confidence on district committees and in the plants

[10] Members' circular, August, 1926, p. 218; Printing and Kindred Trades Federation, annual report, 1926, pp. 17–22.

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has been difficult. The joint industrial council has still an important work to do in establishing its atmosphere as the general atmosphere of the industry.

The joint industrial council after its discussion in July, 1926, of its future position in the industry turned back to the routine which had been interrupted by the general strike. Having digressed to consider this interruption in the development of peaceful methods for the industry, the present discussion may now return to the work of the various committees of the council. The conciliation committee is concerned with the negative task of preventing trouble in the industry. The other committees were set up to do constructive work if possible.

Unemployment Committee

To find a way, if possible, to mitigate the evils of unemployment in the industry was the task to which the unemployment committee set itself with energy and spirit in the early years of the council. The unemployment insurance act of 1920 permitted industries to contract out of the general provisions of the act and establish special schemes, with contributions and benefits adjusted to the needs of the industry. The unemployment committee believed that a special scheme administered by the joint industrial council could give higher benefits at lower cost than under the general plan and that joint attack upon this serious problem would have far-reaching effects upon the morale of the industry. It insisted that if a reserve of labor is necessary in the industry the industry should see that "it is well paid, that it gets its turn of employment, and that it is made a charge on the industry which causes and should maintain it." [11]

Before the details of a special scheme could be adopted, however, the serious unemployment of 1921 was on hand. The Government then announced that no special schemes could be sanctioned during the existing abnormal conditions. Supplementary schemes which would give additional benefits could still be established with the approval of the Government. The committee therefore turned to the consideration of such a scheme, which would be jointly supported as in the previous plan. The unions, however, each of which administers its own unemployment benefits, were already very heavily involved through the unusual burden of unemployment. The difficulties involved in agreeing upon a uniform system and finding a satisfactory method of joint administration in such an unusual period proved too great, and it was finally decided to defer consideration of a supplementary scheme until conditions should be more normal.[12] The committee for a time sought other fields of usefulness. It considered plans for registration of workers and for transference of labor from one locality to another to minimize unemployment. The incentive of the hope for a far-reaching plan, jointly controlled, was gone, however, and the committee by 1925 became entirely inactive. Its failure was due chiefly to the abnormal conditions and the Government attitude which prevented contracting out. It was in part

[11] Report of unemployment committee, members' circular, December, 1920, p. 307; April, 1921, p. 133.

[12] Printing and Kindred Trades Federation, annual report, 1921, p. 15; Joint Industrial Council, annual report, July 15, 1925.

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due, however, to the fact that the unions with their individual unemployment benefit systems were hesitant to give up their own control and set up a general scheme under the joint control of the unions and the employers.

Health Committee

One of the most important and most successful of the committees of the joint industrial council is the health committee. Health is a noncontroversial subject on which the interests of employers and employees coincide. This is an excellent field for joint activity, therefore, and it is not surprising that the health committee has been able to accomplish more than have the committees which deal with such controversial subjects as apprenticeship or even unemployment. Joint consideration of health questions in the industry began in a subcommittee of the betterment committee of 1917, whose report led to the organization of the joint industrial council. The council, at its first meeting, elected a health committee to carry on the work which had been started.

The policy of the health committee has been to make readily available to the industry information already obtainable from Government departments and other agencies, and to stimulate inquiry in new lines which would contribute to better health conditions in the industry. The committee has tried, with a large degree of success, to put its material in the form of simple and practical suggestions that could be easily understood and readily put into practice by employer and employee. From time to time the committee has issued health leaflets which were distributed to all employers and to each chapel and, in some cases, were reprinted as posters for workshop walls. The following titles indicate the subjects covered by these leaflets:

Lead poisoning among printers—how caused and how best prevented; Precautions against consumption; Healthy habits—advice to workpeople; Ventilation and health; Bronzing in letterpress and lithographic printing—how to minimize danger to health; Bichromate poisoning; The dangers of defective eyesight; Good lighting of printing offices.

Investigations of several sorts have been stimulated by the health committee or have been carried on with the advice and cooperation of the committee. In 1923, after publishing its leaflet on the dangers of dry bronzing, the committee asked ink manufacturers to find a substitute for bronze powders, and a letterpress bronzing ink was successfully introduced to take the place of hand bronzing. In connection with the leaflet on lead poisoning, a new type of dross container to lessen the danger of lead poisoning in electrotype and stereotype departments was demonstrated to the council. The council recommended that it be investigated by employers and many were installed. The electrotypers' and stereotypers' union reported that the recommendations in the leaflet were being generally put into effect over the country.

In 1923 it was suggested that the council and the Newspaper Proprietors' Association cooperate in a study of tuberculosis in the industry. This suggestion led finally to a plan for a national health inquiry in the industry by the Medical Research Council, a Government agency, in cooperation with the joint industrial council and

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the Newspaper Proprietors' Association, the cost to be met half by the Government and half by the industry. The inquiry had not been completed in the spring of 1928, but data collected from 42,000 cards of printing trades workers, members of health insurance approved societies connected with the unions, were being analyzed. The industry awaits with interest the forthcoming report.

The subject of lighting of printing offices has been of considerable interest to the committee. The earlier discussions were without scientific basis. In 1925, however, an inquiry was made by two Government agencies, the Industrial Fatigue Research Board and the Illumination Research Committee, into the relation of lighting and efficiency in typesetting by hand. This investigation, which was carried out with the technical assistance and the cooperation of the joint industrial council, gave the first statement of a standard, an optimum value for artificial illumination with which it might be expected that the daylight rate of output would be maintained.[13] A second report by the same investigators on the effect of different systems of lighting on output and accuracy in hand composition showed the most commonly used system, that of purely local lighting, as definitely inferior to other methods from the point of view of production.[14] On the basis of these reports the health committee then prepared a leaflet on lighting to put these scientific results in such form that they would be understood and put into practice in the plants. The interest of the health committee in lighting with particular reference to its effect upon eyesight continues. Through its interest a test of eyesight was made in the composing department of a large plant with the result that 64 per cent of the staff were found to need glasses or alterations in their glasses. A leaflet on eyesight has been prepared and distributed in the industry.

The health committee has also investigated the sanatorium and convalescent home facilities available to workers in the printing industry, whether through the unions or through associations giving such service for a very small weekly payment per member. The work of certain of these associations was particularly recommended to the industry. A list of all such convalescent homes is to be published. Numerous other questions, such as safety campaigns, the use of dusting powders, tests for air purity, and special machine guards, are on the agenda of the committee for future discussion and action.

One other feature of the work of the health committee remains to be mentioned. While the committee has endeavored in all its publications to avoid generalities and make concrete suggestions that could easily be put into practice, it has not relied alone upon these publications and the reports of the joint industrial council to carry the work into the plants. The committee has conducted an active campaign of education by word of mouth also, and has sent many of its members and specialists on health subjects to speak at

[13] Medical Research Council and Department of Scientific and Industrial Research. The relation between illumination and efficiency in fine work (typesetting by hand). Joint report of the Industrial Fatigue Research Board and the Illumination Research Committee, 1926.

[14] Medical Research Council and Department of Science and Industrial Research. The effect of different systems of lighting on output and accuracy in fine work (typesetting by hand). Joint report of the Industrial Fatigue Research Board and the Illumination Research Committee, 1928.

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local meetings arranged by the district committees. These meetings have served to create interest in the work of the committee and in its recommendations.

The health committee has a substantial list of concrete achievements to its credit in its leaflets widely distributed and in the results of the investigations which it has promoted. While it is impossible to measure the actual degree to which the work of the committee has affected workshop conditions throughout the country, opinion on the part of both union leaders and employers is that a substantial improvement in the health conditions of the industry has resulted and that the educational effects of the committee's work will continue to grow. Recommendations of the committee carry much weight because they are based upon the best information available and are supported by both the unions and the employers' organizations.

Apprenticeship

Apprenticeship is one of the major problems tackled by the joint industrial council. The common practice in the skilled printing crafts in Great Britain is a 7-year apprenticeship, most of the boys entering the trade at 14 years. The period of apprenticeship and the number of apprentices permitted are regulated by union agreements, while apprentice wage scales are generally according to union agreements or are a matter of accepted custom. It was true in 1919 and to a large degree is still true in 1928 that the training of apprentices is the concern only of the employer. None of the agreements with the unions in 1919 set up any joint control over apprenticeship. The type of training accordingly varies widely from firm to firm and from place to place. Technical classes are provided in many cities by the local education authorities and in many cases boys are permitted or required to attend these classes during their apprenticeship. The attendance at these classes is, however, generally a matter for the decision of the employer. Attendance is typically not made compulsory by any joint agreement.[15]

The pioneer in providing technical training for the printing crafts, and the most complete in the facilities it offers, is the London School of Printing, formerly the St. Bride Printing School. In 1917 this school established the first day classes for printers' apprentices and secured the agreement of certain employers to send their boys to the school during working hours. This has been extended until, in London, it may be said to be a custom of the trade that apprentices should attend the school on the employer's time for four hours each week. Except in the case of one craft, however, there is no joint agreement making this compulsory on all employers. The school is controlled by a joint board representing the unions, the employers' associations, and the local education authorities and is financed jointly by these three groups. It provides instruction, in both day and evening classes, in every branch of printing and the allied trades. In 1928 approximately 3,000 apprentices are in attendance, 1,700 of them at day classes on the employers' time. The school estimates

[15] Great Britain. Ministry of Labor. Report of an inquiry into apprenticeship and training for skilled occupations in Great Britain and Northern Ireland, 1925–26. I. Printing and allied industries.

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that 50 per cent of all apprentices in the industry in London attend the sessions.

In only one section of the industry is there a jointly agreed upon and controlled system of apprentice training covering the entire craft. On January 14, 1921, an agreement was made between the Electrotyping and Stereotyping Employers' Federation and the National Society of Electrotypers and Stereotypers for conditions of apprenticeship in the trade. A joint apprenticeship committee was established, which makes rules and regulations for indentures and is a party, jointly with the employer, to all indentures. All apprentices are required to attend technical classes at the London School of Printing for certain hours, both day and evening. Wages are paid during the attendance at day classes and fees for these classes are paid by the employers. Periodical examinations are set by the joint committee. The technical classes give the apprentice the scientific foundation of the trade and, also, any parts of the trade which his own plant is not qualified to teach him. Both employers and the union are well satisfied with the results of this plan. It has improved the quality of boys coming into the trade and is showing excellent results in the type of well-trained craftsmen who graduate from this course of training. The joint committee has not gone so far as to select the apprentices, however. A boy chosen by the employer and not challenged by the union is indentured by the committee without further test. A similar agreement is in effect for the training of stereotypers on the London newspapers with a joint apprenticeship committee and the requirement of attendance at the school on the employers' time. These agreements are the only ones in the industry establishing under joint control of unions and employers definite requirements which must be met by all apprentices and their employers.

The weakness of the existing system of apprenticeship was recognized by the joint industrial council from the first. An apprentice committee was appointed to see what was possible toward attaining a better standard. It was to consider in particular both the selection and the proper training of apprentices. In July, 1921, the committee presented to the council a proposed scheme for apprenticeship and training, providing for the establishment of local joint apprenticeship committees with representatives of unions and of the employers' organizations. The functions of these committees would be the selection of boys, cooperation in filling vacancies, cooperation with local education authorities in providing technical classes, and general supervision of apprentice training. Training should be a combination of work in the shop and in the school, with no deduction from wages for the time spent in school. When the plan was referred to the unions and to the Federation of Master Printers for consideration, considerable opposition developed among many of the employers to what seemed an extension of union control into a field which had been the employers' prerogative. After long delay during consideration by the employers, the scheme was redrafted in more permissive terms and again referred to the council in 1924, when it was adopted.

The apprenticeship scheme for education and training, as approved by the council on October 15, 1924, recommended that joint local

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apprenticeship committees should be established, composed of equal numbers of employers and workpeople. The functions of these committees should be to stimulate the interest of suitable boys in the craft, to recommend suitable boys to employers, to cooperate with local education authorities in regard to the technical training available, to secure regular reports on the training received by apprentices in the schools, and "to make suggestions where necessary, in an advisory capacity only, to employers as to their training in the workshop."

Boys should be indentured after a probationary period, according to custom in the trade. The employer would be responsible for giving the boy every facility to learn the trade. All boys up to 16 years should attend day classes for a minimum of eight hours a week on the employers' time and also two evenings a week. From 16 to 18 years the boy should attend evening classes for two evenings a week. It was made very clear that this plan was permissive only, and not compulsory on either side. The joint industrial council, however, strongly recommended that district committees consider the scheme and organize joint apprentice committees to put its provisions into effect.

At the request of the unions of semiskilled, the apprentice committee was authorized to make a plan for the training of learners in the semiskilled crafts which do not have a regular apprenticeship. Finally, on July 13, 1927, a training scheme for learners was approved by the council as an addendum to the apprenticeship scheme and was recommended to the consideration of district committees. In general, it provided that where facilities exist learners should be taught more than one operation. Feeders, for example, should learn to feed more than one class of machine, while girl learners in binderies should be taught, in addition to the usual bench work, at least one further operation. Where facilities for technical training were available employers should permit their learners, male and female, to attend suitable classes.[16]

The entire training scheme proposed by the joint industrial council is in striking contrast to jointly established plans of apprenticeship in certain American cities. As in America, an apprentice plan is put into effect by local agreement. When the British plan is adopted locally, however, it is still advisory only. The joint apprentice committee has no authority to enforce conditions on any plant. Each employer decides if he wishes to indenture boys under the plan and send them to the classes provided. Only in the case of the agreement in the electrotyping and stereotyping industry are standards established and jointly enforced in all plants. Such jointly adopted plans of training as those in effect between the printing-trade unions and the organized closed-shop employers in Chicago and New York, however, establish conditions that are then enforced by the unions for all apprentices in the trade. In New York, for instance, all apprentices in union printing plants must attend the apprentice schools and every union plant which wishes to employ apprentices must send them to the school during working time for certain hours

[16] Education, Training, and Craftsmanship. Bulletin of Joint Industrial Council of the Printing and Allied Trades, Feb. 22, 1928.

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every week, during which their wages are paid.[17] The British industry, on the contrary, follows the method more congenial to its members, of avoiding compulsion and endeavoring jointly to educate the industry to the need of better training methods.

The joint industrial council hoped that the apprentice plan would be adopted and put into effect generally. The results have on the whole, however, been a disappointment. Only a few towns have adopted plans and most of those in operation are somewhat different from that adopted by the council. Derby has one of the most extensive plans, administered by a joint apprentice committee. All indentured apprentices must attend day classes twice a week for two years and two evening sessions each week during the entire apprenticeship, fees being paid by the employer so long as the work is satisfactory. The committee keeps a register of apprentices, has secured that all but one firm indenture their apprentices, advises with the technical college on the courses offered, and receives reports of the progress of all apprentices in their school work. It does not act on the selection of apprentices, however. In Manchester the efforts of the district committee have resulted in increasing the facilities for technical training and establishing day classes to which many employers send their apprentices. There is no agreement to this effect, however, and no compulsion exerted on the employer. In Leeds, after long hesitation on the part of the employers, a joint committee has been established. Several Scottish cities have joint apprentice committees. In London the scheme has not been adopted, due to reluctance of employers to admit further union control and of the unions to change the existing system of control through the London School of Printing. No complete information is available as to the situation in all parts of the country, although other apprentice committees have been organized, and in many localities renewed interest in the subject of technical training in the industry has led to improved facilities. Several large firms, in addition, have well-organized plans of training for their own apprentices. Over the industry as a whole, however, the plan for joint responsibility in the selection and training of apprentices has not taken hold.

The work of the apprentice committee of the joint industrial council nevertheless can not be accounted entirely a failure. The discussions over its scheme aroused a great deal of interest over the country and have, without doubt, created a new interest in the training of apprentices and resulted in some improvement in the facilities for technical training in schools and in the use made by the trade of the available facilities. A certain minimum standard as to the amount of technical school training which should be required is set up in the committee plan. Such a standard officially adopted must in time have considerable effect upon practice in the industry.

It is significant, however, that in 1928 the Federation of Master Printers still includes in its annual a recommended form of apprentice indenture which does not include any provision for required school attendance.[18] Reluctance among employers to adopt the council apprentice scheme comes primarily from fear of the joint control

[17] See Chapter V, pp. 118 to 124.
[18] The Master Printers Annual, 1928, p. 348.

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set up, lest it open the door to the unions to more control within the plant. There is also opposition to admitting joint control with the unions because of union restrictions on numbers of apprentices, restrictions which work serious hardship to large plants by preventing their training as many journeymen as they need. In view of these difficulties the adoption of the council plan proceeds slowly. In 1928, however, renewed efforts were being made to give publicity to the plan and to secure, if possible, experiments with the joint selection of boys for the trade. The slow process of educating the industry to make a joint attack upon the problem of apprenticeship continues.

The joint industrial council acts upon a variety of other matters, as a council or through its various committees. It arranges for the annual collection in the industry for the war orphans fund of the Printers Pension Corporation. As the organization best representing the entire industry, it has sent several delegations to Government departments, to the Postmaster General in regard to a reduction in postal rates, and to the Board of Trade to secure that printing coming from abroad should be properly marked under the merchandise marks act. In 1921, during the coal strike and the curtailment of power, the council recommended that short time be arranged by local agreements, to lessen so far as possible the hardships upon the workers. A subcommittee was appointed to consider the cost system of the Federation of Master Printers, and recommended that it be approved as the official system for ascertaining costs. As one of the objects of the council is to assist in the maintenance of such selling prices as will afford a fair remuneration, this came within its province. Finally, the organization committee of the council is active in efforts to extend the influence of the council, to encourage organization of district committees and works advisory committees, and to advise and assist them in every way possible.

District Committees

The organization committee in 1920 adopted a set of suggested rules for district committees. Under these rules, which have provided the basis for most of the district committees set up, the committee consists of equal numbers of representatives of the unions and of the employers. A majority on each side is required to carry a motion. The committee has executive powers only on matters within its area, all matters of wider interest being referred to the joint industrial council. Any disputes are referred to the district committee, and failing settlement, to the conciliation committee of the council. The objects of the district committees are to carry out locally the aims and objects of the council, to consider suggestions and make recommendations to the council, and to consider all matters of local interest to promote the welfare of both groups in the industry.

The industry has been rather slow to adopt the plan of the organization committee and proceed with district committees. In some cases the employers have hesitated and in others local unions have opposed. In 1928, however, some 27 district committees were in operation. Information is incomplete as to their activities, for the

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committees do not all observe the constitutional provision and send to the national headquarters copies of their minutes. From the reports received it is evident that the number of committees that are very active is comparatively small. Reports from a few committees, nevertheless, indicate that valuable results can be obtained and are being obtained from their activities.

The London district committee functions as a conciliation committee. In a printing center so large as London many subjects of dispute arise. When they can not be settled between the union and the employer involved they are referred to the district committee. An emergency committee of the officers is able to settle many minor questions without calling the entire committee. If the district committee is not able to settle a dispute, the matter is referred to the conciliation committee of the joint industrial council. In most cases the district committee has been successful and its findings have been accepted. By delaying action the committee prevents many of the strikes which under old conditions were frequent, although sudden stoppages still occur on rare occasions. The district committee, with the support of the pledges under the council constitution, is successful on the whole in keeping peace in the London industry. The committee is not concerned with negotiations of agreements. These are matters between the London Master Printers' Federation and the union immediately concerned. Like the council conciliation committee, however, the London district committee is often able to secure the continuation of negotiations and thus to contribute to an eventual settlement.

The Manchester district committee was not established until 1924 and still has to contend with a lack of interest on the part of many employers. The committee consists of 23 members on each side. Its social and health committee has held lectures on health and evening social events which were not very well attended. A series of first-aid or "ambulance" classes, however, was a success. It has been responsible for the distribution of the health literature of the council in the shops and has been able to stimulate interest of employers in health and comfort in their plants to an extent that has shown practical results, according to union leaders. The apprentice committee secured the establishment of day classes for apprentices and an increased use of the facilities of the technical college. The district committee has endeavored to arouse interest in works advisory committees. It sent a delegation of union members and employers to several large plants in an effort to secure the establishment of works committees, but it has not been successful.

The committee has functioned in a number of disputes and has been able to straighten out some difficulties which might have led to stoppages. Although lack of interest among employers makes it difficult to secure a full attendance, both sides report that the work of the committee has resulted in an improved feeling between the two groups and an attitude more conducive to satisfactory negotiations, and that the committee is distinctly worth while, although its concrete achievements are limited.

The Derby district committee has had a longer experience. It was organized in 1921, with 10 representatives on each side. Its work on apprenticeship has already been discussed, including the adoption of

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the joint industrial council plan in general, and the use by most of the firms of an approved indenture providing for attendance at classes during the entire apprenticeship. Technical lectures have been provided and have been well attended. The committee has distributed the health leaflets, has acted as a conciliation committee, and has discussed the efforts of both groups to secure complete organization in the territory. Although here also it is difficult to secure the attendance of employers at meetings, and there is reluctance on the part of both employers and unionists to make full use of the possibilities of the committee, on the whole it seems to be serving a very useful purpose in improving the understanding between the two groups.

In Nottingham a district committee was organized in 1921 with 10 representatives each from the employers and the unions. Its conciliation work has been important and successful and has resulted in an increasing willingness to allow the committee to settle differences. The joint industrial council apprentice scheme has been considered, but was in the first instance refused by the unions and is still under consideration. The committee secured agreement on a uniform fortnight's notice for all workers, women as well as men. It also has discussed health matters and organized a first-aid class. In Leeds the employers for a long time refused to give their time to a district committee, but in 1925 a committee was organized. Discussions of the council apprentice scheme brought out much opposition on the part of employers. In 1928, however, it was announced that a scheme for apprenticeship had been agreed upon and that a joint apprentice committee was to be appointed.

In Bristol an early organization of the district committee was prevented by the opposition of some of the unions. Late in 1924, however, a district committee had its first meeting. A unanimous resolution recommended to the employers that there should be no restriction of the free movement of workers from one situation to another and that employers should apply to the unions for labor. A permanent joint apprentice committee was appointed. The unions have asked through the committee that they should have the moral support of the employers in efforts to reorganize those who left the unions since the general strike.

The Scottish branch of the joint industrial council, with 24 members on each panel, meets quarterly as a district committee for Scotland. It has secured the appointment of joint apprentice committees in several cities and the extension of facilities for technical training. It has acted to straighten out several causes of dispute, has distributed health literature and promoted lectures on health, and has done independent work such as the promulgation of a circular on the dangers of bichromate poisoning in photo-lithography. It has the right under the council constitution to act on all matters affecting Scotland alone.

The above is not a complete report on the activities of district committees. It does, however, summarize the reports of those which have been sufficiently active to send in at all extensive reports to the council. These reports indicate some of the possibilities of the district committees and the weaknesses which are felt. Where district committees have been tried they have been generally successful in

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conciliation, in promoting the development of facilities for technical training even where they have not agreed upon the full adoption of the council plan, in increasing interest in matters of health, and in establishing a better atmosphere of confidence and understanding between the two groups. The weaknesses of the committees have been in proportion to the lack of interest on one side or the other, or old suspicions and fears which have prevented the full use of the committee for joint consideration of all problems of mutual interest.

Works Advisory Committees

The joint industrial council has constantly urged that organization and conference at the top were not enough and that the methods and spirit of the council should be carried down into all parts of the industry through the organization of district committees and works advisory committees. If the industry has been slow to establish district committees, however, it has been more so in regard to works organizations. Under the rules suggested by the council for works advisory committees, such committees are formed on request of either management or workers and continue at the pleasure of both parties. They include managers, foremen, and representatives of all departments and have as their purpose the consideration of all matters affecting the welfare of the workers and of the employer, including questions of production, efficiency, and plant, as well as prevention of disputes and disaffection, health matters, and all the variety of questions which may be grouped as welfare. It was made very specific that the committee should have no administrative or executive power, but should advise on such matters as affect the welfare of the employer and his workers for the consideration of the directors. In spite of these safeguards, there has been great hesitation on the part of employers, lest the committees encroach on the right of management to make decisions and promote union control within the plants. On the part of the rank and file of the workers in the plants, also, there has been no such demand for the establishment of works committees as would have stimulated the employers to take action in that direction. In the chapel, the traditional workshop organization in the printing industry, the workers have a department committee which can perform many of the functions of a works committee, to protect the individual from injustice and provide a spokesman for the men in their relations with the management. In many larger plants, also, welfare committees have long been established which serve some of the functions of the works advisory committees as planned. The chapel and welfare committee organizations, however, do not perform all the functions of works committees, for they do not provide for regular meetings between management and workers to consider such questions as production, efficiency, and the regular business matters in which both are concerned. There is therefore a distinct need for this type of organization. Nevertheless, very few works committees have been organized. No complete information is available as to the number in existence. In a few cases, however, it has been possible to find and learn about the experience of such committees.

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One of the most successful works committees in the industry is in a large plant employing 900 people in a provincial city. This committee has had a long experience, having developed out of an organization established in 1917. It now includes 20 members elected from the various departments, 2 management representatives, and 3 foremen. It holds monthly meetings, elects its chairman always from the management representatives, and sends its recommendations to the board of directors for their action. The minutes of the committee show that it has been active in discussing a large variety of questions. An analysis of the subjects discussed in the meetings of four years, 1921 to 1924, counting a discussion at one meeting as a unit, shows the following:

Subject	Number of discussions
Employment, discharge, hours, and holidays	14
Efficiency, production, machinery	28
Business conditions and problems	7
Health, safety, and comfort	35
Social, donations, benefits, etc	39
Miscellaneous	14

This distribution indicates the trend of discussions on the committee. Matters affecting the health, safety, and comfort of the workers and other social and welfare questions come before the committee in rather greater numbers than do questions of efficiency and production. The attitude of the management, nevertheless, is that the committee has served an exceedingly useful purpose. Some constructive suggestions have been received, particularly as to the plans for a new building, while many minor suggestions of value have been adopted. In the main, however, the management feels that the plan has not been as productive of constructive suggestions as had been hoped. The recent adoption of a suggestion system separate from the works advisory committee and handled by a committee of management has taken from the works committee a part of its field, also. Aside from this question of suggestions to management, the firm feels that the committee has entirely justified its existence through its success as a medium for bringing into the open and getting rid of the small difficulties which might develop. The committee is a very efficient safety valve.

Among the workers' representatives the feeling is general that the committee is useful. Primarily, it assures to the workers a regular channel through which any difficulty can be taken up. The acquaintance promoted through the meetings of the committee and the establishment of a regular method of handling difficulties make it easier to straighten out any problems with the management. While the people do not always get what they want through the committee, they know that their opinions reach the management and are considered and so necessarily affect decisions. Nevertheless, there is among some of the workers still suspicion and skepticism as to the value of such a plan. They are not entirely convinced that frankness is advisable for the workers' representatives on such a committee and feel that tact is necessary lest they hurt their position. The fact that foremen are represented on the committee, although they are considered to be not entirely favorable, affects this attitude among the workers. Both management and workers' representatives feel

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that the committee should be more useful. The question of what should be discussed is a difficulty, however. Particularly since the suggestion system has been under way, the works advisory committee is in need of more matter for discussion and has asked the management to suggest subjects. This is a problem still to be solved, although this works advisory committee has had, on the whole, a successful experience over some years.

Another large plant, doing newspaper and commercial work and employing 1,500 people in a large provincial city, had experience with works committees for about four years. Under a change of management, however, the committees were discontinued. The experience is valuable in showing some of the possibilities of such organization. Each department elected a committee which met monthly under the chairmanship of the department head. One representative elected from each department and the department heads then met quarterly as a works executive committee. The department committees, being closer to the problems in the plant, were more active. A great many complaints were brought up and quickly adjusted by the department head. Matters affecting the comfort of the men and questions of materials, needed repairs, changes in methods, all were discussed.

Two difficulties in the attitude of the men were felt by the management; first, that they thought of the committee as a grievance committee that was designed primarily for their welfare, rather than as a cooperative institution, and, second, that they left, to bring up at the meeting, questions that might have been remedied immediately by bringing them to the attention of the department head. Nevertheless, a chairman who was interested in securing the most possible from the committee found that many suggestions of real value were brought out and very useful discussions of output were held. The minutes of one department committee for a period of two years showed discussion of 41 matters affecting the comfort of the men, of 26 having to do with material and machines, and 30 affecting efficiency and output. The works executive committee was less closely in touch with production problems, as it covered a variety of departments. The larger part of its work was, accordingly, on questions of comfort, recreation, benefit funds, and welfare. It functioned occasionally on large questions of policy. For example, after conducting a discussion and vote of all employees, it secured a revision of working hours throughout the plant, to make conditions uniform for all departments. As a whole, this system of committees was successful in eliminating causes of difficulty, in getting a considerable number of suggestions making for efficiency in production, and as a means of access of the firm to the workers on general questions of discipline or policy. The new management, however, saw the faults of the committees and declined to continue them. The only works organizations now in this plant are welfare organizations, thrift clubs, sick clubs, and social organizations. Certain department heads, nevertheless, are still interested and hope that the committees may be reestablished.

One of the works committees of longest standing is in operation in a country plant employing about 200 people. This plant had grown until the directors found that they could not keep the same

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personal relationship with the people in the plant as had existed in the earlier days. They hoped to overcome this difficulty, so far as possible, through the works committee. Twelve representatives elected by the various departments, with two foremen, meet the directors monthly or whenever occasion arises. The committee is largely used for bringing up of grievances, some of which could have been quickly eliminated by bringing them to the attention of foremen; nevertheless, the directors feel that it serves a good purpose in bringing out all such matters. The suggestions that have come from the committee have been of considerable value also. One department was completely reorganized on a suggestion from one of the men. A third useful purpose served by the committee is in clearing up differences between departments and thus making work run more smoothly. The management is satisfied that the committee has been very useful, that it has brought a closer touch into the plant, and has been fruitful of good to both groups.

Another plant employing under 200 people has had a works committee for about two years. A difficulty here is that the business is very seasonal. When the plant is busy no one has time for committee meetings and the business of the committee drifts. Meetings are quite irregular. The committee runs social affairs and has been the means of handling many complaints. A number of suggestions affecting production have been made, also, and some of them have been put into effect. A suggestion box is handled by the committee, but in active periods the secretary is too busy to see that it is opened regularly. The management has been disappointed in that the suggestions of the committee are more directed toward the comfort of the workers than they are toward furthering production. Among the workers, on the other hand, is a feeling that the management has been slow in putting into effect the suggestions that have been adopted. Neither group, however, is ready to give up the committee.

One other experience is known. One firm tried a works committee for a time, but gave it up because it was used only for the making of complaints, while no suggestions to further the interests of the company were brought forward. The firm considered that the committee was entirely one-sided and abolished it. A committee of foremen and managers now meets and is helpful in eliminating friction between departments. There is no committee representing the workpeople, however. While the management is aware of friction and suspicion within the ranks of the workers it does not consider that a works committee would relieve the difficulty and is unwilling to risk such an organization again.

This very limited record of experience with works advisory committees is too narrow to allow of generalization. Nevertheless, a few points that appear are corroborated by experience in other industries. In the first place, the fear of many employers that works committees would become primarily grievance committees has a considerable basis. Grievances bulk large in the subjects brought up for discussion. But those employers who do not organize committees because of this fear, fail to realize that to bring out and eliminate the sources of these grievances is to do much toward promoting a better spirit in the plant. Again, disappointment is felt because of the scarcity of valuable suggestions made. Nevertheless, some plants

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have found that valuable suggestions were forthcoming when invited and stimulated by the management. Committees do not function in this regard without the active encouragement of the management. In addition, the problem of finding subjects of discussion prevents some plants from trying the experiment and proves a difficulty in the case of some of the works committees in existence. It is evident that here also the guidance of the management is very much needed. None of these firms has, as yet, made much use of the works committee for giving to the workpeople information about the business in which they are concerned. This field, unexplored in the printing industry, is proving one of the most valuable parts of works committee activity in certain other industries.[19] In spite of the problems, however, those firms which have had most experience with works committees are sure that they are worth while. They believe that the contributions which works committees can make toward eliminating causes of discontent are sufficient to urge the much wider adoption of this kind of organization.

Manchester Guardian House Society

In connection with works organizations, the inception of an experiment by the Manchester Guardian as an aftermath of the general strike of 1926 is of interest. This paper is widely known for its liberal social and economic editorial policy and, on the production side, enjoys a reputation for good working conditions and a satisfactory relationship with its workpeople. Among the workers a considerable pride in the paper and loyalty to the company is the result. Until the difficulty of 1926 the plant was a closed shop union establishment, dealing with several unions, of which the most important in numbers was the powerful Typographical Association, controlling the composing room and the pressmen. The good relationship within the plant could not prevent strikes, however. The plant was stopped by the Typographical Association during its strikes of 1920 and 1922, while in 1926 all the unions joined in the general strike. Although during the general strike a delegation from the Guardian chapel went to the Typographical Association with a request that apprentices and foremen be allowed to work in order to publish a small sheet to make available to the public a fairer account of events, this was refused, and the public service that might have been performed by such a paper as the Manchester Guardian in a time of this sort could not be rendered.

Throughout these experiences the company felt a growing conviction that public interest demanded uninterrupted service from the newspapers. Accordingly it worked out in rough outline and presented to the workers for their consideration a plan, the crux of which was that under no conditions should the normal production of the papers be interrupted, any disputes in the last resort to be settled by arbitration. The company in exchange offered substantial financial benefits, recognized an obligation to insure regular employment, and offered the right of appeal against discharge to a joint board. On the preliminary ballot by the employees on

[19] Cf. Britain's Industrial Future, report of the liberal industrial inquiry, p. 235.

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this plan, 574 were in favor and 20 against, while over 200 failed to vote. Two months later a joint committee elected from all departments presented the plan in final form. The vote then stood 609 for, 169 against, and 63 not voting, most of the nonvoters being absentees. The votes in opposition came chiefly from members of the National Union of Journalists and of the Typographical Association.

According to the constitution, all adult full-time permanent employees are eligible to membership in the Manchester Guardian and Evening News Society. Weekly contributions of members range from 8 cents to 25 cents. A general committee of management is composed of officers elected annually by ballot after nomination by chapels, and of representatives elected by each chapel. Grouping the chapels, the different interests in the organization are represented in these proportions: Printing mechanics, 10; other labor, 4; distribution, 2; foremen and department heads, 2; editorial, circulation, and offices, 5. The basis of the organization is the chapel. Any dispute is handled first by the chapel committee with the management, and if no agreement is reached the matter is then referred to the general committee of management, which has full power to settle the question or refer it to arbitration. Decisions of the general committee are final and binding on all members. Any member breaking the rules or agreements with the company or acting in any way detrimental to the interests of the society is liable to fine or expulsion. The society may be dissolved whenever two-thirds of the members so determine on secret ballot.

An agreement between the society and the company, included in the proposition voted upon and accepted by the employees, provides that employees may belong to trade-unions, but that neither the society nor its members shall enter into any obligations conflicting with their obligations to the company under this agreement. Wages and hours are to be not less favorable than trade-union wages and hours. Other union conditions can be varied only by agreement between the management and the chapel affected. All complaints are made to, and decided in the first instance by, the management, but in case of disagreement and on request of the general committee, the question may be referred to arbitration. Any worker, moreover, has the right of appeal against the action of the company to a board consisting of an equal number of foremen, excluding the foreman concerned, and representatives appointed by the committee of management, with an independent chairman. A most important provision is that under no circumstances shall any action be taken to hinder or prevent the normal production or distribution of the company's newspapers. In the event of any such action, the company is entitled to give notice terminating the agreement so far as such parties are concerned, and the guilty parties forfeit all rights under the agreement and lose their membership in the society. The company agrees to use its best endeavors to insure regular employment and, in case of unavoidable displacement of labor, to endeavor to insure that members of the society do not suffer.

The remainder of the agreement is devoted to an elaborate system of financial benefits which, in the light of general conditions and trade-union benefits, are very favorable. The benefits include a

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noncontributory pension, with the right to a commuted value of the pension to any leaving the employ of the company after 20 years of service, except upon dismissal for grave misconduct; and a death or retirement benefit varying with length of service for all whose wages are less than $35 per week. Other benefits, funeral, sickness beyond four weeks, widows' and orphans' benefits, and social committee expenses are paid for on equal shares by the company and the society. In case of sickness of under four weeks' duration, the company pays a sum sufficient to bring the entire income, including benefits, up to the standard wage. In case of termination of the agreement by six months' notice or by dissolution of the society, pension rights would not be affected; prospective pension rights of those of 20 years' service who had not yet attained the pension age and all rights in the death and retirement benefit fund would be at once commuted by cash payments, and benefit funds of the society would be divided equally between the members of the society on the one hand and the company on the other.

The trade-unions, who were strongly opposed to the plan, requested a conference before the plan was submitted to vote. The management was quite willing that its plan should be associated with the unions if it could secure its fundamental objectives, the assurance of uninterrupted publication, and freedom from certain restrictive union conditions. The unions pointed out, however, that the plan was contrary to trade-union principles in two respects, in that it would require the unions to give up the right to strike and would permit local determination of conditions other than wages and hours. Such a society could not, therefore, be affiliated with the Printing and Kindred Trades Federation nor have representation on the joint industrial council. Nevertheless, in the face of union opposition, the employees accepted the plan on the final ballot. The Typographical Association, the strongest union, refused to compromise on fundamental principles and would not allow its members to join the house society. Thirteen of its members left the employ of the Guardian, but over 200 retained their positions and lost their union membership. In addition, some dozen men who were near the pension age were permitted to retire on pension, in order to lose neither their Typographical Association membership nor Manchester Guardian pension. The other unions believed that a wiser policy was to retain what influence they could in the plant, and permitted their members to join the house society. They all lost somewhat in membership, but retained a foothold.

Long negotiations then ensued between the unions that had retained members in the plant and the management, seeking a basis of reconciliation between the two types of organization. Finally, in December, 1926, agreements were made between the company and the National Society of Operative Printers and Assistants, the National Society of Electrotypers and Stereotypers, and the National Union of Journalists. The unions recognized the house society by agreeing to accept its services as mediator in case of dispute. The company recognized the unions by agreeing in the future to engage only union members in the departments involved and that whenever a majority of the members of a chapel voted to avail themselves of the good

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offices of the union in disputes, the company would consent to such mediation.

Any dispute not settled by the house society within two weeks would be placed in the hands of the union. If after two weeks more no agreement had been reached, the question would be referred to the conciliation committee of the joint industrial council, whose decision would be final and binding. The unions agreed to reinstate their former members upon payment of arrears, with the right to full benefits as if they had been members continuously. These agreements are terminable upon six months' notice by either party. The Typographical Association refused a similar agreement on the grounds that it would mean compulsory arbitration, working with nonunionists, and acceptance of an apprentice system that was contrary to union rules. This union endeavored to secure from the Printing and Kindred Trades Federation a vote of censure against the unions that had compromised, but it was defeated by a large majority.

Under these agreements the Manchester Guardian and Evening News Society continues to function as the house organization, while feeling over the union issue is becoming modified. A majority in some departments are now union members and many men carry cards in both their trade-union and the house society. In 1928 union members were serving on the general committee of management. The membership of the society is nearly 900, close to 100 per cent of the employees. All ranks of employees, from unskilled labor up to department heads, are included in the society.

The affairs of the society are administered by a full-time general secretary, elected and paid by the society. Before accepting this position he was a compositor and chairman of one of the composing-room chapels. He handles the finances of the society, works with all committees, and is the representative of the men in all negotiations between the men and the company. Having the confidence of both the men and the management, he serves an important function in straightening out sources of difficulty within the plant.

The society performs two functions, as a benefit society and as a works council. As a benefit society it collects the weekly contributions of members which are duplicated by the company, pays benefits, administers a loan fund, and has established a widow's pension fund on a low-cost group insurance basis. With the pension and retirement allowances given by the company, payment of wages during sickness, and the assurance of regular employment, many of the usual risks of the wage earner are provided for.

As a works council the society serves a useful purpose by bringing together in one group all the interests within the plant, as was never done under the old system of separate union chapels. It therefore promotes an understanding of the problems of the enterprise, as distinct from those of separate sections. The management finds it uesful as a means of communication with the employees and for consultation on problems affecting both groups. The employees, on the other hand, use the machinery to secure the elimination of difficulties affecting their welfare in the plant. All questions since the plan was instituted have been settled amicably without resort to arbitration, although both sides testify that the men do not hesitate to criticize the management. In only one case has an appeal board been

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resorted to. In this case, the one discharge since 1926, the dismissal was because of an occurrence outside of working hours and away from the plant. The appeal board upheld the man's dismissal from his old job as watchman but unanimously voted to reinstate him as a general laborer with pay from the time of his discharge, saying that he should not be so penalized in his employment for an unfortunate event outside.

The question of apprenticeship had long been a sore point between the company and the Typographical Association, for the union allowed only five apprentices, not enough to supply the need of the office for replacements. The firm was forced to recruit journeymen from outside and found difficulty in securing competent men. By agreement with the chapel concerned, a committee from the composing room now controls apprenticeship. Five apprentices a year are taken on at the age of 16 years. They are under the direct supervision of the committee, are required to attend technical school classes, and are receiving a thorough training.

Wages, which according to the agreement must be at least equal to trade-union rates, actually are in most cases somewhat above union levels. The management discussed with the composing room ways of increasing production and the possibility of piece rates. While the men were strongly opposed to piece rates or any differentiation between individuals, they were willing to accept a collective bonus arrangement whereby, if average production increased, they would receive the entire benefit in an increased flat wage rate. While no mathematical basis has been established to determine such a bonus, the management, on the basis of increased production, is paying a bonus of $1.25 a week.

The management has no entirely conclusive figures on linotype output, but it believes that there has been a substantial increase since 1926. The firm's payments per man in this department, including the production bonus, wages during sickness, and the various contributions to the society, increased approximately $2.50 per week. In spite of this increase the average cost of composition per page for 6-month periods decreased from 1926 to 1927 approximately 4 per cent on the morning paper and 5 per cent on the evening paper. Allowing for the fact that the department had been cleared of a number of old men by pensioning them, the management believes that there is a substantial margin of improvement as a result of the loyalty and cooperation secured through the house organization.

The cost of this organization to the company is considerable. When the plan was introduced the company put into a pension reserve $250,000. It is liable also for substantial amounts on death or retirement of wage earners. In matching all employee contributions to the society the firm pays annually over $6,000. In addition the company pays wages rather above the union rates. The company estimates that, including all the special benefits, its cost per man per week is over $3 above the trade-union minimum. It is obvious that most firms would consider it quite impossible to pay at such a rate for the advantages of such a special plan.

Definite advantages accrue to both the company and the workpeople from the operation of this plan. The company has the assurance that its publications will not be interrupted and that the special

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problems of its business will receive consideration through the organization representing all departments. The workers are assured good wages and working conditions, consideration and arbitration, if necessary, of any disputes with the management, very favorable financial benefits, and freedom from the cost of strikes.

A serious disadvantage exists, however, and is indeed recognized by the management in the isolation of the company and the workers from the rest of the industry. This isolation was partly overcome by the agreements made with three unions. In the case of the compositors and the pressmen, however, while at least trade-union conditions of wages and hours must be observed, neither the firm nor the workers have any share in the determination of those conditions. To the men, moreover, there is a very serious disadvantage in their isolation. The newspaper industry, except for parts of Scotland, is almost entirely union. As nonunionists, who would find serious opposition from the Typographical Association to readmitting them, these men have very few alternative opportunities for employment and are tied to their jobs to a degree that is undesirable under the most favorable circumstances.

The present situation of the Manchester Guardian, through the antagonism between its organization and the most powerful union in the industry, is an anomalous one that can hardly last. The company is labeled as opposed to the trade-unions, in spite of its editorial policy, and is classed, in a way to which it takes strong exception, with nonunion schemes that are on a quite different basis. An eventual compromise which would satisfy the interests of both parties would not be surprising.

The Manchester Guardian, through this experiment, has secured agreements that its publications shall be free from interruptions. Three strong unions, contrary to their general policy and tradition, have given up the right to strike and agreed to arbitration. This is a new development in the British printing industry. Whether it will lead to the adoption of general arbitration agreements, such as those long familiar to the American newspaper industry, is an interesting question for the future.

Betterment Committee

The work of the joint industrial council and its standing committees, the progress of district committees, and the development of works organizations have been discussed. There remains one important development of the past two years. This was an outcome of the events following the general strike. The rapidity with which the industry made its national settlement and went back to work and the determination of leaders of both groups that the joint industrial council should continue and become a more important force in the industry have been reported. In the course of that first remarkable meeting of the council after the strike, when both groups reaffirmed their confidence in the ideals of the council and their belief in its future, the retiring chairman, an employer, in a thought-provoking statement suggested that the time had come for a closer relationship and cooperation on the vital problem of production. He suggested that a small committee might be appointed to consider this. The next

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month the journal of the Federation of Master Printers carried an article by another leader among the employers, urging the need of the industry to discard old ideas, old methods, old machinery, and that employers and employees should consider with open minds how costs could be reduced without reducing wages. "The printing industry in the past has on many occasions shown to other industries new and better ways of dealing with problems which affect them all. Would it not be well for the leaders of both sides in the printing trade to realize the inestimable advantages of lower costs of production; to get together and start a big campaign for greater efficiency and lower costs?"[20]

The next meeting of the joint industrial council found all groups willing to discuss these considerations, and a committee of five from each panel was set up. The committee early decided to take its name from that of the 1917 committee which had led to the organization of the council, and it became known, therefore, as the betterment committee. In order to secure the greatest frankness of discussion no reports were issued during the preliminary work and no detailed minutes were kept. The committee invited the Printers' Managers and Overseers Association to send two representatives to assist in the discussions. From October, 1926, until the following summer the committee met regularly and discussed very frankly many important problems, such as the effects of new machinery, unemployment, the development of works committees, how to secure suggestions from the workers, the possibilities of payment by result, and profit sharing. These controversial questions were discussed with the same frankness as are the noncontroversial subjects of the health committee. The difficulties in the way of sweeping changes were very apparent, however, in the opinions, prejudices, and traditions current among the rank and file in the industry. Whatever agreement might be reached among the leaders of the two groups could not be made effective unless accepted by the industry as a whole. It was necessary, therefore, for the committee to move slowly. In July, 1927, the committee submitted a preliminary report to the joint industrial council, which sent it confidentially to all the unions and local alliances of master printers, asking for discussion. The criticisms, most of which came from the unions, were directed primarily against the suggestions as to payment by results. The committee decided, therefore, that it should not attempt too much at first and omitted from the final report the references to piecework and bonuses. It included an addendum to the report to the effect that other matters still under consideration and to be submitted to the two panels before the council would be asked to pass on them, included payment by results, either through a bonus on output, in addition to time wages and arranged as a group or individual bonus, or through a piece rate fixed to enable the worker to earn an agreed percentage above minimum time rates; and schemes of share purchase for employees or profit sharing, which might obtain greater cooperation between employers and employees. The betterment report was unanimously adopted and signed by the members of the committee on January 3, 1928.

[20] Members' Circular, August, 1926, p. 226; September, 1926, p. 244.

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The report was unanimously approved by the joint industrial council on January 11, 1928, and sent out to the industry, but without the controversial addendum. The council strongly urged that special meetings should be called in every town to consider the report and that the recommendations should be put into effect.

The betterment report is quoted in full below:

First Report of the Betterment Committee to the Joint Industrial Council of the Printing and Allied Trades

On October 12, 1926, as the outcome of a suggestion made by Gen. W. Wright Bemrose, on a resolution moved by Mr. James MacLehose, and seconded by Mr. T. G. Newland, a committee was appointed by the joint industrial council to report upon the question of betterment.

The council decided to invite the cooperation of the Printers' Managers and Overseers Association; and their president, Mr. A. H. Wilson, and Mr. A. E. Jarvis, chairman of their technical committee, attended the meetings.

The discussions have been free and frank, and very careful consideration has been given to many problems.

The committee suggest the following as the objectives likely to improve the status of the industry:

(*a*) To improve the earning capacity of the industry and so maintain or improve the position of both employers and employees.

(*b*) To increase employment and avoid periods of slackness.

(*c*) To reduce the cost of printing and/or improve the quality so as to create greater demand.

There should be mutual agreement and hearty cooperation in trying to carry out any suggestions bearing on the foregoing problems, and the following are submitted:

1. Employers should be urged to improve the efficiency of their works, by scrapping old and installing new machinery and adopting improved methods of organization and production of every kind.

2. Modern time-saving machinery, the costing system, paper standardization, and other methods of simplification reduce the cost of production, are beneficial to all concerned, and should be generally adopted.

Employees should cooperate with the employers in the use of these methods.

3. In view of the temporary loss of employment which in some instances has been known to follow the introduction of time-saving machines, employers are recommended, when machinery of a new type is introduced, to endeavor to retain all their employees by transfer to other duties. This suggestion is not intended to interfere with any of the recognized lines of demarcation.

4. A works advisory committee should be formed in all offices where the number of the employees makes the formation of such a committee practicable.

5. Employees should be encouraged to make suggestions for improving the methods of working and the amenities of the factory.

The works advisory committee should be the natural and proper channel through which suggestions by workers should be made. Employees making suggestions which are adopted by the employers should be suitably rewarded.

6. When possible, additional day labor, double shifts or night shifts, should be engaged instead of working avoidable persistent overtime.

7. Work in the printing trade is largely seasonal, and large consumers, all public authorities, and the Stationery Office should be persuaded to place their orders earlier and, as far as practicable, in slack seasons.

8. Wherever possible, the education authorities, the employers, and the trade unions should jointly arrange classes for unemployed workers, so that they may improve their efficiency and be instructed in the latest developments in their trade.

To estimate the value of this betterment report is very difficult. It was acclaimed in the trade press as an event of first importance. On the other hand, there is much disappointment among employers that no agreement was possible on the important subject of payment by result, which they consider the crux of the problem. Great allowance must be made for bitter opposition on the part of most

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of the rank and file of the workers of the industry to any form of piecework, for it is the result of past experience when piece rates meant exploitation through speeding up and lowering of rates of pay. In the light of this experience, it will take long education to overcome the suspicion aroused by any discussion of output. The betterment report must be estimated in view of this attitude among the workers. Its main achievement, then, appears to be in the fact of a frank discussion of problems of production by the leaders on both sides. Such a discussion, with its full recognition of many common interests and problems, would have been impossible in the industry 10 years ago. The report, jointly signed, recognized a common interest in increasing efficiency and adopting modern methods in order to improve the position of both employers and employees in the industry. Such a statement on the part of the national leaders of the unions must in time have an effect on the attitude of the rank and file. The other recommendations, for minimizing unemployment, securing the placing of orders in slack seasons, and encouraging works advisory committees and the making of suggestions by employees, are less controversial, but they are subjects on which the majority of employers require education. Here, again, the effect of the betterment report must be educational. To secure the putting into operation throughout the industry of such recommendations is much more difficult than securing an agreement by a national committee that these things are desirable. Lack of interest in the plants may defeat the purpose of the betterment report, as it has largely nullified some other projects of the joint industrial council. Nevertheless, the leaders of the industry have put their seal on the important fact of common interest of all in the industry in greater efficiency. This must be accepted as a step forward. But the larger task remains for the betterment committee to educate the industry to recognize this fact and, on the part both of employers and employees, to put this recognition into practice. The committee, therefore, is continuing its work, both of propaganda and of the making of further plans for betterment.

Quarterly Meetings

A large part of the work of the joint industrial council is done by the committees. Nevertheless, the quarterly meetings of the full council play an important part. These meetings, made up of 72 representatives of the two groups from all parts of the country, are an excellent means for developing and using public opinion in the industry, for pooling experience of all sorts, and for education. The council hears and discusses the detailed reports of the work of each committee. Discussions of the conciliation committee reports are educational, bringing out as they do the feeling on the part of both groups that for the good of each the findings of the committee should be accepted. On rare occasions, when the conciliation machinery has been disregarded or findings of the committee, after being formally accepted, have not been put into effect, opinion has been unanimous against such action and the officers have been authorized to use every effort to secure a settlement in the spirit of the council. The discussions of the health committee reports show a very great

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interest on all sides. In addition to acting upon matters reported by the committee, the council often discusses other problems brought up by members of either group. For example, the fact that a certain turpentine substitute had been proved to cause dermatitis was reported by one member, others reported their experience, and the whole question was referred to the committee for investigation. Similarly, dangers from certain types of machinery were discussed. In this way problems that have arisen in one plant are brought to the attention of the industry for study and action. Again, discussions of the apprentice scheme and of the betterment report serve the purpose of stimulating interest and spreading the knowledge of what is being done in different sections, and of arousing public opinion in favor of the proposals. When the 72 representatives return to their constituencies and report, with the aid of the detailed minutes published in the journals of both the employers and the unions, the potentialities of the council as an organ of education become very great.

Achievements of Joint Industrial Council

The joint industrial council in the printing industry has had an experience of nearly nine years. During this time joint councils in many other industries have failed, or have become practically inactive. In the printing industry, on the contrary, the council has developed in its activities and in its standing and influence. The reasons for the degree of success of this council are to be found primarily in three facts: The strong organization already existing on both sides, the character of the leadership of both groups, and the fact that the council did not become a negotiating body. It has been on the rock of negotiations that many joint councils have met destruction. In the printing industry, however, the existing system of collective bargaining was not disturbed and the individual organizations continue to negotiate their agreements. The council, therefore, has been able to devote itself in a dispassionate manner to the many problems other than wages and hours in which there is a common interest. Problems such as health, training, unemployment, development of good relations between employers and employed, and legislation affecting the industry, have not been crowded out by more controversial subjects. Moreover, the atmosphere developed in the consideration of such subjects, that of common interest in the welfare of the industry, has carried over and affected the adjustment of controversies. When negotiations have failed, the council is able to intervene as a conciliator, in an attitude somewhat detached from the controversy, and, with its strong will to keep the peace, it is often able to promote a settlement.

The joint industrial council is a body without powers, however. Its constituent associations retain their autonomy and have the right to reject any decision of the joint industrial council or one of its committees. Nevertheless, as the council is able to make articulate a public opinion in the industry, it can exert considerable moral pressure, and often one group or the other, with the support of the council, is able to bring members into line. A plan to make legally binding upon the whole industry the decisions of joint industrial

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councils is under consideration in England. While the council of the printing industry has not made a decision upon this point, its entire policy has been against compulsion. It prefers that the council should be an educational and conciliatory force, relying upon the common sense of the industry not to disregard decisions of a representative body. The Federation of Master Printers has no power over employers, except that of exerting moral pressure, for expulsion is not a serious penalty. The individual unions control their membership, but the unions themselves are not subject to any compulsion from either the union federation or the joint industrial council, except, again, the power of public opinion exerted by their own group. Whatever compulsion exists in the industry lies in the power of the unions to enforce compliance with standards, aided by the fair-wages clause. The influence of the council lies in a different direction, that of conciliation and education to the needs of the industry.

The primary achievement of the council has been the intangible one of creating an atmosphere of mutual respect and understanding of each others' difficulties and problems among the leaders of the organizations of employers and employees. Nine years of meeting together regularly to discuss important problems affecting both groups has modified attitudes on both sides and created a new basis for cooperation. In this atmosphere the conciliation work of the council has been highly successful. The use of the conciliation machinery of the council is becoming the accepted custom of the trade and unconstitutional stoppages are very rare. In all but a few cases referred to it the council has been able to avert resort to coercion by encouraging negotiation until a settlement was reached or by suggesting a basis for an acceptable solution. While conditions in the industry of recent years have been favorable for peace, since on the whole wages are high and conditions good, in many instances the council with its will to keep the peace has prevented troubles that might have developed to serious proportions. In the opinion of many, voluntary conciliation is becoming so well established a habit that the possibility of any serious stoppage in the trade is exceedingly remote.

Keeping the peace is perhaps a negative achievement. On the constructive side, the work of the health committee is a striking demonstration of the possibilities of joint action on matters in which there is no fundamental difference of interests. There can be no question of the educational value of this work to the industry. On more controversial questions the record is less satisfactory, for two difficulties appear; first, to find a program that can be agreed upon and, second, to secure its application throughout the industry. In the case of apprenticeship the program finally adopted was not radical—providing as it did not for joint control but for consultation only and joint encouragement of proper training, leaving the employer free to make decisions upon his own policy—still it would have meant an improvement in the general standard of training. While this program has aroused discussion of the problem, it has only to a very slight extent been put into effect. The program is serving an educational purpose, but its progress is very slow.

The open-shop problem is a highly controversial issue. Although one of the purposes of the council is to secure complete organization

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on both sides, the open-shop employers are sufficiently numerous to hinder the Federation of Master Printers from taking any action toward promoting union organization. Many union employers, moreover, are not sure that complete organization of the employees would be to the advantage of the industry, although they recognize the open-shop problem as a disturbing element in the industry at present. The joint industrial council accordingly avoids this problem for the most part, leaving it as the job of each group to organize its group without asking aid of the other side. The issue can not be entirely avoided, however, and controversies that come to the conciliation committee are handled and, in some cases, settled. This is a type of issue, however, on which, as a whole, the council is not able to function.

Finally, in attacking the whole problem of "betterment," the council indicated a belief that it had progressed until it could usefully apply its methods of discussion to the most fundamental problems of the industry. Nevertheless, the really controversial points were omitted from the first report of the betterment committee. The report marks a significant step forward in the public recognition of the joint interest in efficiency. But to what extent the recommendations of the committee will be accepted throughout the industry and be made effective remains to be seen. Again, it is a problem of education of the rank and file on both sides.

The joint industrial council consists of 72 people, the picked representatives of the industry. To spread through the entire industry the attitude and atmosphere that has become general in the deliberations of this group is, however, a difficult problem. Spreading from the center of the industry—the national council—to the districts and plants, the council atmosphere becomes very diffused. The council recognizes the need of organization and local conference to promote a good relationship in all sections of the industry, but it has had only a limited success in securing such organization. Where district committees have been organized they have been successful in furthering the purposes of the council and promoting a friendly relationship. But the number of active district committees is small. The record as to works advisory committees is even less satisfactory. Although a few plants have organized works committees and found them useful, the attitude of the industry, on the whole, is one of lack of interest or of active opposition.

Many employers are hesitant to admit in the plant the same degree of joint consultation that prevails nationally, lest it lead to interference with the work of management and the encroachment of union control. While there is considerable interest among employers in such developments as pension plans and profit sharing, the organization of regular means of consultation with employees, even without giving up control, is contrary to tradition, and is progressing very slowly. The same attitude is behind the failure of the industry generally to adopt the apprentice scheme. On the part of the employees, also, there is much of the old attitude of suspicion, failure to see the value of cooperation, and disbelief in many of the ideas promulgated by the council. The council has made only a slight beginning in the task of promoting cooperation throughout the entire

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industry. It has a mass of inertia, tradition, and prejudice to overcome if it is to accomplish that purpose.

Although the British printing industry is able to act on a national basis in a way quite unknown to the industry in the United States, many of the problems that develop are the result of the still existing fundamental decentralization of the industry. The local units of the industry have for the most part given up their old autonomy on wages and hours in favor of national settlements. On other questions, however, whatever the recommendations of the council, action is dependent upon acceptance by the local groups. The nationally adopted programs for apprenticeship, for betterment, or for the organization of works committees or district committees, accordingly must wait for action by the autonomous local groups. The British policy of leaving such programs to voluntary acceptance by the groups concerned makes education in the industry a very important phase of the work of the program-making body.

The essence of the achievement of the joint industrial council of the printing industry is in the atmosphere it has established in the national council chamber, making possible the cooperation of the national organizations on many important problems of the industry, the settlement by conciliatory methods of most of the differences arising in negotiations between the various autonomous organizations, the pooling of experience in the industry, and the promulgation of plans and policies for the welfare of the industry. As an agency of education, to spread through the industry the ideals of the council and to secure the adoption of its programs, the joint industrial council has already shown some success, but, to a large degree, the education of the rank and file of both groups is a task remaining for the future.

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Chapter 7.—Company Experiments in Cooperative Organization

In the printing industry with its large numbers of plants the tradition is strong for industrial-relations organization in the form of trade-unions which deal collectively with groups of employers in establishing conditions of labor. This tradition and the condition which favored its development are largely responsible for the rarity in this industry of experiments by single companies in industrial-relations organization. In the postwar years, which have seen a large development of employee-representation plans by individual companies in other industries, the outstanding experiments in the printing industry in America in organization on other than a union basis have been those in Boston, in Baltimore, and among the New York bookbinders. Each of these plans organizes the relations between the employees and the employers of an entire group of plants. Only a very few company plans have been found. Of each of these, however, it has been possible to learn from the plant something of its experience.

Only one example has been found in the American printing industry of an employee-representation plan established by a single company on an open-shop basis and maintained for several years. This experiment was made by the Otterbein Press, the plant of the United Brethren Publishing House, of Dayton, Ohio. This plant was established over 90 years ago by the United Brethren Church and now prints all the church literature and a considerable volume of commercial work. Over 200 people are employed. Before 1921 the plant was run as an open shop, employing a considerable number of union members. Since the strike of the printing trade-unions for the 44-hour week on May 1, 1921, the plant has operated on a nonunion, 48-hour basis.

In the fall of 1919 the publishing agent became interested in the plan of industrial democracy described by John Leitch in his book "Man to Man." He asked others in the organization to read the book, sent a delegation to New York to consult with Mr. Leitch, and called a meeting of all the employees to discuss the matter. An elected committee of 15 studied plans in operation in several near-by factories and presented to the employees a plan which was unanimously adopted on January 17, 1920. A constitution which was then drawn up and adopted provided for the form of organization usual in the Leitch plans, that is, an organization modeled in part after the Government of the United States. The industrial democracy established by this constitution put all its legislative powers in three bodies, a cabinet, senate, and house of representatives. The cabinet was composed of the publishing agent and other officers selected by him. The senate was made up of superintendents and foremen, while the house consisted of representatives of each de-

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partment, elected by the workers for terms of one year. Each group was to meet weekly and make its decisions by majority vote. Legislation could be initiated by either the house or the senate. A bill passed by either house went to the other for action, and when approved by both went to the cabinet for approval, rejection, or the suggestion of amendments. No bill was effective until it was approved by the cabinet. An important provision was for an economy dividend. Whenever by the elimination of waste, saving of time, or increase of production the costs of production were reduced for one month from the previous month, the saving was to be distributed among all the employees in an economy dividend. It was said that a continuous reduction in costs would be possible, for reduction of costs would permit lowering of prices, which would increase the volume of sales and lead again to further reduction in costs. Employees were guaranteed against any discrimination for activities under the plan.

The plan was adopted with considerable enthusiasm. The first bills adopted provided a set of rules for employees, secured certain changes in the sanitary conditions of different departments, and took other action affecting the comfort and welfare of the employees. Later a suggestion system was set up, jointly controlled, which was successful in securing many suggestions of value and putting them into effect. Social and athletic activities under the auspices of the industrial democracy were enthusiastically supported and brought members of the production and office forces together without distinction.

For a time economy dividends were earned regularly and distributed. When the poor years following 1921 came, the regular volume of business from the church organization maintained production, in spite of the difficulties in the commercial printing business. But finally the economy dividends became less frequent, and during 1927 none were distributed.

Under the plan each house was to meet weekly. For a time they did so, but it was not long before meetings became irregular. The senate, of foremen and superintendents, found great difficulty in getting its members together, since it meant calling them away from their departments, and began to meet only when there was special need. The house continued its regular meetings longer, although it reduced the frequency of meeting. Interest decreased after the first flush of activity during which the most pressing causes of dissatisfaction and difficulty were eliminated. Later few subjects were brought up at the meeting. The employee chairman of the house urged the representatives to take an active interest and make use of the plan, but got little response. Economy dividends ceased to have any incentive either for greater interest in production or to stimulate interest in the industrial democracy itself. An auditorium which was used during the life of the plan for mass meetings of all employees to discuss various phases of the plant's interests, in the fall of 1927 was being used for another purpose. Social activities continued, but there were few other tangible evidences of the work of the industrial democracy organization. Finally in 1928 a meeting of all employees voted that as the plan had become inactive, it should be discontinued.

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Both the management and representatives of the employees expressed the opinion that in its early period the plan was beneficial. It helped to maintain a cordial relationship in the plant, it eliminated many small sources of friction and dissatisfaction, improved production, and brought out many suggestions which increased efficiency and added to the comfort of the employees. As time went on, however, both groups lost interest in the plan. In the first place it proved too cumbersome. The system of three houses sitting separately meant a considerable delay in getting action on any subject, even when the houses met each week. In practice long delays were inevitable and irritating, and the men lost faith in their ability to get action through these channels. Direct appeal to the management was more effective. The disappearance of the economy dividends decidedly dampened the ardor of the men who earlier had been enthusiastic about the plan. A final factor of some influence was the refusal of the management to grant the 44-hour week on May 1, 1921, although many plants in Dayton did so. At that time some union members left the Otterbein Press, while others gave up their union cards and stayed with the plant. Feeling over this issue was without doubt one element in the decrease in activity since the summer of 1921.

The industrial democracy of the Otterbein Press followed the experience of many other employee representation plans, going through a cycle of enthusiasm and success in its early period, then gradual loss of interest and decreasing activity, and finally abandonment. The management has not lost faith in employee representation, however. It is now working on a plan for a smaller joint committee, representing the management and the workers of each department, to meet regularly and decide immediately upon matters brought before it. Such a plan would eliminate the delays of the old régime, while retaining the benefits of regular channels for handling matters of common interest. If this plan, which is being worked out in the summer of 1928, is put into effect it will be able to profit from the weaknesses of the other plan and to continue an experiment of interest.

Three other plants had brief experience with shop committee organization. The American Lithographic Co. of New York, which employs over 500 people, in August, 1927, discontinued its shop council after three years' experience. The council had represented only the lithographic department, which was operated on an open-shop basis. The typographic department, employing members of the printing-trade unions, was not included. The council met monthly. It was used chiefly on questions of welfare and comfort, many of which the management felt could have been easily arranged, if the men had taken them directly to the management, without the formality of the council. Neither the company nor the workers considered the plan useful enough to justify the expenditure of time and money, and it was given up by a vote of the employees. Its only vestige now is a suggestion system which functions through the production manager's office and is successful in bringing out some suggestions of value. Another plan which received some publicity in 1920 was adopted by the Crookston Times Publishing Co. for its plant employing some 40 men in Crookston, Minn. An elected committee from the men took over the entire management, subject to veto by the board of directors. Savings from the average costs of the

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previous five years were to be divided equally between the company and the men. This plan lasted only a few months.

Another plan was that of the Hamilton Press in New York, adopted in 1919 in an effort to establish closer working relations between the employees and the management. The plan, which was the result of collaboration of the two groups, provided for a works council elected by the two general committees of employees and management. Any difficulties which could not be settled by the works council were referred to a joint meeting of the two general committees, and if then not satisfactorily settled, to arbitration. Employee representatives were guaranteed against any discrimination for activities in their representative capacity. The trade-unions at this time were actively organizing, and it was only a few months before this plant was struck with a demand for unionization. The management called the men together, found a large majority of them in favor of joining the unions, and acceded to the demand. The council plan was at once given up, although with some regret on the part of the firm, for it considered that the regular personal contact between management and men was advantageous. Continuation of the committee in conjunction with unionism was not considered, for it was assumed that the unions would have opposed. The plant now has a safety committee meeting regularly. Experience shows that quite naturally, when a group of men from the various departments meets, questions other than safety are brought up. This safety committee accordingly discusses questions of broader interest and serves informally as a shop committee. The management considers it very useful in this aspect of its activities.

An experiment which is rare, perhaps unique in the printing industry in the United States, an experiment in combining trade-union and plant organization, has been conducted by a small plant in New York City, the Nation Press Printing Co., which until 1920 was connected with the Nation. The plant prints the Nation and other periodicals, also advertising matter and other job work. It employs regularly about 45 people. Since 1918 it has been a union plant.

In the fall of 1919 the New York industry was paralyzed by a strike in which one issue was a demand for a reduction of hours from 48 to 44. A representative of the Nation suggested that the company grant a 40-hour, 5-day week, establishing at the same time a representative council for the democratic control of production and discipline. The company agreed to try the experiment, providing production should not decrease. The unions were entirely favorable to the plan, for the concession was in advance of their demands. Accordingly the plan went into effect, although the rest of the New York industry continued on a 48-hour week basis until May 1, 1921.

The constitution which was formally adopted on May 11, 1920, outlines an organization known as "The Nation Press Cooperative Democracy." The organization comprised the employer and all employees of six months' service. A representative council was to consist of three representatives of the employer and four representatives of the mechanical departments. The council was to have "complete control of production and discipline," and be guided by the constitution and by-laws passed by the general assembly. No rules

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were to be adopted, however, which would conflict with rules of the various unions. Members of the council were to be elected annually by the departments and be subject to recall by a two-thirds vote of the departments represented. A general assembly of all members was to be held every six months to hear the report of the council, and special meetings of the assembly could be called on petition of 10 employees. The council, which was organized in November, 1919, and held regular meetings twice a month, recognized as its problems the control of production, discipline, and the coordination of all parts of the organization.

In the fall of 1920 the owner offered to sell the company to the employees. His plan was to retain the preferential stock, which was preferential as to assets only, not as to dividends. About one-third of this preferential stock was to be retired over a period of 20 years. The common stock would control the business, and was offered to the men either for cash or on installments running one year. The interest of the employees in the company was indicated when 21 out of 35 men bought stock. The shares of any of the original stockholders who have left the employ of the company have been bought back and offered to other employees. In 1928 the same amount of stock originally bought by employees is in the hands of employees, but the number of employee stockholders has decreased to 15. The president of the company, who is the manager, in 1928 owns 40 per cent of the common stock, 15 per cent is in the hands of outsiders, and 45 per cent is owned by employees. Most of the employee participators own from $100 to $500 of stock, while two have blocks of $1,000 and $1,200.

At the time of the sale of stock to the employees, the control was put for a term of five years in the hands of a voting trust of three, to safeguard the interests of the retiring owner. Since the expiration of this period, however, the stockholders have annually elected the board of directors, who appoint the officers. The day to day management of the business is not greatly affected by the unusual character of the ownership of the company.

While thus the employee stockholders exerted some control over the destinies of the company through the annual stockholders' meeting, all employees of six months' service were entitled to vote for representatives on the council. Under the terms of the constitution the council had large powers, the "complete control of production and discipline." Although the demarcation of the lines of authority between the council and the management was nowhere laid down, in practice there was no conflict. The council was a small body meeting regularly to discuss plans and policies, hear reports of the management, and make recommendations. Whether an actual decision was made by the council or by the management does not always appear from the record, and is perhaps under these circumstances immaterial. Certainly on questions of expenditure it was necessary for the responsible management to make the final decision. The council frequently discussed requests of various departments for new machinery and other equipment, and changes of organization and methods to increase efficiency. The management reported on sales, business conditions, and finances of the company, and methods of increasing business were discussed. Many questions affecting health,

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safety, and comfort were brought up and acted upon. A set of shop rules worked out by the foremen and the management was approved by the council. Questions of discipline were occasionally discussed. The fact that a man was a stockholder was not allowed to interfere with the discipline of the plant, and in one serious case the council agreed that it was necessary to discharge a man, although he was a stockholder and had been a director. The question of smoking in the factory was finally decided by the council after a general assembly had been called by petition to protest against the prohibition of smoking.

Under the industrial compensation rating schedule in New York, a plant may pay a lower rate for its insurance by organizing a safety committee which meets regularly and receives reports on a weekly safety inspection. For a time the council of the Nation Press acted as the safety committee. As time went on, however, a decrease occurred in the number of questions other than safety which were brought up. Finally in 1926 the council became the safety committee. No regular elections of representatives have been held since then. The committee still consists, nevertheless, of representatives from all departments, including both foremen and journeymen. In practice the safety committee still performs the same functions as the council, although with more emphasis on safety questions. It still hears reports of the condition of the business and discusses production problems.

From the minutes of the council and of the safety committee an analysis has been made of the subjects discussed at the meetings of the council during its life from November, 1919, to August, 1926, and of the safety committee from September, 1926, to April, 1928. A discussion of a subject at one meeting was counted as a unit. The larger number of discussions were of matters of health, safety, and comfort, but a very substantial proportion were devoted to the production and business problems of the company.

Subject	Discussions of council, November, 1919, to August, 1926	Discussions of safety committee, September, 1926, to April, 1928
Efficiency, production, machinery	86	31
Costs, sales, business problems	31	6
Health, safety, comfort	108	49
Vacations, holidays, hours, social	31	5
Discipline	6	----------
Profit sharing, bonuses, group insurance	6	----------
Miscellaneous	8	----------
Total	276	91

The general assembly of all employees was not called upon to function regularly, but on several occasions it was useful. Particularly when the return to the 44-hour week was under discussion, an assembly was called to present to the employees the facts about the condition of the company, and to secure their suggestions on the problem.

The 40-hour, 5-day week continued until the summer of 1926. It was reported at the end of the first year that production had not

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decreased with the reduction of hours, nor had costs increased. In the spring of 1925, however, a comparison of the hour costs of the Nation Press with the average hour costs of the commercial group of plants in the New York Employing Printers' Association showed pressroom costs comparing favorably, while the costs in the composing room and bindery were a little higher than the general average. Late in 1925 and in 1926, a time of very slack business, the company found that it was at a considerable disadvantage in competition. While production in 40 hours was less than could be turned out in 44, even more important was the fact that customers demanded service on Saturdays. It was therefore necessary to call men in for work on Saturday, for which extra wages at regular hour rates were paid, thus increasing costs. In a time of scarcity of work this competitive disadvantage was very serious. The board of directors called a general assembly to discuss the problem. The directors then decided to continue the 40-hour week, but to abolish the vacations with pay which had been in force for several years. The council urged all to cooperate in giving 40 hours of conscientious work and avoiding waste in order that the short work week might be continued. When summer came, however, the firm was still in difficulty in competing for work. Accordingly it was finally decided to reverse the previous decision and to return to 44 hours, but continue the vacations with pay. While the men recognized the problem, they felt keenly the loss of their Saturday holiday. They might arrange to take time off on Saturday in rotation were it not for the union rule that permits lay offs only in order of priority.

The management feels in 1928 that the company has made satisfactory progress. It has had a moderate financial success and has paid reasonable dividends. Twice, in December of 1924 and of 1926, it has made a small profit-sharing distribution to all employees.

The management is convinced that the fact of part ownership on the part of the men and the consultation through the council, the general assembly, or more recently the safety committee, has shown results in the cooperative spirit general in the plant. The foremen also are substantial stockholders and have therefore a considerable incentive to maintain efficiency. The men themselves are interested in the success of the company. Moreover, the vacations with pay and other minor conditions more favorable than the usual situation in the industry help to explain the satisfactory relations within the plant.

It is apparent that the fact of copartnership through the ownership by employees of voting stock is more prominent in the minds of the men than is the old plan of cooperative democracy. At the present time, however, only 15 out of 35 men are copartners. These men are from the more permanent group, many of whom have been with the plant over 10 years, while other men come and go. Participation in stock ownership is limited now to a smaller number of employees than originally. Nevertheless this nucleus is sufficient to affect the morale of the plant.

The cooperative democracy of the Nation Press is now inactive. If the men remember the enthusiasm with which the plan was adopted in 1919 they give no sign now. The safety committee which

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has taken over the functions of the old council works quietly, meeting regularly to receive the safety reports and then informally consulting on plant problems, coordinating the work of the departments, discussing the condition of the business, and making suggestions. The management now feels that in so small a plant there is danger of overorganization, and spending too much time in discussion. The present less formal committee serves all the purposes of the council. In case of any important development, however, the council or the general assembly would be called. It is a substantial advantage that the plant has the background of this type of organization which it could revive and use if needed. There is one disadvantage in the present situation, nevertheless, in that the employees as a whole do not hear much of the work of the committee.

The cooperative democracy of the Nation Press was never carried to the extent of a democratic control of production. It amounted rather to democratic consultation among the representatives of all groups, including the management, with the result that decisions were often jointly arrived at. Authority remained in the hands of the management, subject to the eventual control of the stockholders. The present less formal organization carries on the same process. The significance of this whole experiment of the Nation Press is not in any revolutionary plan of plant organization nor in any extraordinary accomplishment, but in demonstrating that it is possible for a union plant to organize a works council and to secure whatever advantages are inherent in such an organization for considering the problems of the individual plant. In this case loyalty to the plant has been possible in conjunction with loyalty to the union. While this cooperative democracy, like many other works councils, was started with an enthusiasm which became somewhat diluted as time went on, nevertheless for over eight years a genuine democratic consultation of men from the different departments with the management has continued. Business and production problems of the firm are regularly discussed by the committee as well as in the annual stockholders' meeting. A nucleus of the more permanent employees through their ownership of stock and representation on the safety committee have a share in the democratic control of the company and an interest in its success, at the same time that they maintain their membership in the unions.

In several large union plants in the New York industry are found joint conferences or committees which serve in minor degrees the functions of work committees. These are of two sorts, joint committees representative of management and men to deal with certain limited fields of activity, and foremen's conferences. The first type are found in welfare committees and safety committees. One large plant employing nearly a thousand people has a joint welfare committee which has charge of athletics and social activities and is working on the organization of a mutual benefit society. A number of other plants also have benefit societies. Of more significance in this connection, since they are jointly organized to deal with an important problem within the plant, are the safety committees. The large plant already mentioned has a safety committee composed of foremen, subforemen, and one journeyman from each department. Members of the committee make daily safety inspections in each department.

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The committee meets weekly under the chairmanship of the engineer to hear reports and consider all questions of safety. The Nation Press safety committee which has taken the place of the earlier council and still performs many of its functions as well as those of a safety committee, has already been described. The Hamilton Press also finds its safety committee useful for the discussion of other questions affecting the interests of the men and the plant.

Foremen's conferences are being used by several of the large plants as a means of improving correlation between departments, eliminating friction, encouraging suggestions, and improving the relationships within the plant. In some cases they meet regularly every month, and in others only when called. Several plants include all subforemen. In one plant, monthly conferences were held for several years. The employer found them very useful, particularly in the opportunity they gave him to educate the entire group in their responsibilities by dramatizing situations before them all and securing their agreement. Finally the regular conferences were dropped and in their place conferences are called informally, of the men concerned in any question. The employer believes, however, that the present satisfactory relationship, in which suggestions come constantly from the production departments and conferences occur as there is need for them, is in part the effect of the old period of regular meeting. In another plant the monthly foremen's conference which includes all subforemen, is very useful in straightening out difficulties between departments and eliminating grievances. Foremen and subforemen are union men, although representatives of the management in the plant. The subforemen in particular are expected to be in close touch with the men under them, to bring up any grievances, and to take back to the men the results of the conferences. None of these plants has tried the experiment of extending the conference method to include the chapel chairman or other direct representative of the men. In most cases the possibility had not occurred to the employer, while in some it was considered unnecessary, since the subforemen were so close to the men. Provision for the meeting of the foremen with the management, however, whether regularly or at frequent intervals as need arises, is well established in these plants as a means of maintaining satisfactory personal relationships.

An opinion is common among employing printers that shop committees of the sort found in open shops of other industries are impossible, or of "not much use" in union plants. These employers usually believe that because the agreements between the unions and the employers establish the rules for working conditions, there is no field for conferences between the employer and the men in his plant, and the unions would object to any such conferences. In an effort to learn if there is any basis for this opinion, officers of the different New York unions were asked their attitude toward shop committees in union plants. No hostility was shown, although the interest of the men questioned varied. In fact, all pointed to committees in operation in various plants as evidence that the unions did not object. Although these committees upon investigation proved to be either limited committees devoted to safety or welfare or foremen's conferences, rather than more general shop committees, the unquestioning acceptance of them by the unions is indicative of the union attitude.

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One union leader, however, was skeptical of the value of such committees. He felt that the chief interest of individual workers and of the union should be and was in the skill of the individual, while the efficiency of the plant was outside their province. He doubted the likelihood of any suggestions of value being secured by the management from the men on such committees. Another leader pointed out the difficulty of enlisting efforts to increase efficiency, since such improvements led usually to displacing men. If the workers had security in their jobs, then it would be possible through joint committees to get real cooperation in eliminating waste and increasing efficiency. An officer of another union, however, was decidedly interested in the possibilities of shop committees, believing that an organization which would give the individual a chance to express himself and encourage him to make suggestions was in line with progressive unionism. He believed that the modern trade-union must be interested in plant problems and should therefore favor the development of shop committees.

It may safely be assumed that a New York closed-shop plant would not be prevented by the unions from making any experiment in the use of conference committees to consider the problems of the plant. The fact that the unions made no objection to the cooperative democracy established by the Nation Press in 1919, but have the friendliest relationship to that plant, gives further support to this assumption.

If the possibility of establishing such committees is granted, there is still the question whether there is any field for their activity. The working conditions agreed upon in the union contracts can not be changed by any plant committee. To some extent, therefore, the union plant is restricted in its freedom to experiment with methods and organization of work. Nevertheless, outside the field covered by union rules, there is still a large body of questions affecting only the relationships within the plant in question. Consultation of the management and the men is obviously possible on questions of safety and comfort, and also on grievances and personal relations, the relations between departments, and questions of efficiency and production not touched by union rules. The union organization within the plant, the chapel, is devoted chiefly to insuring that union conditions are maintained and to carrying on union business. The chapel protects the individual also from any action by the company contrary to union regulations. Such major grievances as unjust discharge are therefore handled through the union. But many minor grievances and frictions develop and are not taken care of unless the personal relationships are entirely friendly and cooperative. Foremen's conferences have proved helpful in this field, and their extension to include chapel chairmen or other direct representatives of the men might give further help.

The difficulties in making joint conference committees within the plants useful for both the management and the workers are many. Conferences use much valuable time, and sometimes result in roundabout methods when direct methods would be more successful. Conference committees can not succeed without leadership and imagination on the part of the management. In some plants, both union and open shop, the personal qualities of the managers are such that

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satisfactory relationships are maintained with informal personal contacts, making unnecessary the formal organization of conference. Under the guidance of men with such qualities, however, it is possible for conferences within the plant to have important results in plant morale.

On the whole, few tests have been made in the book and job printing industry of the possibility of increasing confidence and cooperation within the plant by frank discussion in joint committees of the problems and needs of the plant. The experience of the few plants which have made such experiments in America and also in the British printing industry shows that it is very difficult to maintain interest and keep the organization functioning actively over a period of time. Any shop committee is limited to the problems of the plant, and after the first period of active interest has taken care of outstanding difficulties, it often finds little to do, and interest wanes. Nevertheless, the experience indicates that with intelligent and constructive leadership on the part of management it is possible for shop committees, whether under union or open-shop conditions, and whether as general committees, safety committees, or foremen's conferences, to be useful parts of plant organization.

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Chapter 8.—Results of Organization for Joint Control

Industrial relations in the book and job printing industry in the United States are of three types, according to the character of organization and the underlying philosophy of the employing printers. There is first the large group of employing printers, either open shop or strictly nonunion, who are individualistic in philosophy and each of whom, within the limits set by economic conditions, determines the working conditions for his own plant. This group makes no attempt to enforce uniform conditions throughout the industry. The second group, including also both open shop and nonunion plants, believes that organization of both employers and employees for cooperation in the joint control of industrial relations is advantageous. This group includes chiefly the cooperative employer-employee organizations of the Boston and the Baltimore printers and the New York edition bookbinders. Finally, there is the union section of the industry, in which very commonly the employing printers act less according to a conscious philosophy of organization than under the necessity which conditions bring upon them. In this part of the industry employers and employees are organized to protect their own interests, and cooperation for the control of the industry follows when it appears to be in line with the interests of the two groups.

The second and third types of industrial relations, in which there is organization of employers and employees to establish standards and jointly control the industry, have been the subject of this study. The purpose here is to summarize the character of the activities on which these joint organizations work, and to indicate the extent to which an effective control is established.

The extent to which the determination of conditions in the industry is actually divided between the employers and the employees differs widely in the various organizations. Under the Graphic Arts Industrial Federation of Boston, for instance, the plan is rather for democratic consultation by the representatives of both groups than for a relinquishment of control by the employers' organization, which retains the veto power on any matter vitally affecting its interests. The American Guild of the Printing Industry, in Baltimore, on the contrary, is based on a theory that it is inevitable for control to be divided, and therefore the employers relinquish to the joint chapter board the right to make final decisions, and provide for arbitration in case of disagreement. In the union relationships, however, such as in New York and in England, the joint responsibility for decisions is more far-reaching, for a decision requires the consent of the two organized groups, each group having a considerable economic power with which actively to support its desires. Finally, there is the joint industrial council in England, a council superimposed upon a system of national autonomous organizations, and with no authority

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to enforce its decisions, but with a growing recognition which is giving it a large influence in the affairs of the industry.

A significant contrast appears also in the basis of these organizations. In the open-shop organizations conflicts of interest between employers and employees are recognized, but it is believed that organization for cooperation can protect the interests of both groups and minimize the area of conflict between them. In union relationships, on the other hand, the conflicting interests of the two groups have led to separate organizations to protect those interests, and a tendency to emphasize more the conflicts than the common interests of employers and men. Cooperation between the two opposing groups then takes the form of establishing rules which narrow the field of possible conflict.

No broad generalizations are possible as to the value of different sorts of industrial relations organizations under all conditions. The intention is here, by way of pragmatic test of organizations in the book and job printing industry, only to summarize the practical results of the typical organizations studied in their several fields of activity. The chief fields in which industrial relations organizations work, and in which they exert varying degrees of control, may be summarized as follows: (1) Establishing standards of wages, hours, and working conditions; (2) protection of individual workers; (3) promotion of cooperation for efficiency and production; (4) promotion of craftsmanship; (5) education of both groups of the industry in policies and programs. What has been accomplished in each of these fields by the various organizations?

Establishing Standards of Wages, Hours, and Working Conditions

The individualistic philosophy of open-shop employing printers is reflected in the standards accepted by the open-shop joint organizations. While wage scales are agreed upon by the open-shop councils, they tend to be somewhat lower than the union scales in the same cities. They therefore leave a considerable scope for individual bargaining, through which the skilled workers are able to demand above the scale. The standards are low, although not absolute minimum scales. In contrast is such a situation as in New York where union strength forces the minimum scale up and a majority of all employees receive the scale, although still superior men receive premium wages.[1] The difference in level of the scales in New York and other cities is, of course, dependent upon other conditions as well as differences in the strength of trade-union organization. The individualistic open-shop philosophy results also in the making of very few general rules for working conditions to govern all plants. Rules for overtime, however, based upon trade-union rules, have been made generally applicable by the Boston and the Baltimore open-shop organizations, and in Baltimore a provision for a week's notice of discharge or resignation has become an established rule. Union agreements, on the other hand, standardize practice in the different plants

[1] According to a survey by the New York Printers' League in September, 1926, 61 per cent of hand compositors, 46 per cent of all compositors, 66 per cent of cylinder pressmen, 50 per cent of job pressmen, and 76 per cent of cylinder press feeders were receiving the minimum scale.

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by establishing a large number of rules for working conditions. On the whole, the open-shop associations establish fewer standards than do the union agreements, although their standards are largely affected by union conditions, and they leave a greater scope than do union relationships for bargaining by the individual worker and determination of conditions by the individual plant.

To what extent do the agreed-upon conditions determine the actual conditions in the industry? The open-shop organizations are at a disadvantage as a result of covering so small a field that their influence is limited. The typographical union scale appears to be the standard for skilled journeymen in Boston and in Baltimore, although the unions are recognized in only a minor part of the commercial industry in those cities. Are the standards enforced within the plants under the jurisdiction of the joint councils? There is a difficulty in that the standards are not absolute minima. In Boston an employer has a right to pay less than the scale to a man who is not considered a "competent journeyman," and similarly in Baltimore to workers who are said to be of less than average skill. Since these terms are not definitely defined, individual bargaining is necessary, and it is impossible to be sure that the standards are maintained in all cases. The flexibility of the standards has certain desirable features, since workers who could not hold jobs at the full scale may secure work which they are capable of doing at a wage corresponding to the value of their services. But there is possibility of abuse in slack times by forcing wages of competent men below the standard. Although grievances on this score should be brought up through the machinery for conference, there is no assurance that this will be done or that all plants are on an equal basis of wage costs.

In contrast to this situation is that where the printing-trade unions are strong. In such cities there is a strong tendency for the more competent workers to be members of the unions, and through competition for their services the union scales are thoroughly established as the standards for skilled journeymen.

In New York union activity, aided by the joint machinery for interpretation and enforcement of the agreements, is successful in maintaining the standards agreed upon. These standards establish a common basis for competition in a very large part of the industry. An exception must be made, however, in New York, for the numerous small plants which are difficult to organize and which in recent years have become a menace to the larger plants by their competition on commercial work produced on the automatic high-speed presses. Nevertheless, in New York there is a high degree of uniformity in wages, hours, and working conditions throughout the printing industry. The unions are thus much more effective than the open-shop organizations in maintaining standards locally. The printing industry, however, is undergoing a widening of the market because of the growth of large plants, which make intercity competition far more important than in the past. Differences in labor conditions in different cities are a source of serious difficulties in competition to the employing printers. The lack of standardization by the unions on a broader basis than local is a serious criticism of their functioning, and is the source of much irritation in their relations with the employers. In Great Britain, since the war, this difficulty has been

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largely overcome by the adoption of national standards, the result of collective bargaining on a national basis, and these standards of wages, hours, and working conditions are effectively maintained over the greater proportion of the industry. In the United States, however, in spite of the lack of national standardization, the unions have a greater success in making their standards effective than have the open-shop joint organizations.

Protection of Individual Workers

An important function of any industrial relations plan of organization is to insure that the worker receives just treatment on his job. The open-shop councils studied try to give this protection to the worker by setting up shop committees in various forms and urging employees to bring grievances to the management through these channels and if necessary to appeal to the central council. The Baltimore plan is more explicit than the others as to the right of employees to appeal through the committees, and guarantees them against discrimination for activities on behalf of the guild. In both Baltimore and Boston cases were found in which the machinery was used to straighten out sources of dissatisfaction, whether on discharge, wages, sanitary conditions, overtime pay, or other matters. Appeals to the central councils, however, are very rare, and in view of the years during which these plans have been in operation, the cases handled by the shop committees have been few. Although the size of the plants in part explains this fact, the use of the plans has been less than was expected by the employers. The activity of the organization varies from plant to plant and it is evident that the interest of the employer strongly influences the attitude of the men to the committees and their use of these facilities. Whether men on the whole are independent and unafraid to use these plans is doubtful. Even the strong guarantees in the constitution of the Baltimore guild do not remove suspicion from the minds of some members of the guild, although both there and in Boston those employees who have been most active in the organization are convinced of the good faith of the employers. Supported by the declarations of the employers in establishing them, these organizations give much strength to the employees, but they can not secure fearless independent action by workers when aggressive employee leadership is lacking or in plants where protection is most needed. When, as in Boston and in the New York bookbinders' plan, the employment bureau is handled by the employers, the possibility that a man may be penalized for his activities by being refused employment, whether or not such policy is used, affects the psychology of the employees. This danger is avoided by the operation of the employment bureau jointly as is the case in Baltimore. All these plans, however, make possible a considerable protection of the individual worker if there is sufficient aggressive employee leadership to use it.

The situation under union contracts contrasts with this in that the workers have support from the outside. In New York, if a difficulty is not straightened out in the plant, appeal to the union brings the matter before the union and the Printers' League jointly for action. The worker is protected against discrimination and assured that he

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will be accorded the conditions agreed upon by the two organizations. The complaint cases handled by the league and the unions from 1924 to 1928 are evidence of greater activity in support of individuals than under the open-shop plans. Whether or not the individual worker is aggressive, his complaint is actively supported by the union officers. It is through such activity, fundamentally, that the unions enforce standard practice in the industry. There is a possibility, however, under this system of strong outside support, that individuals may be unduly protected at the expense of other individuals or of the industry. For example, the priority law as enforced by New York Typographical Union No. 6 protects the less-efficient man at the expense of the more efficient.

A second type of protection afforded by industrial relations organizations is through insurance or pensions. The open-shop plans put much emphasis on group insurance paying sickness and death benefits, of which the cost is borne in whole or in part by the employers. To a great many employees insurance is the chief feature of these plans and the one which holds their interest and support. While under these plans an employee may shift to other plants within the group without losing his insurance, so few plants are included that he is considerably limited in his field of employment. Union members, on the other hand, receive certain benefits to which the employers contribute only as the costs are paid out of wages, and which are entirely controlled by the union. These vary for each international and local union, but include pensions, rights to care in the hospitals and homes maintained by the international unions, in some cases unemployment benefits, and in a few cases group insurance arranged by local unions through insurance companies. As under the open-shop plans, the worker loses his insurance or other benefits if he leaves the field of employment; that is, in this case gives up his union membership; but the field of employment is much broader than under the open-shop plans. The competition of the open-shop plans and the unions for employee interest is in part competition of these financial benefits.

Finally it may be asked to what extent the various organizations protect the independence of the workers. The open-shop worker is more dependent upon the employer than is the union man, for his opportunity for employment is limited to those plants which have joined in the plan, while the union member may accept employment in any union plant in the country without losing his union benefits. On the other hand, when a union enforces such a law as the priority law it seriously restricts the freedom of its members, for the man with long priority standing in one plant can not afford to give it up and go to the foot of the list in a new plant, whatever the opportunities offered there. Again there is a contrast in the tendencies as to regularity of work. Union policy is for wage rates as high as possible, men to be employed and paid only when there is work, with the exception in New York that they must be paid for a full day when called to work. Because the unions act as a central clearing house for the supply of skilled labor, union plants follow a general policy of laying off when work is slack, and if the old employees are not available when needed, of securing new men from union head-

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quarters. While some union rules limit the freedom of the plant in lay offs, and many union plants hold over their more competent employees during slack periods, there is still a marked tendency to lay men off as work is slack. Open shops do not usually have so easily available a supply of skilled labor, and therefore tend to hold their competent workers by not laying them off so promptly when work is slack. In Baltimore the guild requires a week's notice of discharge or lay off, while in Boston at one time when a wage increase was refused the employers promised to make every effort to give full-time employment, and in some cases men were kept on the pay roll in spite of very slack work. While plants of both groups vary in their policy and practice because of peculiar conditions, the tendency is distinct for fewer lay offs in open shops, and in union plants higher wage rates which are paid only for the time when work is available. The union worker therefore tends to be less closely tied than is the open shop worker to the plant in which he has employment. No accurate data are available as to relative financial advantages to the workers of these two systems of employment. The open-shop worker, however, is more dependent upon his employer than is the union man, although within the limits of that dependence he may have more security and regularity of income. The union member, on the other hand, because he has the support of his union, is less dependent upon his employer.

Cooperation for Efficiency, Waste Elimination, and Production

Under the open-shop organizations, general rules establish standards of wages, hours, holidays, and overtime rates. Other shop conditions are generally a matter for the individual plant to determine. Under a flexible system without restrictions the plant is therefore free to organize its production in the most efficient manner possible, and to experiment so far as it wishes. Under the union contracts which establish a large number of rules, a plant is less free. While many of the rules establish standard conditions to the advantage of the industry, some of the standards are restrictive. The lines of jurisdiction between the unions prevent a mobility of labor within the plant which would often be advantageous and which to some degree the open shops maintain. The number of men on a machine can not be determined by the closed-shop employer, based upon the need for efficient operation, but is determined by agreement between the union and the organized employers, and in some cases is the result of the power of the union to maintain a certain number of jobs rather than of a joint decision as to the needs of the industry. Again the priority and overtime laws are a hindrance to the most efficient organization of the composing room. To whatever extent such disadvantages may be counterbalanced by other advantages, the union plant is less free than is the open shop to experiment for the most efficient organization of production.

Aside from the effects of the specific rules there are the less tangible relationships and attitudes favorable or antagonistic to cooperation. The open shop organizations are based upon a theory of cooperation, attempting to eliminate conflicts and emphasize the

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common interests of employers and employees. In estimating the success of these organizations it is important to remember that in none of their jurisdictions has business been sufficiently active since 1922 to be favorable to aggressive demands from labor. This condition, as well as the cooperative organization, has contributed to the peaceful period since that date. In both Boston and Baltimore, however, the employers have been able to convince those employees who have been actively associated with them in the joint organization, of their good faith. The mutual confidence and good will thus attained have been conducive to cooperation in the plants. Nevertheless in many plants where the employers have had little interest in the organization there is no evidence of such favorable results, and employees are uninterested or actively suspicious. Neither in Boston nor in Baltimore has the cooperative organization made a significant joint attack upon any large problems affecting production or efficiency. In Baltimore the attempt to work out a system of wages based upon production has had little effect. The record of these organizations as to constructive programs has not been impressive. In promoting friendly relationships, these organizations have the disadvantage of being in competition with the traditional form of employee organization in the industry, and needing to overcome a natural strong suspicion from the employees of the employers' motives. In so far as the employers have been able to convince the workers of their good faith, as they have in some plants and among some of the employee leaders, the plans have succeeded in promoting cooperation.

In the New York industry, the fact that the unions are frankly recognized by the Printers' League and that both groups are strongly organized and meet on an equality contributes to a feeling of mutual respect and a friendly relationship. Certain union leaders have shown decided interest in the problems of efficiency in the industry, have made suggestions to plants, and have supported managements in questions of discipline and efforts to increase production. On joint conference committees many questions are decided in the light of the practical needs of the industry, as well as in accord with the desire of union leaders to protect the interests of their members. The programs of apprentice training are outstanding examples of cooperation of the unions and the league in constructive action for the good of the industry. There is evidence of a growing appreciation of both groups of their common interests in the industry. On the other hand, old ghosts rise to interfere with efficiency and production when uneconomic conditions are enforced in the name of union rules.

An important example of union-employer cooperation on problems of production is the work, in Great Britain, of the betterment committee of the joint industrial council of the printing industry. This committee for two years, since 1926, has discussed fundamental problems affecting the efficiency and welfare of the industry. Its first report put the seal of approval of both groups on the fact of a common interest in efficient methods. While the committee has no power, and its recommendations must be put into effect by the local groups, agreement of the leaders in the industry upon such policies must have an influence upon the attitudes of the rank and file.

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Cooperation or noncooperation in efficiency and production is finally a matter of relationships within the plants, howsoever such relationships are affected by union attitudes, open-shop joint organization for cooperation, or such national joint efforts as those of the British betterment committee. The open-shop councils lay great stress upon the development of good relationships within the plant, since conditions are less regulated from outside. The shop committees of the various sorts recommended to establish regular channels of communication between the management and the workers and secure the prompt elimination of grievances are successful in promoting good will within the plant when they are kept alive and functioning. In many plants under the Boston and the Baltimore plans, however, the committees are not actively encouraged by the interest of the employer and they cease to function. The plan of the New York bookbinders provides for regular meeting of the shop committee of each plant, under the chairmanship of the general industrial relations manager, and thus tries to prevent loss of interest in any plant. Plant organization which is used whenever there is need is an essential part of the open-shop joint organizations. These organizations are successful in promoting cooperation in production in those plants where the workers feel that their interests are protected and where they have confidence in the employers. In other plants the organization does nothing to improve the relationship.

In each union plant the unions have their chapels, which are devoted to the protection of union interests in the plant, and not to plant problems. The union emphasis in the relationships with the employers is entirely on the making of agreements to standardize conditions, and not on organizing to encourage good relationships within the plants. For this reason some union employing printers consider the unions a barrier to friendly relationships in the plant, and union loyalty a hindrance to plant loyalty. Many other union employers, however, deny any such barrier. The Nation Press in New York was able to make an extensive experiment with an organization for the joint control of production, without conflict with the unions, and other New York plants have in operation committees to act upon certain limited subjects, or conferences of foremen and subforemen on plant problems. Many other plants testify to the cooperation and loyalty of their union employees, although there is some evidence that the priority law protects men to such an extent that some of them under it do not feel their responsibility to the plant. The open-shop organizations nevertheless have an advantage in their emphasis upon promoting good relationships within the plants. Not all plants included in these organizations, however, have such cooperative relationships. On the other hand, union plants are not prevented from developing good will and cooperation within the plant. These things are primarily a matter of the personalities and qualities of leadership on the part of the management, whatever the system of organization.

Promotion of Craftsmanship by Apprentice Training

Apprentice training has not been the subject of such far-reaching cooperation of employers and employees in the open-shop joint organizations as it has by the unions and employing printers in a

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number of cities. In Boston the employers cooperate with a school of printing and take boys into their plants when they have completed a 1-year course. There is no joint regulation of training or of apprentice wages through the Graphic Arts Industrial Federation, however, and it is therefore possible for difference of opinion to arise in a plant as to whether a man is a journeyman and entitled to the scale. In Baltimore, also, the employers cooperate in maintaining a school of printing, to which some plants send boys on a half-time basis. But it was not until 1926 that the American Guild established a wage scale for composing-room apprentices and some supervision over apprentice training. In 1928 a wage scale for other apprentices is being considered. The General Council of the New York Bookbinders also has established apprentice wage scales, a ratio of apprentices to journeymen, and a period for apprenticeship.

Much more extensive control of apprenticeship, to insure a supply of broadly trained and thoroughly competent workmen, has been established by cooperation of the unions and the closed-shop employing printers in Chicago and in New York. In Chicago a joint apprentice committee representing the typographical union and the Franklin Association, the association of union employing printers, has full control of apprenticeship, approves an apprentice before he is registered, determines the character of work required to be taught in each year, establishes apprentice scales, and passes upon the qualifications of each apprentice before he receives his journeyman's card. In New York the cooperative control of apprenticeship goes further in the establishment of schools jointly controlled and supported by the Printers' League and the unions, in the case of the machine training school and the school for printing pressmen in cooperation with the board of education. A recognition of the interest of both groups in the well-rounded craftsmanship of workers in the industry leads to the establishment of standards of training and of accomplishment which must be met by each apprentice. The power of both groups is directed to enforcing these agreed-upon standards upon the industry, and every union employer must comply and send his apprentices to the schools.

In Great Britain an apprenticeship program is being strongly advocated by the joint industrial council and is having an educational effect upon the industry. Joint apprentice committees have been set up in a number of localities as a result, and facilities for technical training are being increased. Compulsion is avoided, however, and the joint efforts are chiefly directed to encouraging the establishment of classes and urging employers to send their apprentices to these classes.

Education of Both Groups in the Industry

A fundamental result of joint industrial organizations is to affect the attitudes and behavior of employers and employees by informing them of policies and programs and arousing their interest in the problems of the industry. This result is inevitable when a joint organization is playing a vital part in the industry. The open-shop organizations which have been studied cover only a narrow field, because they have not secured a wide interest and support from employing printers. These organizations therefore can not influence

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behavior in the industry as they would if they had more support. In these organizations, moreover, there is no pressure from the employees to force interest on the part of the employers or to extend the organization. The lack of leadership and initiative on the part of the employees is regretted both by interested employers and by the few employees who have come to the front as leaders under these plans. The organizations do not exert the vital influence on the industry which they could if the employees would make use of the facilities. Although the central councils serve a useful purpose in bringing the representatives of the two groups together for consultation, there is no assurance that the results of the deliberations of these representatives reach back to affect the rank and file. In Boston the regular meeting of representatives of workers from all the plants is very helpful in maintaining interest among these representatives, but they do not always keep up an active interest among the workers whom they represent, and means of publicity are not sufficiently active to insure that all workers in federation plants know about the organization and its purposes.

In Baltimore the periodical of the guild and the meetings of all members in the chapter have helped to maintain interest and knowledge of the activities of the guild. But so few plants are included that the guild can not arouse great interest or respect even in Baltimore. Under these plans there is no momentum which sweeps the industry into the organization and gives force to its policies and programs, either by an original interest of the employers or by pressure exerted by the demands of labor.

Under such a relationship as that between the unions and the Printers' League of New York the power of the unions to enforce their rules injects a substantial element of vitality into the relationship. Probably a large proportion of the members of the league are in the organization not because of a philosophy of cooperation, but because the power of the unions makes it necessary for them to run union shops, and under that condition it is advantageous for them to cooperate with the other employing printers in dealing with the unions. The joint machinery set up then has a very vital effect upon the industry. Employers and unions, each acting to protect their own interests, must reach decisions and in so doing to some degree coordinate their interests. Joint decisions of general interest are widely published and become the law of the industry, enforced by union power. Adherence of the employers to the established opinion of the industry is thus secured. Through the joint machinery of interpretation and enforcement, moreover, the league and the unions have a continuous organ of education which reaches both employers and employees. The character of union leadership greatly affects the relationship, since union power is so vital a factor in the situation. In spite of certain political aspects of union leadership, however, the aggressive independent action of the leaders of the unions furnishes a vitality and power to the joint organization of industrial relations with the closed shop employing printers which is absent from the open-shop cooperative organizations.

An agency of education of much more far-reaching influence than any in the printing industry in America is the joint industrial council of the printing and allied trades in Great Britain. This

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council of 72 representatives of the unions and the employers from all parts of Great Britain, while without power to enforce decisions, has the moral authority of the public opinion of the industry and is receiving increasing recognition. While the national agreements are made between the individual unions and the national federation of employing printers, the council as an agency of conciliation has a considerable effect in securing peaceful adjustments and assuring that disputes are settled through constitutional means, discouraging resort to force. On other broad questions, such as health, apprentice training, and the interest of both employers and employees in efficiency and production, the council makes recommendations based upon the experience of the entire industry, and through a long slow process of education it is influencing attitudes and practices throughout the industry.

Summary

The chief points of strength and weakness which have appeared in the experience of the various types of organization for the joint control of industrial relations in the book and job printing industry may be summarized, basing these generalizations chiefly upon the experience of the American Guild of the Printing Industry in Baltimore, the Graphic Arts Industrial Federation of Boston, and the relationship between the printing-trade unions and the Printers' League in New York. The open-shop joint councils have a source of strength in that they are favorable to cooperation, since they are organized for that purpose rather than that of conflict, and accordingly emphasize the common interests of the two groups, although the differences of interest are recognized and dealt with through the established machinery. They are favorable also to satisfactory relationships within the plants because of their emphasis on shop committees to handle grievances and eliminate hindrances to good will and cooperation. They are able to hold the interest of employees by group insurance and by paying to the skilled employees at least as much as union rates. Perhaps the chief source of strength of these plans is the personal confidence of those employees who have been active in the organizations, in the integrity and good faith of the leading employers, whether or not the plan specifically provides guaranties to employees of freedom from discrimination and provides for reference of differences ultimately to arbitration.

The chief weakness of these open-shop organizations is the narrow territory covered, as the result of lack of interest of employing printers. The organizations are therefore unable to affect standards widely and follow the union standards for the most skilled workers, while the open-shop scales, whether they are considered minimum scales or "normal scales," are not objectively defined and can not be universally enforced even within the organization. In addition to the lack of continuous interest and support from the employers, there has been evident a striking lack of employee interest. Employees in these organizations with no outside support have shown no such vital, aggressive, and independent interest as would have forced more active interest on the part of employers. The organizations have therefore not grown and have not called forth enough aggressive leadership among the employees to make the fullest pos-

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sible use of the organization for the interests of the workers. These organizations are at a disadvantage in having to compete for employee interest with the trade-unions which are the traditional form of organization in the industry. They attempt to substitute for the unions which developed from a momentum by the employees a new type of organization based upon a conscious theory and receiving its impetus from the employers. The employers have not been sufficiently interested to overcome this inherent disadvantage and establish a broad organization which could then appeal more successfully for employee interest. Since these organizations depend for their success fundamentally upon the active interest and consent of the employers they have developed no power to enforce widely their standards and policies. Nevertheless, within these organizations individual employers who are fair-minded and far-sighted make use of them to promote good relationships and secure cooperation within their plants.

In the New York printing industry the present relationship between the unions and the Printers' League is materially strengthened in that it is the culmination of joint dealing based on frank recognition over a period of more than 20 years, during which time machinery has developed from the needs of the industry. Because both groups are strongly organized and possessed of considerable economic power, their relationship is characterized by a real vitality. The agreed-upon standards of wages, hours, and conditions are to a large degree enforced in the local market, thus establishing in large sections of the industry an equality of labor costs as a basis for competition. The joint machinery gives to the individual worker a substantial measure of protection against discrimination or other grievances from failure of a firm to observe the agreed-upon conditions. A relationship which is on the whole friendly between the unions and the league makes possible constructive cooperation when a common interest is seen. Particularly in the field of apprenticeship, because of the recognition of common interest in craftsmanship it has been possible to agree upon standards of training, establish apprentice schools under joint control and support, and generally enforce training requirements which must in time materially affect the level of craftsmanship in the industry.

On the other hand, there are several disadvantages in a relationship based upon strong organization of both groups. Since both the unions and the employing printers are organized separately, chiefly to protect their own interests in opposition to the other group, a fundamental antagonism exists which needs to be overcome before cooperation is possible. Moreover, this type of organization does not emphasize good shop relationships and does not therefore directly try to educate employers in methods of industrial relations within their plants, although the fact of union organization does not appear a barrier to satisfactory relations between the men and the management.

The standardization by union rules is something of a hindrance to efficiency in that the plant is restricted in its freedom to organize its production on the basis of experiment and its own experience. It is possible for very strong unions, moreover, to make unreasonable use of their power and enforce rules which are to the disadvantage of the

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industry and therefore ultimately of the employees themselves. Another serious weakness is in the local character of the standards enforced, although the widening competition in the industry makes differences between localities in hours, complement of men on machines, and wages a disadvantage to the employers in those cities where the unions are very strong. Finally, the fact that the unions are organized on a craft basis results in a lack of unity of action between the various unions, to the detriment of their interests, and although the strength of the chief unions affects the wage scales of the others who are less strong, this power is not used to help enforce standards for groups which find organization difficult to maintain.

In contrast to the union relationships in America are certain outstanding points of the relationships between the printing-trade unions and the employing printers in Great Britain. The fact that to a very large extent standards are made on a national basis and generally enforced removes one of the difficulties of the America situation. Meanwhile the national joint industrial council as an organ of education and public opinion in the industry is able to exert a considerable influence upon attitudes and actions of both groups in the industry.

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Appendix B.—Constitution of American Guild of the Printing Industry [1]

PREAMBLE

We, individuals engaged in the printing and allied industries, believe that at least three elements enter into successful industrial enterprise; namely, cooperation, justice, and service.

Cooperation is a necessity: In order to eliminate the vast wastage which occurs where it is wanting, and in order to increase to the highest possible degree the output of industry, with the object in view that all who are engaged therein may derive additional reward and benefit.

Justice is a necessity: In order to assure to every individual who makes a contribution of skill or effort to an industry a full protection in all of his rights, among which is the right to a reasonable standard of living. Without justice, cooperation is impaired or broken down and the rewards of industry lessened.

Service is a necessity: Not only in order to fill a genuine demand on the part of the public, but also to make certain the self-respect which is derived only from doing something really useful and worth while.

We believe, further, that those actually engaged in an industry are best suited to solve its problems; that prosperity and security can be assured in greater measure to both employers and employees when mutual distrust is replaced by mutual understanding; that there is a wide field in which the interests of employer and employee are closely identified; and that by association and joint conference on industrial problems, greater material welfare can and will accrue to every party to the association.

Such association presupposes certain ideals of frank discussion, of square dealing, of willingness to give and take for the benefit of the greatest number; and we believe that such ideals can be carried out most successfully when bound up with practical matters of compensation and sound economic business administration.

We, therefore, in order to achieve a more nearly perfect industrial cooperation, in order to give more nearly perfect protection to the human beings engaged in the business of production, and in order to render to the general public a more nearly perfect service, do associate ourselves together and enact the following constitution.

CONSTITUTION

Article I.—*Name and jurisdiction*

1. *Name.*—The name of this association shall be the American Guild of the Printing Industry.

2. *Jurisdiction.*—Its jurisdiction shall embrace all of the United States of America. For administration purposes this territory shall be divided into districts and chapters as may be provided. But nothing in this or in any other section of this constitution shall be construed as preventing the organization of branches of the guild in countries other than the United States of America.

Article II.—*Objects*

The objects of the association shall be:

1. *Joint association.*—To provide an association in which both employer and employee are eligible for membership and may meet on common ground.

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2. *Cooperation.*—To create a better understanding and to promote a closer cooperation between employer and employee.

3. *Personal relationship.*—To foster personal relationship between employer and employee.

4. *Adjustment.*—To provide means for the friendly and equitable adjustment of all differences which may arise between employer and employee.

5. *Compensation.*—To insure to the worker compensation which will be commensurate with the American standard of living and with the worker's individual skill and efficiency; and to the management and the public, a maximum degree of efficiency.

6. *Joint conference.*—To provide means for joint conference between management and workers as touching wages, hours, and working conditions; and to standardize these matters as far as possible.

7. *Insurance.*—To provide insurance for the members in the matters of death benefit, health, accident, and total disability indemnity; and, when feasible, old-age pensions and insurance against enforced idleness by reason of involuntary unemployment.

8. *Education.*—To foster and encourage among its members knowledge of printing as an art and as an industry; to provide methods of informing its members in matters of trade interest; and to provide means for the vocational education of apprentices and others.

9. *Public welfare.*—To create a community spirit by the promotion of matters pertaining to the public welfare.

10. *Loyalty.*—To promote loyalty to the laws and Government of the United States of America and to the principles on which this Government is founded.

Article III.—*Membership*

1. *Eligibility.*—Membership in the guild shall be restricted to white individuals who are and concerns which are engaged in the printing and allied industries. Any individual so engaged in the mechanical, clerical, or any other department, from chief executive to apprentice, may be an applicant for membership.

2. *Citizenship.*—Members shall be citizens of the United States of America, or shall have legally declared their intention to become citizens. But nothing in this section shall be construed to bar applicants who are not full citizens only because they are less than 21 years of age.

3. *Other association no bar.*—Membership in any other organization shall not be considered a bar to membership in the guild, provided the constitution of such organization is in consonance with the laws of the United States.

4. *Active members.*—Active membership shall be of two sorts: Individual membership applying to persons, and company membership applying to employing concerns. Company members shall be represented on governing boards and committees thereof by one of their chief officials. A concern desiring company membership shall not be admitted thereto until at least 51 per cent of its employees shall signify intent to become individual members. Any eligible individual may be an active member, even though the concern by which he is employed be not a member. Such member shall pay in addition to regular dues, an amount equivalent to that normally paid by the employing concern for insurance purposes. Such dues shall keep the member fully protected under the insurance regulations of the guild.

5. *Associate members.*—It shall be lawful for any eligible concern to pay dues to the association even though there be no members in its plant; and any concern so paying dues shall be known as an associate company member. Likewise any eligible individual may pay dues to the guild as an associate individual member. Associate membership shall not carry with it the right of representation on any board or in any chapter or convention, and the conformity of the associate member to regulations shall be voluntary. Associate membership may be cancelled at any time at the option of the associate member or of the chapter board.

6. *Pledge.*—Every individual member shall, in making application for membership, subscribe to the following pledge:

"I hereby make application for membership in the American Guild of the Printing Industry, and in so doing affirm that I am a citizen of the United States [or have legally declared my intention to become a citizen of the United States].

"In consideration of the benefits to be gained by membership, I pledge myself to conform to all rules and regulations set forth by the guild, and to pay

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promptly all dues which may be levied by the guild upon me; also, in case of any violations of the regulations of the guild by me, I agree to the penalty imposed, when imposed by the proper authority and according to constitutional method.

"I further pledge my active personal support to the guild, that I will exhaust every means provided by the guild for the adjustment of differences between its members, before employing any other means; that so far as I may be able I will assist in increasing the guild's membership, and endeavor to promote a closer industrial cooperation and a closer personal relationship between employer and employee, and to build up the efficiency of the industry.

"And I declare and pledge my allegiance to the United States of America, its laws and government."

7. *Company pledge.*—Every company member shall also subscribe to this pledge, with the necessary change of personal pronoun, and a statement that the company is owned and operated by citizens of the United States. The pledge of the company member shall also include the following paragraph:

"We further agree that our membership shall be effective for three calendar years following the date of our application, and shall be automatically renewable at the end of each three years, unless we shall give notice of withdrawal at least 90 days prior to the expiration of any three-year period."

8. *Review of applications.*—Application for either individual or company membership shall be reviewed by the chapter board and rejected or approved by it. It shall require a majority vote of all the members of the board to approve a membership application. Membership may also be revoked by the chapter board for cause. In case the membership of a company member is revoked, individual members in that plant shall be protected in their insurance and membership rights by the guild for a period of 90 days, in order that members may have opportunity to seek employment with a guild member.

9. *Withdrawal.*—In case a member who is in good standing (which shall mean that all of his dues, or penalties if any, are paid to date, that no charges are pending against him, and that he is not under suspension) leaves the industry temporarily, he may ask for and receive a withdrawal card. The holder of a withdrawal card is entitled to resume active membership without repayment of initiatory fee, but during the period of withdrawal the member shall not be entitled to a voice or vote in the councils of the guild. A withdrawn member shall not be required to pay dues, but may do so as an associate member. If a withdrawn member desires to keep his insurance coverage in force he shall pay regular dues plus the sum normally paid by the employer for insurance purposes. An individual member in good standing may resign membership by giving seven days' notice to the chapel secretary.

10. *Company withdrawal.*—A company member may withdraw from the association by giving 90 days' notice prior to the expiration of any three-year period for which the concern may be a member. Withdrawal may occur only when no charges are pending and when all dues, or penalties if any, are paid to date. During the 90-day period, the company member shall conform to all regulations, enjoy all the privileges, and accept all the responsibilities of membership. Should charges be filed during such period, or the member become delinquent in dues, the withdrawal shall be held in suspension until such time as good standing is restored.

11. *Sale of business.*—In case a company member sells or otherwise disposes of its business, it shall be the duty of the company member fully to inform the prospective purchaser of the privileges and responsibilities of membership in the guild, and endeavor to persuade the new owner to continue such membership. If, however, the new owner declines to become a member, at least 30 days' notice of such change in ownership shall be given both to the employees of the concern, and to the headquarters office of the chapter. If the sale be consummated and the property turned over before the expiration of the 30-day period, the new owner shall conform to the regulations of the guild (but shall not be required to pay dues) until the employees shall have had the full 30 days' notice of such change; and individual members in the plant shall be protected in their insurance and membership rights by the guild for a period of 90 days after the first notice of change of ownership, in order that such members may have opportunity to seek employment with a guild company member. Company members shall exercise care to see that sale is made subject to this understanding. In case the new owner retains membership, such intention shall be signified by subscribing to the company member pledge.

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12. *Preference.*—It shall be the policy of the guild that a company member should not discriminate in favor of or against any applicant for employment by reason of membership or nonmembership in any organization, except such as are outlawed by the laws of the United States. Company members shall give preference to guild members, whenever such are available, in engaging new employees; also in the retention of old employees, or in promotions made in the plant. Similarly, an individual member shall give preference to company members in seeking employment.

13. *Transfer.*—A member upon entering or leaving a chapter shall report his name to the executive manager, stating his place of last membership, if entering, or stating where he intends to seek employment, if leaving. On leaving, the member shall request and be furnished with a traveling-card which he shall present on entering a new chapter. Members taking up work in a chapter other than the one in which they were originally enrolled, automatically become members of the new chapter. It shall be the duty of the executive manager to advise the executive manager of the chapter to which the member may remove of the circumstance of such removal. Members may notify the executive manager of intended transfer through the medium of the chapel secretary, and may employ the same medium in entering a new chapter.

14. *Unemployed members protected.*—In case a guild member finds himself without employment and unable to secure it, the guild shall protect such member in his insurance and membership rights, by the payment of all premiums, for a period of 90 days, and waiver of dues in like period, in order that the member may have opportunity to find employment. Under special circumstances the chapter board, with the advice and consent of the board of trustees of the insurance fund, may continue such protection for a member or for a group of members, beyond such 90-day period. No extension of the period shall be made in any case or cases, without the express and formal approval of the board; nor shall any action of the board relating to this matter be regarded as precedent for subsequent action.

15. *Rights of members.*—Among the rights of every member, the following are included:

(*a*) The right of participating in the deliberations of the chapter of which he may be a member.

(*b*) The right of participating in collective bargaining between employer and employee according to the methods provided by the guild.

(*c*) The right of individual bargaining.

(*d*) The right of making complaint or suggestion through the conference committee.

(*e*) The right of initiating matters of concern to the guild or to the industry through his representatives on committees and boards.

(*f*) The right of appeal in case of disagreement between employer and employee.

Among the rights of the individual member the following are included:

(*a*) The right of developing his own skill and earning capacity to the highest degree.

(*b*) The right of freedom from discrimination and danger of discharge in making use of the machinery of the guild.

(*c*) The right of at least one week's notice of discharge, except in case of transient or emergency employees.

Among the rights of the company member the following are included:

(*a*) The right of freedom in directing the work of the plant, and in developing plant organization to the highest degree of efficiency.

(*b*) The right of engaging new employees, and of discharging employees for cause.

(*c*) The right of at least one week's notice of the resignation of an employee, except in case of transient or emergency employees.

ARTICLE IV.—*Dues*

1. *Initiatory.*—Individual members shall, on application for membership, pay an initiation fee of $1 to the general fund of the association. In case of rejection of the application, the fee will be returned to the applicant.

2. *Individual dues.*—Dues shall be paid by individual members in a weekly sum sufficient to cover administration expense and the cost of insurance coverage, such sum to be fixed by the chapter board.

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3. *Company initiatory.*—Company members shall on application for membership pay an initiation fee in a sum equivalent to $1 for each member employed by the concern. In case of rejection the fee will be returned to the applicant.

4. *Company dues.*—Dues shall be paid by company members in a sum equal to the aggregate amount of dues paid by all members in the employ of the company for the week for which dues are paid.

5. *Associate member dues.*—Dues of an associate member as defined in Article III, section 5, shall be such as agreed upon between the associate member and the chapter officers or chapter board; but shall not be less than $5 monthly for a company associate member, and not less than $1 monthly for an individual associate member.

6. *Delinquents.*—If an individual member shall become delinquent in dues for a period of four weeks, he shall be automatically suspended, and all rights and privileges of membership shall be in abeyance, until he shall be reinstated, which may be only when he has made good his delinquency. Should such delinquency be extended to three months, the member shall be dropped from membership; he may not again become a member until the delinquency shall be paid in full. If a company member shall be delinquent, the executive manager may, after 60 days of such delinquency, on advice and consent of the chapter board, proceed to legal means of collection. In such case the costs of legal action and interest on the deferred payment at 6 per cent per annum shall be added to the dues, and this provision is specifically agreed to by every signatory of an application for company membership. In case of repeated delinquency, the chapter board may expel any member, in which case due publicity shall be given to the expulsion and the cause for the same, and every company member and every chapel secretary shall be notified of the fact in writing.

Article V.—*The chapel*

1. *Definition.*—The group of members in the plant of any company member, being the employees of one concern, shall be known as the chapel.

2. *Conference committee.*—In each chapel there shall be elected by secret ballot a representative from each department or group of workers, each representative to be elected by those of his own group; such representatives shall be known collectively as the conference committee. One member shall be elected by the chapel as chairman, and one as secretary. The conference committee shall be composed wholly of employees, and shall have not fewer than three members, except in the case of plants employing fewer than that number.

3. *Eligibility.*—Members of the conference committee shall have been employed by the company for at least three months. Plant executives or office staff shall not be eligible for election; but there may be a separate committee for the office staff where it may be deemed desirable. Committee members shall hold office for six months or until their successors are elected.

4. *Duties of conference committee.*—It shall be the duty of the conference committee to review all complaints or suggestions made by workers in the plant and pertaining to the plant. If deemed necessary by 50 per cent of the committee, any complaint or suggestion may be laid before the management; but no conference with the management, as such, shall be held unless at least a majority of the members of the committee are present. The committee is the spokesman for the members in the plant, and not a board of arbitration. Management and conference committee in session together constitute a consultation board for matters pertaining to the chapel or to the plant.

5. *Duties of officers.*—The duties of the chapel chairman and secretary shall be such as usually pertain to such offices. The chapel secretary in the plant is the representative of the executive manager, and it is his duty to make record of all members in the plant, to enroll new members, to collect dues, to make reports, distribute literature sent for that purpose from the headquarters office of the chapter, and perform such other duties as may be specified from time to time. He may receive compensation for his services in amount fixed by the chapter board, and the headquarters office of the chapter shall furnish him with necessary supplies for the conduct of his office.

6. *No discrimination.*—No conference committeeman shall be subject to discrimination by the management by reason of any activity on behalf of the guild.

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7. *Meetings.*—Meetings of the conference committee shall be held as need may require. Chapel meetings may be held as frequently as desired; but the chapel shall meet at least every six months for the election of officers and committeemen.

ARTICLE VI.—*The chapter*

1. *Definition.*—Members residing and working in a city and its environs shall constitute a chapter.

2. *Meetings.*—Stated meetings of the chapter shall be held periodically according to resolution thereof; but the chapter shall meet at least in one annual session for the election of the chapter boards. Such meetings shall be participated in by both employers and employees sitting in one chamber, but the right of either group to caucus without the other shall not be called in question. A quorum for the transaction of business shall consist of one-tenth of the employee members, and one-tenth of the employer members.

3. *Function of the chapter.*—The chapter shall initiate and pass on matters of local concern. Important action shall not be deemed final unless it is agreed to by a majority of the employer members present and voting, and a majority of the employee members present and voting; but a majority of either group may make formal recommendation to the chapter board.

4. *The chapter board.*—The governing body of the chapter shall be the chapter board, which shall consist of six employer members and six employee members elected by the chapter at the annual meeting thereof, by secret ballot. Members shall hold office for one year or until their successors are elected. Employee members of the chapter in separate session shall choose employee members of the board; and employer members shall likewise choose employer members of the board. Two alternates for each group shall be chosen at the same time. Vacancies in the chapter board shall be filled at the next regular meeting of the chapter, employees filling employee vacancies and employers filling employer vacancies. Temporary vacancies may be filled by the board itself, in like manner.

5. *Chapter officers.*—Chapter officers shall be elected by the chapter board, which shall also fix their salaries. They shall be a chairman of the board and an executive manager. The chairman of the board shall preside at all board and chapter meetings, and shall be neither employer nor employee in the printing or allied industries. The executive manager shall devote his entire time to his office, and shall be a man of suitable ability, preferably with a practical knowledge of the industry, but shall not in any way be interested in the industry either as employer or employee. He may employ clerical and other help to assist him in the discharge of his office. He shall be the chief executive officer of the chapter, and shall be responsible only to the board. The chapter board shall also elect a member of the chapter to serve as treasurer, his duties to be such as usually appertain to such office.

6. *Duties of chapter board.*—It shall be the duty of the chapter board to pass finally on all matters arising within and pertaining to the chapter; to review and decide appeals from conference committees; to draw up by-laws for the guidance of the chapter; to decide all questions of wages, hours, and working conditions; to fix wage and hour levels for the chapter; to give attention to matters of safety, health, and education; to promote the interests of the guild and the objects for which it is established.

7. *Meetings of the chapter board.*—The chapter board shall hold regular meetings according to its own resolution, the chairman of the board being the presiding officer. Special meetings may be called on request of 50 per cent of the employer members and 50 per cent of the employee members, or 100 per cent of either group. A quorum for the transaction of business shall consist of four employer and four employee members. Sessions shall be open to any member of the chapter in good standing, but the board may resolve to go into executive session and exclude all but its own members. It shall be the privilege of any member of the board to ask for a secret ballot on any motion.

8. *Tie vote.*—In any matter which shall come before it, the chapter board shall exhaust every honorable means to arrive at a just decision. In case of a tie vote on any motion the board shall go into committee of the whole and endeavor to frame a form of motion which can secure majority assent. In case this and all other means of breaking the tie shall fail the matter shall be referred to the chapter board of appeal.

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9. *Chapter board of appeal.*—The chapter board of appeal shall be chosen in the following manner: At the annual session of the chapter employee members shall elect five of their number to sit on the chapter board of appeal and the employer members shall likewise elect five of their number for like purpose. None of the 10 shall be a member or alternate of the chapter board. The 10 so elected shall forthwith agree upon and elect five other members of the chapter board of appeal who shall be neither employers nor employees in the printing or allied industries, and who shall be representatives of the general public. No member of the public group shall be elected unless agreed to by at least three employee and three employer members. The names of the public group shall be announced before the annual session of the chapter shall have adjourned, or as soon thereafter as possible. When a matter is referred for appeal or review three of each group shall be selected by lot to constitute a chapter board of appeal, such selection being made in the presence of the chapter board.

10. *Decision binding.*—The chapter board of appeal shall proceed to a review of the case according to such rules as may be established. A decision in writing shall be rendered, signed by all or a majority of the board, and such decision shall be final and binding on all members of the chapter.

11. *Expenses.*—Expenses which may be incident to the meeting of the chapter board of appeal shall be borne by the chapter.

12. *Promulgations.*—Important decisions of either chapter board or chapter board of appeal shall be promulgated by a bulletin or bulletins, bearing the names of the board and signifying approval. Such bulletins shall be distributed by the executive manager at least to every chapel, and to every company member, and all members shall govern themselves accordingly.

Article VII.—*District and national organization*

1. *District and national boards.*—When two or more chapters shall be organized and functioning, they may proceed to form a district organization by the calling of a convention of delegates from each chapter for that purpose, one of the acts of which shall be the election of a district board to function in behalf of the district in a manner similar to that in which the chapter board functions for the chapter. When the total number of chapters shall justify, a national organization may be formed by the election of representatives of each district to a national council.

Article VIII.—*Wages, hours, conditions*

1. *Standards.*—The chapter board shall fix a normal wage and a standard work-week for the chapter, and may set forth principles of wage payment and matters pertaining thereunto. A normal wage is defined for the purpose of this constitution as one which can be earned by the average skill in the number of hours set as the work-week.

2. *Classification and rating.*—More than the normal wage may be paid to more skilled and efficient employees, and less may be paid to those not capable of earning the normal wage. The question of skill and efficiency may become one of adjustment between management and conference committee, with appeal to the chapter board or to a committee appointed by it on classification. The chapter board shall set forth a classification and rating system for the rating of employees; such system shall have the force of constitutional law of the guild; and no journeyman employee shall be paid less than the rate fixed for the lowest rating.

3. *Wage levels, how fixed.*—Wage levels shall be fixed with reference to the economic state of the industry, the object being to provide at all times the maximum wage which the industry is capable of paying.

4. *Overtime and night scale.*—Work in excess of the standard number of hours in the workday shall be regarded as overtime. A proper differential shall be established for work on a regular night shift.

5. *Holidays.*—What days are holidays shall be designated by the chapter board. If it becomes necessary to work on such days, such work shall be compensated at the rate of double time. An employee may decline to work on the holiday without being subject to discrimination. The following days shall always be holidays: All Sundays in the year; New Year's Day; Memorial Day; Independence Day; Labor Day; Thanksgiving Day; Christmas Day.

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6. *Distribution of hours.*—In any plant, management and chapel may agree on a distribution of hours throughout the days of the week other than the distribution arrived at by dividing the total number of hours by six.

7. *Safety and health.*—Working conditions and the environment of the job shall be a matter of concern to the chapter board. Standards of safety and health may be erected from time to time, the object being to eliminate all preventable accident and illness. Plants shall be kept as safe, clean and sanitary as possible, and the officers and boards of the guild shall cooperate with the State authorities, and coordinate their endeavors with those of the authorities, in the matter of safety and health. The board may publish a safety and health code; in which case it shall be the duty of every plant to conform to standards so set as nearly and as quickly as possible.

Article IX.—*Initiative and referendum*

1. *Individual initiative.*—The power of initiative in any matter of wages, hours, or conditions, or in any matter pertaining to the guild or to the objects for which it is established, shall be considered as vested in every member, and shall be exercised by him through his representatives on boards and committees.

2. *Referendum; how taken.*—Referendum to the membership at large of any question may be ordered by a two-thirds majority of the chapter board. When such a referendum is ordered, ballots shall be prepared containing the question or questions to be voted upon, and supplied to each chapel, where a secret ballot shall be taken under the supervision of the conference committee and management, and it shall be their duty to see that every member in the plant shall have ample opportunity to cast his ballot. Such referendum shall be under the general supervision of the executive manager.

Article X.—*Complaints*

1. *Just cause for complaint.*—When any member shall judge that he has just cause for complaint he shall make use of the method herein provided for redress of the same. Just cause for complaint shall have the fullest and freest definition, but shall specifically include: Feeling on the part of the member that he is not being paid according to established levels, or according to his skill; that he has worked overtime without receiving overtime pay; that he has been unfairly discriminated against, or unjustly discharged; that conditions under which he works are unsanitary or unsafe.

2. *Review of complaint.*—The member shall make his complaint known to the conference committee. If the committee shall decide that the complaint is not a proper one, it shall so advise the complaining member. If the cause for complaint is deemed just, the matter shall be referred to the management for adjustment.

3. *Adjustment.*—Conference committee and management shall exhaust every honorable means to adjust the complaint. If unable to do so, the executive manager shall be appealed to for a decision. Appeal may be taken from the decision, either by management or conference committee, to the chapter board.

Article XI.—*Penalties*

1. *Liability to penalty.*—Whenever any member shall act in contravention or violation of the constitution or any part thereof, or of any regulation set forth by proper authority, such member shall be liable to penalty.

2. *Charges.*—If it is alleged that a company member is in violation of any guild regulation, charges may be filed against such member by the conference committee in its plant, by the executive manager, or by another company member. Such charges shall be made out on a blank to be provided for that purpose, and shall detail the nature of the violation, and shall be duly signed by those bringing the charges. Such charges shall be filed in the executive office of the chapter.

3. *Review of charges.*—The executive manager shall transmit such charges to the chapter board, and shall, in advance of the meeting of the board at which the charges are to be considered, notify the accused member in writing of the time and place of such meeting, so that he may be present, in person or by representative, to defend himself if he desires to do so. If unable to be present the accused member may send to the executive manager a written

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brief, which shall have the same consideration when presented to the board as if the company member were present in person. No penalty shall be imposed unless ample opportunity is given to the accused member for self-defense; but failure to be present or submit his case in writing to the session of the chapter board, after such opportunity has been extended, shall be considered as tacit acknowledgment of the truth of the charges.

4. *Fines.*—If the chapter board shall find the accused member guilty of all or a part of the violations charged, it shall impose a suitable fine, or expel the member from the association; but the board shall expel a member only for grave cause. In case the chapter board shall impose a fine or order expulsion, the member accused may take an appeal to the chapter board of appeal.

5. *Quashed charges.*—If, after the charges have been filed, the company member accused shall acknowledge violation, and so far as possible make reparation for damage done, the charges shall be quashed by the executive manager. Nor shall any charges be laid before the board until the accused member shall have had the matter called to his attention and opportunity given him to conform his practice, if it be in violation of regulations, and, if necessary, make restitution.

6. *Refusal to pay fine.*—If a fined company member shall refuse to pay a fine properly imposed, the chapter board, after 30 days, shall have authority to proceed to legal collection. In such case the costs of legal action shall be added to the fine, and this provision is specifically agreed to by every signatory of an application for company membership.

7. *Publication.*—In the event that either legal action or expulsion becomes necessary, the chapter board shall prepare a statement setting forth the facts in the case in detail, and such statement shall be distributed to every company member and chapel secretary in the chapter.

8. *Charges against board member.*—Should charges be filed against a member of the chapter board, he shall not sit on the board during discussion of the charges, but his place shall be taken by an alternate.

9. *Charges against individual member.*—In the event that an individual member is accused of violation of or nonconformity with regulations, all of the above shall apply in such case; charges against an individual member may be filed by any member in the same chapter or by the executive manager, but the only company member which may file charges is that member employing the accused individual member. In place of expulsion the individual member may be suspended for a period fixed by the board, and if suspended he shall lose all rights of priority which may have accrued to him, and all insurance benefits shall be held in abeyance. In case of expulsion all rights and benefits are forfeited; but the chapter board shall expel a member only for grave cause.

Article XII.—*Insurance*

1. *Earning power insured.*—The association shall make proper arrangements to insure its individual members, in so far as practicable, expedient, and legally possible, against every contingency that may put a stop, temporarily or permanently, to the earning power.

2. *Insurance code.*—The several amounts of insurance, the circumstances under which it is to be paid, the collection of premiums, and all other matters pertaining thereunto, shall be determined by the chapter board, which shall draw up an insurance code, as a body of law under which the insurance fund shall be administered. The insurance code shall have the full force of constitutional law of the guild.

3. *Insurance fund.*—An insurance fund shall be established by apportioning a definite percentage of the regular dues for that purpose. This fund shall be entirely separate and apart from the general fund, and shall never be used for any other purpose than the insurance of the members. Any expense of administration of the insurance fund shall be borne by the general fund, and any dividends or participations from the insurance carrier shall be added to the insurance fund.

4. *Board of trustees.*—The insurance fund shall be administered by a board of trustees of at least four members, two employers and two employees, to be elected by the chapter board. In the first instance of such election, one member of the board of trustees shall be elected for one year, one for two,

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one for three, and one for four years. Thereafter one member of the board of trustees shall be elected annually, to take the room of the member whose term expires, and the term of office of each member shall be four years. When an employee member's term expires, an employee shall be elected in his room; and when an employer member's term expires, an employer shall be elected in his room.

5. *Reserve.*—When a reserve accumulates in the insurance fund, such may not be transferred to the general fund, but such reserve shall be held for the use of the insured.

Article XIII.—*Apprentices*

1. *Trade schools.*—Trade schools may be established for the education of apprentices and providing opportunity for journeymen to improve their craftsmanship. The number of apprentices, the manner of their education, their course of study, and all things pertaining thereunto shall be under the guidance of the chapter board, and general principles of the operation and maintenance of such schools shall be set forth by the chapter board.

Article XIV.—*Finance*

1. *Deposits.*—All funds placed in the chapter treasury shall be deposited in a bank or trust company as selected by the chapter board, and shall not be paid out except on vouchers O. K.'d by the executive manager and passed by the chapter board. O. K. of the chapter board shall be certified by any member of the board chosen by the board for that purpose. Checks issued in payment of accounts shall be signed by the executive manager and by the treasurer.

2. *Budget.*—The executive manager of the chapter shall each year prepare a budget of probable expenditure for the ensuing year. Such budget shall be reviewed by the chapter board, and after the board has fixed the budget, expenditure shall not exceed the amount fixed. It shall be the duty of the executive manager to make expenditures as low as possible without impairing the functioning of the chapter, regardless of the budget.

3. *Audit.*—There shall be an annual audit of the books of the treasurer by a firm of certified public accountants, and the report of such auditors shall be published to the membership by sending it in printed form to every chapel secretary and every company member.

4. *Surety bond.*—Officers responsible for funds shall be required to furnish surety bond satisfactory to the chapter board, in an amount fixed by the board. The cost of such bond shall be defrayed out of the funds of the chapter.

5. *Funds; how used.*—The general fund shall be used for usual purposes of administration, organization, and promotion. The insurance fund shall be used only for (*a*) the payment of insurance premiums to an insuring company underwriting the risk; (*b*) special benefits to members.

6. *Investments.*—Should reserve accumulate in the insurance fund it may be loaned on authorized court securities at the discretion of the executive manager in consultation with the board of trustees of the fund. Report on such reserve and loans must be included in the annual audit. The practice of making such loans shall not be inaugurated until the chapter board shall have given formal approval. Interest earned by investment of the reserve shall be added to the reserve.

Article XV.—*Alterations*

1. *Definition.*—Any proposed addition to or omission from this constitution, or any substitution of one word, figure. phrase, sentence, section, or article, for another, shall be deemed an alteration of the constitution.

2. *How made.*—Such alterations shall be made only in the manner following:

a. It shall be proposed to the chapter by a two-thirds majority vote of the chapter board; or by petition signed by 20 members of the chapter, all of whom shall be in good standing.

b. The proposed alteration shall be distributed in printed form to the entire membership.

c. Final disposition of the proposal shall be made only at a regular or special meeting of the entire chapter, to be held not earlier than 10 days after general distribution of the printed proposal to alter.

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d. Affirmative action on the proposal shall require the assent of two-thirds of the employees and two-thirds of the employers at such chapter meeting, at which at least a constitutional quorum shall be present.

3. *When effective.*—The alteration so ordered shall go into immediate effect, unless otherwise specified.

Appendix C.—Constitution and By-Laws of Graphic Arts Industrial Federation

CONSTITUTION

ARTICLE 1.—*Name*

The name of this organization shall be the Graphic Arts Industrial Federation.

ARTICLE 2.—*Membership defined*

This organization shall consist of open-shop employers and employees engaged in the arts of printing, photo-engraving, electrotyping, bookbinding, and other allied trades connected with Boston Typothetæ Board of Trade.

ARTICLE 3.—*Objects*

SECTION 1. The aim of this organization shall be to promote by mutual counsel, endeavor, and service the interests of those engaged and employed in the graphic arts industries of Greater Boston. All matters of mutual interest shall be open for consideration.

SEC. 2. This organization is designed to promote a spirit of confidence and good will, and thereby eliminate unfortunate and costly misunderstandings which arise chiefly from the lack of a trustworthy means of communication.

SEC. 3. The organization is designed as a constructive influence in the graphic arts industries; so to improve existing conditions as to reflect themselves in greater stability of business, employment, and wages by the joint endeavors of management and employees working together to this end.

ARTICLE 4.—*Organization*

SECTION 1. This organization shall be composed of two groups—an employees' group and an employers' group.

Employees' group

SEC. 2. The employees in each shop that is a member of Boston Typothetæ Board of Trade may form a shop organization, who will elect a chairman, a vice chairman, and a secretary. These officers shall constitute the shop committee.

SEC. 3. In shops employing less than 50 people the employees shall assemble in some convenient place and elect their shop committee by ballot—the meeting to be entirely free from any influence of the management.

SEC. 4. Shops employing a large number of people and having various departments, may elect one representative from each one of these departments, which representatives shall assemble and elect a shop committee.

SEC. 5. Shops employing a very small number of people may, if they so choose, elect only a chairman.

SEC. 6. The chairman in each case shall be the shop representative in the employees' group of the joint industrial federation. It is provided, however, that shops employing women in reasonable numbers may elect to the employees' group both a man and a woman, the man and the woman being entitled to cast a total of one vote only.

Employers' group

SEC. 7. Each firm shall elect an employer to represent the management in the employers' group of the Graphic Arts Industrial Federation.

SEC. 8. In case a shop is individually owned the proprietor will be the representative.

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SEC. 9. If the business is a partnership or a corporation, the owners shall decide among themselves which member shall represent the firm, as no business is entitled to more than one representative.

ARTICLE 5.—*Officers of the federation*

SECTION 1. Each group in the organization shall meet separately and elect annually the following officers:

(*a*) A chairman, a secretary, a treasurer, and a recording secretary.

(*b*) An executive committee of nine members, who will represent the group on the joint industrial board.

The duly elected officers of each group may be a part of the executive committee of nine if the group so elects.

SEC. 2. The executive committee may be so selected as to represent each trade in the graphic arts industries.

SEC. 3. The recording secretary of each group shall be a member ex officio of the joint industrial board for the purpose of keeping records but shall have no vote.

SEC. 4. The executive committee from each group will combine, forming a joint industrial board. In case of absence, or in case of a matter affecting a member of the joint industrial board, the member shall deposit his proxy with the chairman of his group or an alternate may be appointed.

SEC. 5. The joint industrial board shall have full power in all matters referred to it for adjudication. Vital actions, affecting either or both groups, shall not become final and binding until confirmed by the group affected.

Committees

SEC. 6. Special committees for special work may be appointed by each group as the members deem advisable.

ARTICLE 6.—*Meetings*

SECTION 1. The organization in each individual shop may hold monthly meetings at such time and place as their shop committee may direct.

Employees' group

SEC. 2. The employees' group shall hold regular monthly meetings at such time and place as their chairman may elect.

SEC. 3. Special meetings may be called at such time and place as the chairman may determine; or, he shall be obligated to call a special meeting upon the written request of 10 members in good standing.

Employers' group

SEC. 4. The employers' group shall hold regular monthly meetings at such time and place as the chairman may direct.

SEC. 5. Special meetings may be called at such time and place as the chairman may determine; or, he shall be obligated to call a special meeting upon the written request of 10 members in good standing.

BY-LAWS

ARTICLE 1.—*General*

Fees and dues

SECTION 1. In case finances should at any time be needed, same shall be provided in such manner as the joint industrial board may designate.

Chairmanship of joint industrial board

SEC. 2. The chairman from each group shall alternate in presiding at meetings.

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Secretary, joint industrial board

SEC. 3. The recording secretary of each group shall alternate in keeping records of the meetings.

SEC. 4. When the chairman of the employees' group presides at meetings of the joint industrial board, the recording secretary of the employers' group shall keep the records, and vice versa.

SEC. 5. The book of records shall be kept at headquarters and open at all times for inspection by any member of the federation who is in good standing.

SEC. 6. Order of business:

1. Calling of roll.
2. Reading of minutes of previous meeting.
3. Unfinished business.
4. Reports of committees.
5. New business.
6. Adjournment.

ARTICLE 2.—*Amendments*

This constitution and by-laws shall be abrogated or amended only at the regular monthly meetings of the joint industrial board by a two-thirds vote of those present, such abrogation or amendment having been proposed by one or more members filing a proposal with the secretaries at least one month prior to the date of the meeting.

EMPLOYEE'S GROUP

Name

SECTION 1. This branch shall be known as the employees' group of the Graphic Arts Industrial Federation.

How constituted

SEC. 2. This group shall consist of any shops in the printing and allied trades, provided said shops are members of Boston Typothetæ Board of Trade and the employees thereof desire representation in this group.

Object

SEC. 3. The object of this group shall be to promote the interests of those engaged and employed within the shops of members of the organization, by mutual endeavor.

Representation

SEC. 4. Each shop shall send one representative, regardless of craft or sex, to represent it in the employees' group. It is provided, however, that shops employing women in reasonable numbers may elect to the employees' group both a man and a woman, the man and the woman being entitled to cast a total of one vote only.

Eligibility

SEC. 5. Any bona fide working employee, as distinguished from an executive in any form, or those having a financial interest in any way, shall be eligible to membership in the employees' group.

Method of electing representatives

SEC. 6. The representative to the employees' group shall be chosen by one of the following methods:

(a) By a majority of the employees of the entire shop.

(b) In shops where there are various departments, each department may choose a delegate from said department, said delegate to be elected by majority vote in that department. The delegates so elected may choose or elect one of their number to be the representative to the employees' group.

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Meaning of word "employee"

SEC. 7. The word "employee" whenever used in these by-laws shall be construed to mean a bona fide employee as defined in section 5 hereof.

Application for membership

SEC. 8. Any representative applying for membership in the employees' group shall file proper credentials with his (or her) application that he (or she) is the chosen representative from said shop.

Proper credentials

SEC. 9. As to what constitutes proper credentials as stipulated in section 8 hereof shall be determined from time to time.

Seating and unseating members

SEC. 10. This body reserves the right to govern its members, and may refuse to seat an applicant, or unseat a member, at any time for sufficient cause. Sufficient cause may be deemed to be anything that may in a measure impair the objects of the association, as defined in section 3 hereof.

Method of seating

SEC. 11. An applicant upon filing application and credentials, may become seated by a majority vote of those present.

Method of unseating

SEC. 12. Any representative may be unseated at any regular meeting, or at a special meeting called for that purpose. The unseating of a member will require a two-thirds vote of the members present.

Regular meetings

SEC. 13. Regular meetings shall be held on the last Thursday of each month, or at such other time and at such place as may be stipulated from time to time. Twenty members shall constitute a quorum.

Special meetings

SEC. 14. Special meetings shall be called by the secretary on order of the chairman, at such times as he (or she) may deem necessary; or upon demand in writing therefor, signed by 10 representatives. The call shall consist of a written notice to each representative, stating the time and place of meeting, and the object thereof. The notice shall be duly addressed to a representative at the address of record, postage prepaid, and deposited in the United States mail two days prior to the date of meeting, which shall be deemed due notice.

Officers

SEC. 15. The officers may consist of a chairman, a vice chairman, a secretary, a treasurer, an executive committee, and a recording secretary.

Chairman

SEC. 16. The chairman shall be chief executive of this group, and shall hold office for one year, or until his (or her) successor shall be chosen. Election shall be by secret ballot. Plurality elects. It shall be the duty of the chairman to preside at all meetings and perform such other duties as may from time to time be delegated to him (or her).

Secretary

SEC. 17. Election shall be by secret ballot. Plurality elects. It shall be the duty of the secretary to keep a record of all meetings, a list of members,

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together with the shop they represent, to issue all calls for special meetings, as defined in section 14, and to perform such other duties as may from time to time be delegated to him (or her).

Treasurer

SEC. 18. Election shall be by secret ballot. Plurality elects. It shall be the duty of the treasurer to protect the funds of the organization, to receive and disburse all money, to keep an accurate account thereof, to report the financial condition at all regular meetings, and to perform such other duties as may from time to time be delegated to him (or her). The disbursing of money shall be by authorization.

Executive committee

SEC. 19. The executive committee shall consist of nine members, of which the chairman, secretary, and treasurer may form a part. The remaining six members necessary to complete the board shall be elected at large by secret ballot. Plurality elects. Two alternates shall be elected to act as substitutes, should occasion arise.

It shall be the duty of the executive committee to represent this group at all conferences with the committee from the employers' group on the joint industrial board; and to perform such other duties as from time to time may be delegated to it.

Amendments

SEC. 20. These by-laws may be amended, suspended, or repealed at any regular meeting, or any special meeting called for that purpose, by a two-thirds vote of the members present.

Order of business

SEC. 21.

1. Calling of roll.
2. Reading of minutes of previous meeting.
3. Unfinished business.
4. Reports of committees.
5. New business.
6. Adjournment.

EMPLOYERS' GROUP

Name

SECTION 1. This branch shall be known as the employers' group of the Graphic Arts Industrial Federation.

How constituted

SEC. 2. This group shall consist of employers representing firms in the graphic arts trades, provided such firms are members of Boston Typothetæ Board of Trade, and that employees have organized and become members of the federation.

Object

SEC. 3. The object of this group shall be to promote the interests of those engaged and employed in the graphic arts industries.

Representation

SEC. 4. Each firm shall send one representative to this group.

New members

SEC. 5. New members may be received into the group at such time as they comply with the constitution and by-laws of the Graphic Arts Industrial Federation.

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Meetings

SEC. 6. Regular and special meetings shall be held as provided for in the constitution and by-laws of the general organization.

Officers and executive committee

SEC. 7. The officers and executive committee shall be elected annually as provided for in the constitution and by-laws of the general organization.

Amendments

SEC. 8. These by-laws may be amended by a two-thirds vote of those present, notice of such amendment having been filed with the secretary one month prior to the meeting.

SUMMARY

It is the intention of those interested to conduct the organization on a fifty-fifty basis for the mutual welfare of all engaged therein. The honest cooperation in spirit of both employers and employees will assure the successful outcome of the undertaking.

Appendix D.—Shop Rules and Wage Scales Contract Between Printers' League Section, New York Employing Printers' Association (Inc.) and Typographical Union No. 6, 1927

CONTRACT

This contract and scale of prices made and entered into this 6th day of January, 1928, by and between the Printers' League Section, New York Employing Printers' Association (Inc.), hereinafter called the league, and New York Typographical Union No. 6, hereinafter called the union.

Duration of contract

This contract shall be in effect for a period of five years, October 1, 1927, to September 30, 1932, at the rates as provided herein; for the following periods:

Wage rates

Period	Day shift	Night shift	Third shift
Oct. 1, 1927, to Jan. 1, 1928	$55	$58	$61
Jan. 1, 1928, to Dec. 31, 1928	56	59	62
Jan. 1, 1929, to Dec. 31, 1929	57	60	63
Jan. 1, 1930, to Dec. 31, 1930	58	61	64
Jan. 1, 1931, to Dec. 31, 1931	59	62	65
Jan. 1, 1932, to Sept. 30, 1932	60	63	66

All sections in this contract which carry wage rates computed upon the basic rates shall be made to conform thereto upon the dates at which changes in the basic rates are herein provided.

Hours

Working hours: Day shift, 44 hours; night shift, 40 hours; third shift, 35 hours.

Interpretation

(A) If any controversy arises as to interpretation or enforcement of this contract the conditions prevailing prior to the dispute shall be maintained until the controversy has been disposed of as provided herein.

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(B) The league agrees that only members of the union shall be employed for journeymen's work in the composing room, except as elsewhere provided, upon the terms and conditions contained in this contract.

(C) The union agrees to furnish as many competent and skilled workmen as required by each office for the operation of its composing room.

(D) This contract shall govern all members of the union and all members of the league, and employment is given and accepted under these conditions.

(E) All differences of opinion on any question (except as provided in section 33) arising under this contract in league offices shall be submitted to the president of the union, or his representatives, and the president of the league, or his representatives, for conciliation, and if conciliation fails, then and at all times said differences shall be submitted to a joint conference committee.

(F) The joint conference committee shall consist of five members of the league and a like number of members of the union. This committee shall meet at the request of the league or of the union at such time and place as may be determined. Due notice in writing of such meeting shall be given all interested parties.

(G) The said joint conference committee must act within five full business days, when its services are desired by either party to this contract to an appeal as above. When the joint conference committee can not reach an agreement, or when it is unable to render a decision within 10 full business days after the final submission of the case, either party to this contract shall have the right to a review by an arbitrator to be selected by the joint conference committee. The decision of the arbitrator shall be final and binding on both parties to this contract.

(H) No precedents or previous conditions, rules, or agreements shall be recognized in any way, or affect or modify this contract.

(I) Local union laws not affecting wages, hours, and working conditions, and the laws of the International Typographical Union, shall not be subject to the provisions of the above: *Provided*, That international or local laws enacted subsequent to the execution of this contract shall not be effective during the life of this contract.

Expiration of contract

If either party to this contract desires to amend or abrogate any or all of its provisions, to take effect at its expiration, notice in writing must be given to the other party at least 90 days prior to its expiration date, of their desire to so amend or abrogate; such notice shall open this contract by both parties and shall be followed with an exchange of proposals at least 60 days prior to its expiration. In which case negotiations shall be immediately entered into and proceed with all due diligence.

If no notice by either party is given in writing as stipulated in the preceding paragraph the then existing provisions of this contract shall continue in full force and effect to September 30, 1933; and thereafter be subject to the stipulations as set forth in the preceding paragraph prior to each succeeding annual expiration date.

General Regulations

1. *Day shifts.*—All members of the union employed on day shifts, except as hereinafter provided for, shall receive not less than $56 per week. Five days of eight consecutive hours (exclusive of time for lunch) and four hours on Saturday, shall constitute a week's work, the hours to be between 7.30 a. m., and 5 p. m., except on Saturday, when the hours shall be between 7.30 a. m. and 12.30 noon.

2. *Night shifts.*—All members of the union employed on night shifts, except as hereinafter provided for shall receive not less than $59 per week. Five nights, Monday to Friday, inclusive, of eight consecutive hours (exclusive of time for lunch) shall constitute a week's work, the hours to be between 5 p. m. and 3.30 a. m.

3. *Third (lobster) shifts.*—All members of the union employed on third shifts, except as hereinafter provided for, shall receive not less than $62 per week. Five mornings, Tuesday to Saturday, inclusive, of seven consecutive hours (exclusive of time for lunch) shall constitute a week's work, the hours to be between 1 a. m. and 10 a. m.

4. A printed notice stating the time when work shall begin and end shall be kept posted in a conspicuous place in each composing room, and any member

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required or permitted to work before or after the hours so posted shall be paid for same at overtime rates, except as provided in section 53.

All members must start and quit work at the prescribed hours of the shift. The starting and quitting time on each and every day shall be the same as to the hour and minute, except Saturday quitting time.

5. Payment of wages shall be made weekly in cash, not later than 72 hours after the close of the fiscal week, and not more than 7 working days shall elapse between pay days: *Provided*, Such payment may be made by check under the State law if a majority referendum vote of a chapel approve.

6. All employees must be paid off within 10 minutes after quitting time on pay day. Employees required to wait for a longer period shall be paid overtime rates from the regular quitting hour until paid off: *Provided*, That the above shall not prevail for the first omission when it can be shown that it was not within the employer's power to prevent.

7. Each and every member of New York Typographical Union No. 6 must refuse to perform any work whatsoever in an office which has not paid wages in full for previous week's work as hereinbefore stipulated; said prohibition to remain on said office until all members of New York Typographical Union No. 6 have been so paid. No further action by this union shall be necessary when wages have not been so paid.

8. When legal holidays fall on pay day the force shall be paid off on the preceding working-day.

9. In cases where members are laid off before the regular pay day they shall be entitled to and shall immediately receive, whatever sum may be due them, on demand: *Provided*, Men so laid off on any other than the day shift shall receive their pay on demand the next working-day.

10. Time hands in charging overtime shall not charge less than one-fourth, one-half, three-fourths, or full hour; in offices where the unit system is used, they shall not charge less than 2 units, 12 minutes; 5 units, 30 minutes; 8 units, 48 minutes, or full hour.

11. Members when called in to work as extras shall receive a full day's pay unless they are employed for a full day immediately following the day of their engagement, in which case they shall only be paid for the actual time worked. This shall not apply to men discharged for incompetency after trial, not exceeding three hours, in which case they shall be paid for actual time worked.

12. When a request is made of the union for a man, he shall report for work within a reasonable time, not to exceed one hour; or if the call is made on the day before, at the regular hour for beginning work, or forfeit any time lost thereafter.

13. Where men on day shifts have been laid off or are off with the consent of the foreman and are called back, the following wages shall be paid:

A. Where men are called back during their regular shift hours on week days (except Saturdays) they shall be paid for a full day's work based on their regular wages for the hours of the shift; if required to work beyond their regular shift hours they shall be paid for such hours at overtime rates based on their regular wages.

B. Where men on day shifts are called back to work on week days (except Saturdays) on night shift hours they shall be paid double price based on their regular wages. Any portion worked of the regular hours of the night shift of such day shall be considered a full night's work. Any time worked beyond the regular hours of the shift on above nights shall be paid for at triple time based on their regular wages.

C. Where men on day shifts are called back on Sundays or legal holidays on night shift hours they shall be paid triple price based on their regular wages. Any portion worked of the regular hours of the night shift of such days shall be considered a full night's work. Any time worked beyond the regular hours of the shift on above nights shall be paid for at quadruple time based on their regular wages.

D. Where men on day shifts working Saturday mornings are called back after leaving the office they shall be paid continuous overtime at overtime rates, as set forth in section 6- from the regular quitting hour of their shift until ordered by the foreman to quit work.

E. Where men on day shifts are called back on Saturdays, during their regular shift hours, after notice of lay-off has been given on Thursday, in accordance with section 19, they shall, on so reporting, become entitled to four hours' pay at price and one-half. Any time worked beyond the regular shift hours on Saturdays shall be paid for as set forth in section 61.

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F. Where men on day shifts are called back on Saturdays between the hours of 12 m. and 4 p. m. on that day, they shall receive price and one-half for eight hours, based on their regular wages. Any time worked beyond 4 p. m. on above days shall be paid for as set forth in section 61.

G. Where men on day shifts are called back on Saturdays between the hours of 4 p. m. and 12 midnight, they shall be paid triple price, based on their regular wages. Any portion worked between the above specified hours shall be considered a full night's work. Any time worked beyond 12 midnight on above nights shall be paid for at quadruple time based on their regular wages.

14. When time is called men must be at their appointed stations ready to work and shall remain there and at work until call of time at the end of the period. Time shall be called by the method employed in each individual shop.

15. Any member may be assigned work in any position in the composing room other than the position for which he was engaged, in case of emergency, and if such emergency position carries with it a higher scale than the scale which he has been receiving he must receive, while filling that position, the scale provided for the same.

16. In the event of the emergency position carrying a lower scale than he has been receiving in his regular position, the payment for such emergency work must be at the rate as that of his regular position.

17. No member shall be permitted or required to execute work coming under the jurisdiction of the union outside of a printing plant.

18. Extras (meaning all members of the union employed for less than a week) shall be entitled to 50 cents per day extra. This does not apply to employees holding regular situations in the office, or to those quitting work of their own volition, nor to members canceling overtime.

19. *Broken weeks for regulars.*—An employee in a book office, holding a regular situation, when laid off part of a week for lack of work shall not be considered an extra, the extra being distinctively an employee not holding a regular situation: *Provided,* That when a regular employee is to be laid off for Saturday only he shall be notified not later than Thursday before leaving the office.

20. When employees have been employed for a full week, even though the week covered portions of two fiscal weeks or if they are employed on two different shifts for six consecutive days, they are not to be considered as extras.

21. Compositors taken from the case to learn to operate machines shall be paid at the rate of 75 per cent of the scale for a period of 10 weeks and thereafter the full scale. No obstruction or restriction whatever shall be placed upon or stand in the way of learners.

22. When an office introduces machines, it shall select its operators from members who have been employed in its composing room for a period of at least three months. When the machines have been covered by one set of learners for the time specified in this scale, the office shall be free to select its operators from outside: *Provided,* That offices introducing machines to the number of two or more shall be entitled to engage one experienced operator from the outside.

23. Members of the union must not handle type, slugs, matrices, or plates received from nonunion shops.

24. The bringing into the composing room of persons other than members of No. 6 to handle type matter, locking up or unlocking forms or performing such work as removing cuts from type, etc., when such is destined to unfair offices or publications is a violation of this agreement: *Provided, however,* That this section shall not apply in cases where a customer of the employer makes a demand upon such employer for his property.

25. This union reserves the right to its members to refuse to execute all struck work received from or destined for unfair employers or publications.

26. Any member failing to fulfill an engagement shall, on conviction, be fined the sum of $25.

27. Members ordered by foremen to report for work shall, upon so reporting, become entitled to a day's pay, subject to provisions in sections 11, 18, and 56; except in case of fire, flood, or accident over which the employer has no control and same occurs before men start to work. This does not relieve the employer from responsibility of day's pay if he had sufficient time to notify members of same and failed to do so.

28. Members of the union employed on book and job work transferred to work coming under the "Scale of prices for newspapers" shall be paid the highest prevailing scale of wages for the shift on which the work is performed.

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29. Any type set, if used, must have a first reading and be corrected and revised by members of the union before proofs with alterations or corrections marked thereon emanating from outside the composing room may be corrected. This shall not apply to foreign languages where a member of the union competent to read it can not be obtained.

30. Lunch time may be arranged by mutual consent, but the foreman can not keep an employee more than four and one-half hours before allowing a reasonable time for lunch, except in cases of emergency. Any employee compelled to work during lunch time must take the regular time off for lunch when the other employees return to work.

31. Members of the union shall be employed, receive orders from, disciplined, laid off, and discharged by the foreman and by none other. In the absence of the foreman he shall designate and post who will be the foreman during his absence: *Provided*, That nothing in this section shall interfere with instructions being given by others for the proper execution of a job, when same is deemed necessary by the foreman.

32. Foremen of printing offices have the right to employ help, and may discharge (1) for incompetency, (2) for neglect of duty, (3) for violation of office rules (which shall be conspicuously posted), or of laws of the chapel or union, and (4) to decrease the force, such decrease to be accomplished by discharging first the person or persons last employed, either as regular employees or as extra employees, as the exigencies of the matter may require. Should there be an increase in the force the persons displaced through such cause shall be reinstated in reverse order in which they were discharged before other help may be employed. Upon demand, the foreman shall give the reason for discharge in writing. Persons considered capable as substitutes by foremen shall be deemed competent to fill regular situations, and the substitute oldest in continuous service shall have prior right in the filling of the first vacancy. This section shall apply to incoming as well as outgoing foremen. Members legally discharged according to the provisions of this section, except to reduce the force, may be reinstated only at the option of the foreman: *Provided*, That after a period of one year any member may seek employment in an office from which he has been discharged.

33. When a member is discharged for any reason and such action is contested in behalf of the member affected, by either party to this contract, the contention shall be referred directly to a conference committee of three representatives of the league, and three representatives of the union, without any intervening action. After considering all the evidence in conection with the reason assigned for discharge, effort at agreement shall be made, and if a decision is reached it shall be final, and shall be so accepted by both parties to the controversy. If agreement can not be reached the conference committee shall select a seventh member, and the decision of the committee as thus made up shall be final. Should the conferees fail to agree on an odd man he shall be selected by the presiding judge of the appellate division of the supreme court for the first or second district: *Provided*, That the priority standing of members shall not be subject to review by the conference committee.

34. Regulars may be transferred by mutual consent from shift to shift whenever the exigencies may require it. If such transfers can not be arranged by mutual consent then the men must be transferred according to their priority standing in the office: *Provided*, That members so transferred must be restored to the shift from which they were taken, if they so desire, before any new situations can be created on that shift.

35. The overtime law as at present enforced in the newspaper offices in this city shall be in full force and effect in book and job offices in this jurisdiction.

36. In case the secretary-treasurer of the union has reason to believe that the returns to the union by any of its members are not in accordance with the actual pay roll of the plant, he must be furnished, upon request, a copy of any composing room pay roll for the purpose of making correct returns of the earnings of members. When more than one month's pay roll is requested, the union will pay the legitimate expense of making up such pay roll: *Provided*, That any request for pay rolls from members of the league will be made through the secretary of the league.

37. All laws of the International Typographical Union in effect at the time of signing this contract are recognized as part of this scale.

38. The employer shall furnish at all times a healthful, sufficiently ventilated, properly heated, and well-lighted space for the performance of all work and all

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sanitary conditions shall be in accordance with the laws of the State of New York and the Board of Health of the City of New York.

39. In the event a strike is authorized by the executive council of the International Typographical Union affecting a department over which it has established jurisdiction, nothing in this contract shall be construed to prevent the international and local union from proceeding in accordance with section 4, Article XXV, general laws, I. T. U., 1927.

Machine tenders in book and job offices

40. The scale for machine tenders on type-casting and typesetting machines shall be: 1 to 4 machines, $56.00 per week; 5 to 8 machines, $57.50 per week; 9 to 12 machines, $59.50 per week; 13 or more machines, $61.50 per week.

Machine tenders working at night shall receive $5 per week in addition to the above day scale.

41. On all shifts when five or more men are operating typesetting machines a machine tender must be employed and shall have charge of all repairs. No printer member shall make repairs or adjustments when a machine tender is employed. The duties of a machine tender shall be confined exclusively to work coming under the jurisdiction of the union.

42. The regular working time of a machine tender shall be the same number of days or nights per week of as many hours as are the regular hours of the operators on each shift employed in the office operating the machines.

43. All time worked before or after these hours shall be considered as overtime, and shall be charged at the rate for overtime as set forth in this scale of prices.

44. No machine tender holding a regular situation in an office shall be permitted to attend to the repairs on machines in any office other than the situation in which he is employed, except in case of emergency, all such cases to be reported to his chairman and to the president of the branch as soon as possible.

45. Machine tenders may cast slugs, dashes, leads, and rules.

46. All offices of five machines or more shall be entitled to employ one helper to each machine tender employed, who shall not handle tools, make repairs or adjustments.

47. Attendants on type-casting machines shall be classed as laborers and are not to be confused with machine tenders. No attendant will be permitted to take charge of any plant, nor make repairs or adjustments requiring machinists' tools, but this will not prevent attendants from changing mats on monotype machines when casting fonts or sorts.

48. On type-casting machines a member of the union must be in charge of each shift.

49. Two monotype keyboards shall be classed as one machine.

50. Two or more monotype casting machines shall call for a machine tender.

Legal holidays

51. The following are the recognized legal holidays: January 1, February 12, February 22, May 30, July 4, Labor Day, October 12, Election Day, Thanksgiving Day, Christmas, Sundays, and such days as the President of the United States or the Governor of the State of New York issue proclamations making same legal holidays.

The holiday for night shifts shall be the night of the holiday.

The holiday for third shifts shall be the morning following the holiday.

52. *Saturday half holiday.*—Saturday afternoons throughout the year shall be half holidays, the day's work ending not later than 12.30 noon.

Overtime

53. Overtime when worked shall be paid for on all shifts to all members of the union except the general foreman and the foreman of each shift, which shall be at the option of the employer.

54. All members of the union receiving wages in excess of the minimum scale required to work other than the regular hours of the shift shall be paid the rates called for by the scale based on their wages, except as specified in section 53.

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55. All overtime to be distributed equally as far as practicable. In the event of any foreman showing discrimination in this connection, this will be considered a grievance and it will be the duty of the chairman to immediately take same up with the foreman, and on failing to get a satisfactory adjustment with him shall report the matter to the officers of the union, who shall take the matter up with the management.

56. In book and job offices 10 hours must intervene between the time of quitting and starting work, except in cases of unusual emergency. A member reporting at the end of the 10-hour period immediately following overtime, in order to be entitled to a full day's pay, must work the major portion of that day.

A member ordered by the foreman to report for work at the regular starting time of the shift, i. e., before the expiration of the 10-hour period, shall be paid time and one-half for the time worked up to his 10-hour starting time; this shall be in addition to the day's pay when members work the major portion of the day.

57. Whenever a member of the union is required or permitted to work overtime one hour and a half, one-half hour shall be allowed to obtain lunch; thereafter he shall be entitled to another lunch period of one-half hour for every four hours of actual overtime worked. Lunch time shall be paid for at overtime rates of the period within which it occurs: *Provided*, That when a member is required to work overtime for less than one hour and a half the above provision shall not apply.

58. *Overtime for day shifts.*—For the first four hours following regular quitting time, price and one-half; for all time thereafter, up to the regular starting time of the shift, double price: *Provided*, That men called to work one hour or less before the regular starting time of their shift shall be paid price and one-half up to the regular starting time of their shift; if called to work more than one hour before starting time of their shift double price shall be paid for all time worked up to the regular starting time of their shift.

59. When members of the day shifts are required to work continuous overtime from their regular quitting time on one day through and beyond their regular starting time on the following day, they shall receive triple time for all time worked beyond their regular starting time of the next day: *Provided*, on Sundays or legal holidays men shall be paid quadruple time in accordance with the above.

60. Overtime shall apply to work done before as well as after the regular hours of the shift.

61. If required to work on Saturday afternoon price and one-half shall be paid for the first four hours; after which double price shall be paid until 10 p. m.; after which triple price shall be paid up to regular starting time of the shift.

62. Sundays and legal holidays shall be charged at double time rates; any portion worked of the regular hours of the shift of such day shall be considered a day's work. Any time worked before or after the regular hours of the shift on above days shall be paid for at triple price.

63. *Overtime for night shifts.*—Overtime for night shifts shall apply to work done before as well as after the regular hours of the shift and shall be paid for the first four hours at price and one-half, after which double price shall be paid up to the regular starting time of the shift. *Provided*, That men called to work one hour or less before the regular starting time of their shift shall be paid price and one-half up to the regular starting time of their shift; if called to work more than one hour before starting time of their shift double price shall be paid for all time worked up to the regular starting time of their shift.

64. When members of the night shifts are required to work continuous overtime from their regular quitting time on one night through and beyond their regular starting time on the following night, they shall receive triple time for all time worked beyond their regular starting time of the next night: *Provided*, On Saturdays, Sundays, or legal holidays, men shall be paid quadruple time in accordance with the above.

65. Night forces working on Friday night shall be paid as follows:

For the regular hours of the shift, single price. If required to work overtime, price and one-half shall be paid for the first three hours; after which double price shall be paid for the next three hours; after which triple price shall be paid.

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66. Night forces working on the eve of a holiday shall be paid as follows:

For the regular hours of the shift, single price. If required to work overtime, double price shall be paid for the first four hours; after which triple price shall be paid until the regular hours for starting the shift over again.

67. When members on night shifts are called in to work Saturdays, Sundays, or legal holidays, they shall receive double price. All time worked before or after the regular hours of the shift on above days shall be paid for at triple price.

68. Where men on night shifts have been laid off or are off with the consent of the foreman and are called back, the following wages shall be paid:

A. Where men are called back during their regular shift hours on week nights they shall be paid for a full night's work based on their regular wages for the hours of the shift; if required to work beyond their regular shift hours they shall be paid for such hours at overtime rates based on their regular wages.

B. Where men on night shifts are called back to work on week days (except Saturdays) on day shift hours, they shall be paid double price based on their regular wages. Any portion worked of the regular hours of the day shift of such day shall be considered a full day's work. Any time worked beyond the regular hours of the shift on above days shall be paid for at triple time based on their regular wages.

C. Where men on night shifts are called back on Saturdays, Sundays, or legal holidays, on day-shift hours, they shall be paid triple price based on their regular wages. Any portion worked of the regular hours of the day shift of such day shall be considered a full day's work. Any time worked beyond the regular hours of the shift on above days shall be paid for at quadruple time based on their regular wages.

D. Where men on night shifts have worked the night and are called back after leaving the office between their regular quitting time and the starting time of the day shift, they shall be paid continuous overtime at overtime rates as set forth in sections 63, 64, 65 and 66 from the regular quitting hour of their shift until ordered by the foreman to quit work.

69. Overtime for third shifts shall apply to work done before as well as after the regular hours of the shift and shall be paid for the first four hours at price and one-half, after which double price shall be paid up to the regular starting time of the shift: *Provided*, That men called to work one hour or less before the regular starting time of their shift shall be paid price and one-half up to the regeular starting time of their shift; if called to work more than one hour before starting time of their shift double price shall be paid for all time worked up to the regular starting time of their shift.

70. Third shifts working on Saturday morning or the morning of a holiday shall be paid as follows:

For the regular hours of the shift, single price. If required to work overtime, double price shall be paid for the first four hours; after which triple price shall be paid until the regular hour for starting the shift over again.

71. When members on third shifts are called in to work Sunday or Monday mornings or the morning following a legal holiday, they shall receive double price for regular hours of the shift. All time worked before or after the regular shift hours on above days shall be paid for at triple price.

72. When members on the third shift have been laid off or are off with the consent of the foreman and are called back to work, the same ratio on their regular wages shall be paid for the same kind of call as set forth in sections 13 and 68.

73. When members of the third shifts are required to work continuous overtime from their regular quitting time on one morning through and beyond their regular starting time on the following morning they shall receive triple price for all time worked beyond their regular starting time of the next morning: *Provided*, On Sundays, Mondays, or legal holidays men shall be paid quadruple price in accordance with the above.

Rules governing the employment of apprentices

74. In book and job offices apprentices may be employed in the ratio of one to every seven men or a majority fraction thereof; but no more than 10 apprentices shall be permitted in any office: *Provided*, That no apprentice shall be employed until two journeymen other than the proprietor shall be regularly

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employed. In offices where the work fluctuates, the average for the preceding year shall be the basis for the number of apprentices.

75. When new apprentices are employed the said apprentice shall be selected from the regular list of unemployed registered apprentices: *Provided*, That the employer shall have first preference to select an apprentice from boys that have been employed at least one year in his composing room. A list of the unemployed apprentices to be in the hands of the director of the school.

76. The term of an apprentice shall be five years (except as hereinafter otherwise provided), the first year to be considered one of trial, all applicants to be possessed of the following qualifications: (*a*) Between 16 and 21 years of age, and shall be required to submit a certificate of birth or a copy of same. (*b*) Possessed of an education that fits him to enter the industry. (*c*) In good health and sound physically.

Upon registering, a fee of $1 shall be levied upon the apprentice to cover a physical examination by the union's physician. In the event of rejection of application the fee shall be returned. He shall also pass an examination at the school for printers' apprentices as to his educational qualifications.

The union reserves the option of protesting the employment of any apprentice because of lack of above qualifications. In the event of a protest by either party to this contract, the matter shall be adjusted by the joint apprentice committee.

77. The foreman is required to test the ability of all apprentices under his charge during the first year of their service, to determine the fitness of such apprentices for the trade. The apprentice shall thereupon receive from his foreman a written statement of his qualifications, copy of which he shall file with the union and the organization to which his office belongs. Should an apprentice be proven incapable he shall then be refused further work at this branch of the trade.

78. No office shall be entitled to employ an apprentice unless it has the equipment necessary to enable proper instruction being given the apprentice in the several classes of work to be taught each year as agreed upon in this contract. No apprentice shall be permitted to work on the third (lobster) shift.

79. In the first year all apprentices shall be required to perform general work in the composing room at the discretion of the foreman at any work which they may be deemed capable of doing. All apprentices shall serve a term of not less than three nor more than six months of the first year as copyholder and assistant to proof reader, but shall not do first reading.

80. In the second year an apprentice shall be employed at least 75 per cent of his time at composition and distribution. He shall be given opportunity to set reprint ads and job work.

81. In the third year an apprentice shall be employed at least 75 per cent of his time on the floor at hand composition and distribution. He shall be given opportunity to set ads and job work from manuscript, and assist on make-up and imposition.

82. In the fourth year an apprentice shall be employed at least seven hours each day at hand composition, distribution, make-up, and stone work.

83. In the fifth year an apprentice shall be employed the first half of the year at hand composition, distribution, make-up, and stone work; in the second half of the fifth year, if the apprentice has selected machine training he shall be instructed and set live matter for his full time on any typesetting (linotype or intertype) or typecasting (monotype keyboard) machine in the office where he is employed: *Provided*, The above is subject to the following regulations.

A. The above applies to any office equipped with four or more typesetting or typecasting machines or a combination of both kinds of machines that amount to four or more.

B. In offices equipped with two typesetting and two typecasting machines or more, the apprentice must designate which machine he wants to take up, the typesetting or typecasting.

C. The above does not apply to offices equipped with three typesetting or typecasting machines or a combination of both kind that amount to three or less.

D. The union and the league pledge themselves to make a study of the three machine plants and plants that have no machines to the end that machine training may be provided for apprentices from these offices.

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E. All apprentices under machine training (last six months of the fifth year) on day shifts shall, on their own time, attend the School for Printers' Apprentices of New York, one night each week. If employed on the night shift, they shall, on their own time, attend the school one afternoon each week. Such attendance to be devoted to the study of English only.

In the event a machine school is established, section E shall be deleted and section E1 inserted.

E1. Fifth year apprentices, employed in offices compelled to give machine training, and who have selected machine training, working on the day shift, shall attend the school for machine instruction one afternoon each week. If working on the night shift, they shall attend the school for machine instruction one night each week. In either case, time shall be paid for by the employer. In addition they shall be required to go one afternoon or night each week on their own time, and the foreman or his representative shall not interfere with the attendance of the apprentices at the school for machine instruction, on their stipulated days or nights for attending same. Such attendance to be devoted to the study of machines only and the instruction to be given by union instructors.

F. No office shall be compelled to train more than one apprentice at the same time on machines.

G. Fifth year apprentices employed in offices having three machines or less, or no machines, shall be employed their full time at floor work and must attend the school for printers' apprentices, or, in the event a school for machine training is established, an apprentice shall have the privilege of selecting which school he desires to attend.

H. In the fifth year, if the apprentice has selected machine training, he may in the first six months, at the option of the employer, be instructed and set live matter on any typesetting or typecasting machine.

I. All machine apprentices must demonstrate in the first six months of their fifth year to the director of the school for machine instruction, subject to review by the joint apprenticeship committee, whose decision shall be final, that they have the necessary qualifications for becoming machine operators.

84. The minimum scale of wages to be paid apprentices shall bear the following proportions to the full scale of the shift on which they are employed:

	Per cent
First year:	
First 6 months	30
Second 6 months	35
Second year:	
First 6 months	40
Second 6 months	45
Third year:	
First 6 months	50
Second 6 months	55
Fourth year:	
First 6 months	60
Second 6 months	70
Fifth year:	
First 3 months	80
Second 3 months	85
Third 3 months	90
Last 3 months	95

85. It shall be the duty of the chairman to notify the foreman at least 14 days prior to the time when an apprentice is entitled to pass from one of the above periods to another. If the foreman and chairman can not mutually agree as to the apprentice's qualifications to be advanced into the next period, the matter shall be referred to the committee on apprentices, whose duty it shall be to inquire into the qualifications of said apprentice to ascertain if he meets the necessary requirements called for in the several classes of work specified for each year of his apprenticeship, after which the committee shall report their findings to the foreman and the chairman. In the event the findings of the apprentice committee are not complied with, the chairman shall notify the officers of the union who shall wait on the employer and secure adjustment.

86. In no instance shall an apprentice be allowed to work overtime unless he is 18 years of age or over and then only when one or more of the regular force, other than the foreman, shall be so employed. The ratio of one to seven shall be maintained for all overtime. Nothing in this section shall prevent an apprentice from doing overtime work permitted office boys under section 88.

87. Apprentices shall be registered on the books of the union and shall at all times be under the direction of the foreman and supervision of the chairman in regard to carrying out these rules.

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88. Office boys (not apprentices) may carry proofs and copy, and sort and put away leads, furniture, cuts, and plates; set pi and handle and prove type on galleys, but shall not set, make-up, nor distribute type, nor break up forms, nor act as bankman.

89. No apprentice may leave one office and enter the service of another employer without the written consent of his first employer, indorsed by the president of Typographical Union No. 6. When an apprentice is discharged the foreman shall at once notify the chairman of such fact, who shall investigate the cause of discharge, and if, in his opinion, the discharge is not for good and sufficient reasons he shall so report to an officer of the union.

90. Apprentices must be regularly employed, if employed at all, and not laid off on regular working days unless the composing room is completely shut down or by request of the apprentice.

91. The employer shall pay to the school for printers' apprentices a tuition fee of $25 each year, in advance, on the first day of each and every school term while the apprentice is in his employment: *Provided*, The employer shall not be required to pay the tuition fee of the apprentice if said apprentice is in the first year of his apprenticeship.

92. The school for printers' apprentices is conducted cooperatively and jointly by the league and the union, as provided in the school agreement between the league, the union, and the Hudson Guild.

93. The apprentice must pay to the school for printers' apprentices the following tuition fees, which may be paid in eight monthly instalments, in advance, beginning with the first month of each and every school term:

	Per year	Per payment
Second year apprenticeship	$15.00	$1.88
Third year apprenticeship	18.00	2.25
Fourth year apprenticeship	22.00	2.75
Fifth year apprenticeship	30.00	3.75

94. The apprentice must attend the school for printers' apprentices of New York, if employed on the day shift one stipulated afternoon session each week, if employed on the night shift one stipulated night session each week from the beginning of his second year until the completion of his apprenticeship. In either case apprentice shall be paid by employer for time while attending said school.

95. The apprentice must on his own time attend the above school one stipulated night session each week if employed on the day shift, if employed on the night shift one stipulated afternoon session each week, from the beginning of his second year until the completion of his apprenticeship.

96. The employer, or any representative of his, shall not interfere with the attendance of the apprentice at the school for printers' apprentices or machine school on his stipulated days or nights for attending same.

97. All employers and apprentices shall abide by all the rules governing the employing of apprentices as set forth in this "Scale of prices for book and job work" and such other rules and regulations as may be agreed upon from time to time by the union and the league in relation to apprentices.

98. Should an apprentice be careless and neglectful of the duties required by those in control of his trade training, his case shall be investigated by the committee on apprentices of the union for such action as they deem advisable even to the extent of revoking his registration. If the committee on apprentices of the union or the employer so desire, the case shall be referred to the joint apprentice committee, whose duty it shall be to investigate same, and report its findings, which shall in all cases be final and binding.

99. These rules shall be posted conspicuously in all offices.

100. A joint apprentice committee composed of five representatives from the league and five representatives from the union shall be formed to study, investigate and report, and during the life of this contract act to secure enforcement of the conditions outlined in this contract covering apprentices and shall have full power to enforce and regulate section 83 of this scale. The committee shall have full power and authority any time during the term of apprenticeship to cancel the apprenticeship of an apprentice who does not show aptitude and proper qualifications for the work This committee shall meet jointly at the call of the chairman of each committee, at such time and place as may be determined by them.

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Appendix E.—Arbitration Agreement Between Printers' League Section, New York Employing Printers' Association (Inc.) and New York Printing Pressmen's Union No. 51

[In effect the first day of the first full fiscal week after October 1, 1927, up to and including October 1, 1929]

This agreement, made this 1st day of January, 1928, between the Printers' League Section, New York Employing Printers Association (Inc.), hereinafter called the "league," and New York Printing Pressmen's Union No. 51, I. P. P. & A. U., hereinafter called the "union."

Section 1. The league agrees to employ none but members of the union to do any work that comes under the jurisdiction of said union: *Provided*, That said union can and will at all times furnish, upon requirement by a member or members of the league, sufficient competent men for the needs of such member or members of the league. It also being understood and agreed that in case of the failure of the union to furnish such number of competent workmen as may be required, then and then only, members of the league shall be privileged to secure necessary help elsewhere, until such time as the union can furnish the help required. And it is further agreed by the league that it will do no work that comes under the jurisdiction of the union for any firm that does not employ members of said union, provided the union does not allow its members to do the same class of work in "open shops" unless by mutual consent.

Sec. 2. All members of the league shall be protected under this agreement by the union against walkouts, boycotts, or any other form of concerted interference with the peaceful operation of all departments coming under the jurisdiction of said union: *And it is further provided*, That the league agrees with the union to arbitrate any and all differences that may arise under this agreement between the league and the union, if those differences can not be first settled by conciliation.

Sec. 3. The league and the union hereby agree to enter into a scale contract for a set period, fixing the wages, hours, and working conditions of members of the union employed by members of the league, which scale contract may be amended, extended, or abrograted in accordance with provisions therein expressed without in any way affecting any of the terms or conditions of this arbitration agreement; and this arbitration agreement may be altered, amended, or extended without affecting any of the terms or conditions of said scale contract. The wages, hours, and working conditions set forth in the scale contract will be inaugurated and maintained by both parties to this agreement; and said union further agrees that it will not allow any of its members to work for less wages or more hours than those set forth in said scale contract.

Sec. 4. All disputes arising over provisions in the scale contract shall be subject to arbitration under the provisions of this agreement if such disputes can not be adjusted through conciliation.

Sec. 5. Local union laws not affecting wages, hours, and working conditions, and the laws of the international union shall not be subject to the provisions of this agreement: *Provided*, That the international or local laws enacted subsequent to the execution of the scale contract herein referred to shall not be effective during the life of such contract.

Sec. 6. All differences of opinion on any question arising under this agreement shall be submitted to the president of the union and the chairman of the conference committee of the league for conciliation, and if conciliation fails, then and at all times said differences shall be submitted to the joint conference committee.

Sec. 7. The joint conference committee shall be a standing committee and shall consist of five members and five alternates appointed by the league and a like number of members and alternates appointed by the union. This committee shall meet separately on the call of the chairman of each part for consultation and jointly by the call of the chairman of each committee, at such time and place as may be determined by them. Due notice in writing of such meeting shall be given all interested parties. A majority vote of each part of the committee shall be necessary to a decision.

Sec. 8. (*a*) The said joint conference committee must act within five full business days when its services are desired by either party to an appeal as above.

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(*b*) The alternates may meet with the committee of the organization to which they belong, but shall not take part in the proceedings of the joint conference committee except as substitutes.

Sec. 9. When the joint conference committee renders a decision which is unsatisfactory to either side, or when it is unable to reach a decision within 10 full business days after the final submission of the case to said committee, then review by an arbitrator of any dispute involving the interpretation of the terms of existing "Wage scale and working conditions contract" and, in case of dispute over the renewal of the "Wage scale and working conditions contract," before a board of three arbitrators to be appointed by mutual agreement may be asked for by the dissatisfied party through appeal, provided written notice of appeal to the other party be given 5 full business days after decision has been rendered, and a written statement setting forth the grounds of the appeal is filed with the joint conference committee within 10 full business days after the decision has been rendered.

Sec. 10. In the event it becomes necessary under this agreement to have an arbitrator or a board of three arbitrators, he is or they are to be selected by a majority vote of each part of the joint conference committee. Should the conferees fail to agree on an arbitrator or on a board of three arbitrators within 15 full business days, each side shall within 5 full business days select an arbitrator and the two so selected shall within 5 full business days select the third.

Sec. 11. The conditions obtaining before the initiation of the dispute shall remain in effect pending the findings of the joint conference committee or arbitrator.

Sec. 12. The following rules shall govern the joint conference committee in adjusting differences between parties to this agreement:

a. It may demand duplicate typewritten statements of grievances.

b. It may examine all parties involved in any differences referred to it for adjudication.

c. It may employ such stenographer or clerks as may prove necessary to facilitate its business.

d. It may require affidavit on any or all disputed points.

e. It shall allow equal opportunity for presentation of evidence or argument.

f. Its deliberations shall be conducted in executive session and the finding, whether unanimous or not, shall be signed by all members of the board in each instance, or shall be certified to by the chairman and secretary of the joint committee to the two parties to this agreement. A member of the joint conference committee may hand in a dissenting opinion to become a part of the records of the proceedings.

g. In the event that either party to the dispute refuses to appear or present his case after due notice, it may be adjudicated and finding rendered in accordance with such evidence as may be in the possession of the committee.

h. All evidence communicated to the committee in confidence shall be preserved inviolate and no record of such evidence shall be kept except for use on appeal, in which case such inviolability shall still be preserved.

i. All expenses attendant upon the settlement of any appeal or hearing before the committee or arbitrator shall be borne by the party losing the appeal, or, in case of a compromise being reached, each party to the controversy shall bear half of the cost.

Sec. 13. In case the matter in dispute is finally referred to an arbitrator or to a board of three arbitrators both parties to the controversy shall appear personally or by proxy, the proxy to be either a duly recognized member of either body in good standing or their accredited representatives or counsel and not of the legal profession; or may submit records and briefs, and may make oral or written arguments in support of their several contentions. They may submit an agreed statement of facts, or a transcript of testimony properly certified to before a notary public by the stenographer taking the original evidence or depositions.

Sec. 14. Pending final decisions by the arbitrator, work, without interference and under existing conditions, shall continue in the office of the employing printer party to the case, and the award by said arbitration shall in all cases include the determination of the issues involved, covering the period between the raising of the issues and their final settlement; and any change or changes in the wage scale of employees may, at the discretion of the arbitrator, be made effective from the date the issues were first made.

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SEC. 15. In the event that either party to the dispute refuses to accept and comply with the decision of the arbitrator, all aid and support to the firm or employer, or member or members of the union refusing such acceptance and compliance, shall be withdrawn by both parties to this agreement. The act or acts of such employer or member of the union shall be publicly disavowed and the aggrieved party to this agreement shall be furnished by the other party hereto with an official document to such effect.

SEC. 16. It is further agreed that all employers holding membership in the league shall be accorded terms and conditions as good or better than those accorded employers who are not members of the league.

The foregoing agreement between the league and the union shall remain in full force and effect upon being ratified by both bodies parties thereto, and so attested from October 1, 1927, to and including the 1st day of October, 1929.

In witness thereof, and in full attest of ratification by both bodies, the undersigned presidents, respectively, of the parties to this agreement have hereunto signed their names, attested by the secretaries of each organization this 1st day of October, 1927.

Appendix F.—Constitution and Rules of Joint Industrial Council of Printing and Allied Trades of United Kingdom

CONSTITUTION

1. The joint industrial council is an association of (1) employers who are members of the Federation of Master Printers and Allied Trades of the United Kingdom, and who employ members of a federated trade union, and (2) trade unions affiliated to the Printing and Kindred Trades Federation of the United Kingdom. No members of any organization not in harmony with the objects of both federations shall be eligible for membership of the joint industrial council.

OBJECTS

2. To secure complete organization of employers and employees throughout the trade.

3. To promote good relationship between employers and employed; to secure cooperation and the recognition of mutual interests; to encourage direct contact between employers and workers; to devise ways and means of settling any differences that may arise; to resist the action of those who would injure the fair standard of prices and wages by disposing of their goods or labor at less than the standard mutually agreed upon; and to do all things possible for the betterment of the trade and the improvement of its conditions.

4. To establish uniform working hours and conditions.

5. To assist in the maintenance of such selling prices as will afford reasonable remuneration to both employers and employees.

6. To establish means of insuring to the workpeople the greatest possible security of earnings and employment, without restriction upon change of employer; and to endeavor to minimize unemployment and casual labor.

7. To secure recognition by all persons in the trade of agreements relating to wages and working conditions.

8. To provide means for securing to the workpeople a greater share in and responsibility for the determination and observance of the conditions of health and comfort under which their work is carried on.

9. To take in hand the question of apprenticeship conditions; the adoption of suitable methods of selection for apprentices, and the technical training for apprentices, learners, and journeymen throughout the industry; the removal of blind-alley occupations; the improvement of processes, designs, and standards of workmanship; to seek adequate representation on the control and management of all technical institutes; to consider and report upon all improvement of processes, machinery, and organization, and appropriate questions relating to management and the examination of industrial experiments, with special reference to cooperation in carrying new ideas into effect, and full consideration of the workpeople's point of view in relation thereto. The better utilization of the practical knowledge and experience of the workpeople, with provision of facilities for the full consideration and utilization of acceptable inventions

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and improvements designed by employers or workpeople, and for the adequate safeguarding of the rights of the designers of such improvements.

10. To consider, report, advise, and make representation upon any proposed legislation affecting the trade; to combine to secure full and proper observance of the House of Commons fair-wage resolution by public bodies.

11. To insist upon clean, healthy workshops; to encourage full and proper ventilation, clean surroundings, and decent habits; to promote the systematic observation of the health of workpeople generally, and especially of young persons of both sexes until they reach the age of 18, in continuation of the methods in use in public elementary schools, and to combat the scourge of tuberculosis. To this end the joint industrial council shall inquire and report upon the advisability of the creation of sanatoriums, etc., controlled by the joint industrial council or otherwise; in this connection to secure the services of medical inspectors to the end that men and women suffering from tuberculosis shall be ordered to cease work immediately and to receive treatment at the institution referred to, and to provide that some maintenance grant be provided to them during their stay in the sanatorium.

12. To encourage friendly intercourse between all engaged in the industry outside of working hours by means of sports and social clubs and by other means.

13. To encourage the establishment of welfare departments and the provision of meal rooms for workpeople.

14. To promote the recognition of merit and ability among workpeople.

15. To consider and, if necessary, deal with any other matters of general interest to the trade.

16. For the purpose of administration there shall in addition to the joint industrial council be district committees, and such standing and subcommittees as the joint industrial council shall decide upon from time to time.

There shall be for Scotland a branch of the industrial council which shall deal with all matters affecting the industry in Scotland, subject always to the national council.

Method of Conducting Business

Joint industrial council

17. The council shall comprise 60 members, 30 elected by the employers and 30 by the various trade unions, all of whom must be members of the Printing and Allied Trades of the United Kingdom.

It shall meet at least once each quarter on the second Wednesday in January, April, July, and October at 10 a. m. The meeting in or about June shall be the annual meeting, at which all officers, etc., shall be elected for the ensuing 12 months.

It shall have full power to consider all matters connected with the industry.

It shall have power to appoint standing or subcommittees for any purpose; such committees shall have power to consult experts.

It shall appoint and maintain its own secretaries and clerical staff, fix their duties and remuneration, arrange for its own accommodation, and control its own expenses. All expenses of administration incurred shall be divided equally between the employers and the trade-unions.

Thirty to form a quorum.

District committees

18. In each important town (including adjacent smaller towns) a district committee shall be formed comprising an equal number of employers and trade-union representatives. Each district shall register its formation and area with the secretaries of the joint industrial council and annually send in lists of its officials.

The trade-union representatives in each district shall decide how many representatives they will send to the district committee, and the employers within the district shall nominate a similar number of representatives.

The district committees shall have executive powers to deal only with matters within and concerning their respective areas. In case of nonagreement the matter shall be referred to the joint industrial council. All matters which do or may concern other areas shall be referred to the joint industrial council to be dealt with.

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The rules for the conduct of the business of the joint industrial council shall generally apply to these committees.

Each district committee shall convene a local annual conference at least three months preceding the annual convention, at which representatives of employers and employees from all works shall be invited to attend. The conference shall discuss motions for submission to the annual convention. These meetings shall be open to members of the trade as visitors.

Each district committee shall be responsible for the expenses of its delegates to the annual convention.

Committees

There shall be the following standing committees and the chairman and vice chairman of the council shall be ex officio members of all committees.

19. General purposes committee: Six members from each party to form a quorum.

20. Finance committee: Chairman and vice chairman, two members from each party.

21. Organization committee: Six members from each party.

22. Conciliation committee: Chairman and vice chairman of the council and four members from each panel of the council. The four members from each panel shall be selected respectively by the parties to the dispute. The joint secretaries shall be in attendance.

23. Health committee: Four members from each party.

24. Unemployment committee: Four members from each party.

25. Apprentices and technical education committee: Four members from each party.

GENERAL RULES

26. (*a*) All members of any committee must be members of the printing and allied trades as defined under clause 1.

(*b*) All committees shall comprise an equal number of employers and representatives of trade-unions, each party electing its own representatives.

In the unavoidable absence of an elected member of any standing or subcommittee, a deputy (whose name shall have been previously registered) may attend in his or her place.

When the chairman is an employer, the vice chairman shall be a member of a trade-union and vice versa.

The chair and vice chair shall pass from party to party annually.

(*c*) The officers in all cases shall be elected for one year only.

(*d*) The chairman, or, in his absence, the vice chairman, shall preside, and shall have a vote, but not a casting vote.

(*e*) All committees shall appoint annually their own chairman and vice chairman, except the finance commitee, over which the chairman of the joint industrial council shall preside.

(*f*) Special meetings of the joint industrial council may be summoned at the discretion of the chairman, vice chairman and joint secretaries acting together, or on a requisition signed by any six members (three from each side) of the joint industrial council and endorsed by the general purposes committee.

Not less than seven clear days' notice shall be given, and an agenda shall be included with the notice of meeting. No resolution shall be considered by the joint industrial council unless notice has been given in time to allow of its being placed on the agenda, except with the consent of the general purposes committee. All resolutions must have attached to them the names of both mover and seconder prior to being sent to the secretaries. Amendments to resolutions may be moved without previous notice.

Speeches shall be limited as follows: Chairmen of subcommittees in introducing their reports and movers of resolutions, 15 minutes. Other speakers, 10 minutes.

(*g*) The joint industrial council shall circulate to its members, as early as possible, copies of the minutes of all its meetings.

(*h*) Standing committees shall meet at least once in each quarter. They shall be convened by their chairman, or, in his absence, the vice chairman, who shall fix time and place. Seven clear days' notice shall be given, an agenda of business to be transacted to be sent with notice. They shall send the report of their proceedings to the joint secretaries in time to be circulated with the agenda for the next meeting of the joint industrial council.

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(*i*) The joint industrial council shall issue an annual report, outlining its activities during the year prior to the meeting of the annual convention. Such report shall be prepared by the secretaries and submitted to the council.

(*j*) All standing committees shall keep minutes and shall forward their reports to the joint secretaries of the joint industrial council for issue with the council's agenda.

(*k*) Subcommittees will meet on appointment as required and will keep minutes, which shall be submitted to the joint industrial council for confirmation, except when otherwise provided for. Such minutes shall be forwarded to the joint secretaries of the joint industrial council for issue with the council's agenda.

(*l*) As far as possible, the order of speaking shall be for and against the propositions under discussion. Where no difference of opinion is shown, it shall be at the discretion of the chairman to put the question to the vote.

(*m*) Members of the joint industrial council unable to attend a meeting may appoint a substitute, who shall have the same powers of speaking and voting as the member for whom he is acting. Members who appoint substitutes must do so in writing, such communication to be read by the secretary immediately the chairman takes the chair.

(*n*) Suspension of standing orders may be moved at any time, but shall not be deemed carried unless supported by a majority on both sides.

(*o*) Voting: Voting on all questions in the annual convention, joint industrial council and its subcommittees, and in the district committees and conferences, shall be by show of hands, and a majority on both sides, irrespective of the numbers present, shall be required to carry any resolution or motion.

(*p*) Disputes and differences: *If local.—a.* In the case of any dispute of a local character as defined by rule 10 (district committees) no strike, lockout or other aggressive or coercive action shall be taken until the matter in question has been placed by consent of the parties before the district committee, or failing such consent, before the conciliation committee of the council, and pending such reference the dispute shall remain in abeyance, the members of the union (or unions) to remain at work, and the employer (or employers) concerned, not to persist beyond the point of protest. Both parties shall conform to normal conditions pending the reference. In all cases the district committee must be notified of the dispute.

b. In all cases where a dispute has been referred to the district committee and a settlement has not been effected, or where there is no district committee, the joint secretaries of the council must be notified of the dispute.

If national.—c. In the case of any dispute of a national character in which there has been failure to agree and which might lead to aggressive action, the parties to the dispute shall immediately advise the joint secretaries thereof.

Reference to council.—d. The joint secretaries of the council on receiving notification of any failure to agree shall arrange for a meeting of the conciliation committee within seven days. In the event of the conciliation committee failing to effect a settlement, the committee shall have power to authorize the convening of a special meeting of the council within fourteen days thereafter, and pending such reference the dispute shall remain in abeyance, the members of the union (or unions) to remain at work, and the employer (or employers) concerned, not to persist beyond the point of protest. Both parties shall conform to normal conditions pending the reference.

e. The joint secretaries shall draw up the "Terms of reference" in consultation with the parties concerned.

The conciliation committee shall comprise.—f. The president and vice president of the joint industrial council for the time being, and four members from each panel of the joint industrial council.

The four members from each panel shall be selected by the parties to the dispute.

The joint secretaries shall be in attendance.

g. In the event of a dispute arising between an employers' organization or a trade-union which is a member of the joint industrial council and a third party not a member of this council, which dispute is likely to involve working relations in the printing and allied trades, as represented on this council, then the joint secretaries shall at once be informed so as to enable the council to protect the interests of its members.

(*q*) *Withdrawal from membership:* Any member being either an employer or a trade-union may withdraw from the industrial council by giving 6-months'

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notice in writing to the joint industrial council, but such notice shall not be given so as to determine the membership within one year of joining.

(*r*) *Dissolution:* The industrial council may be dissolved by either the Federation of Master Printers or the Printing and Kindred Trades Federation giving six months' notice in writing of their intention to withdraw, but such notice shall not become operative until 12 months have elapsed from the first meeting of the annual convention.

27. *Works advisory committee:* Works advisory committees may be created in every office where possible, representative of management and workpeople.

28. *Annual convention:* There shall be an annual convention, consisting of the joint industrial council with delegates from every district committee, in equal numbers of employers and employees, each side electing its own representatives. The meetings of the annual convention shall be open to all concerned in the trade as visitors. The function of the convention shall be limited to the discussion of matters of general principle affecting the printing and allied trades—industrial, economic, legislative, and hygienic.

AGREED PRINCIPLES

29. *Production:* That the employers shall have full advantage of the individual efforts and good will of all their employees to assist in economical production, and generally in forwarding the interests of the respective houses.

That it is desirable to encourage scientific adaptation of management, workers, and machines to the work, and that the functions of the district committees and works advisory committees should include the application of this principle to individual cases.

30. *Cost finding:* That all employers should adopt and use for costing and estimating, a uniform costing system approved by the joint industrial council, or be guided by any schedule of hourly cost rates issued for their district and approved by the joint industrial council.

31. *Alteration of constitution or rules:* No alteration of constitution or rules shall be made except at the annual meeting of the joint industrial council by a two-thirds majority on both sides, nor shall such alterations be considered unless the secretaries shall have received a notice in writing at least 30 days before the date of such meeting, stating in full the proposed alteration, which shall be placed on the agenda.

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LIST OF BULLETINS OF THE BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS

The following is a list of all bulletins of the Bureau of Labor Statistics published since July, 1912, except that in the case of bulletins giving the results of periodic surveys of the bureau only the latest bulletin on any one subject is here listed.

A complete list of the reports and bulletins issued prior to July, 1912, as well as the bulletins published since that date, will be furnished on application. Bulletins marked thus (*) are out of print.

Conciliation and Arbitration (Including Strikes and Lockouts).

*No. 124. Conciliation and arbitration in the building trades of Greater New York. [1913.]
*No. 133. Report of the industrial council of the British Board of Trade on its inquiry into industrial agreements. [1913.]
No. 139. Michigan copper district strike. [1914.]
No. 144. Industrial court of the cloak, suit, and skirt industry of New York City. [1914.]
No. 145. Conciliation, arbitration, and sanitation in the dress and waist industry of New York City. [1914.]
*No. 191. Collective bargaining in the anthracite-coal industry. [1916.]
*No. 198. Collective agreements in the men's clothing industry. [1916.]
No. 233. Operation of the industrial disputes investigation act of Canada. [1918.]
No. 255. Joint industrial councils in Great Britain. [1919.]
No. 283. History of the Shipbuilding Labor Adjustment Board, 1917 to 1919.
No. 287. National War Labor Board: History of its formation, activities, etc. [1921.]
No. 303. Use of Federal power in settlement of railway labor disputes. [1922.]
No. 341. Trade agreement in the silk-ribbon industry of New York City. [1923.]
No. 402. Collective bargaining by actors. [1926.]
No. 468. Trade agreements, 1927.

Cooperation.

No. 313. Consumers' cooperative societies in the United States in 1920.
No. 314. Cooperative credit societies in America and in foreign countries. [1922.]
No. 437. Cooperative movement in the United States in 1925 (other than agricultural).

Employment and Unemployment.

*No. 109. Statistics of unemployment and the work of employment offices in the United States. [1913.]
No. 172. Unemployment in New York City, N. Y. [1915.]
*No. 183. Regularity of employment in the women's ready-to-wear garment industries. [1915.]
*No. 195. Unemployment in the United States. [1916.]
No. 196. Proceedings of the Employment Managers' Conference held at Minneapolis, Minn., January 19 and 20, 1916.
*No. 202. Proceedings of the conference of Employment Managers' Association of Boston, Mass., held May 10, 1916.
No. 206. The British system of labor exchanges. [1916.]
No. 227. Proceedings of the Employment Managers' Conference, Philadelphia, Pa., April 2 and 3, 1917.
No. 235. Employment system of the Lake Carriers' Association. [1918.]
*No. 241. Public employment offices in the United States. [1918.]
No. 247. Proceedings of Employment Managers' Conference, Rochester, N. Y., May 9–11, 1918.
No. 310. Industrial unemployment: A statistical study of its extent and causes. [1922.]
No. 409. Unemployment in Columbus, Ohio, 1921 to 1925.

Foreign Labor Laws.

*No. 142. Administration of labor laws and factory inspection in certain European countries. [1914.]

Housing.

*No. 158. Government aid to home owning and housing of working people in foreign countries. [1914.]
No. 263. Housing by employers in the United States. [1920.]
No. 295. Building operations in representative cities in 1920.
No. 469. Building permits in the principal cities of the United States in [1921 to] 1927. (In press.)

Industrial Accidents and Hygiene.

*No. 104. Lead poisoning in potteries, tile works, and porcelain enameled sanitary ware factories. [1912.]
No. 120. Hygiene of the painters' trade. [1913.]
*No. 127. Dangers to workers from dusts and fumes, and methods of protection. [1913.]
*No. 141. Lead poisoning in the smelting and refining of lead. [1914.]
*No. 157. Industrial accident statistics. [1915.]
*No. 165. Lead poisoning in the manufacture of storage batteries. [1914.]
*No. 179. Industrial poisons used in the rubber industry. [1915.]
No. 188. Report of British departmental committee on the danger in the use of lead in the painting of buildings. [1916.]
*No. 201. Report of committee on statistics and compensation insurance cost of the International Association of Industrial Accident Boards and Commissions. [1916.]
*No. 207. Causes of death, by occupation. [1917.]
*No. 209. Hygiene of the printing trades. [1917.]

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Industrial Accidents and Hygiene—Continued.

*No. 219. Industrial poisons used or produced in the manufacture of explosives. [1917.]
No. 221. Hours, fatigue, and health in British munitions factories. [1917.]
No. 230. Industrial efficiency and fatigue in British munition factories. [1917.]
*No. 231. Mortality from respiratory diseases in dusty trades (inorganic dusts). [1918.]
*No. 234. Safety movement in the iron and steel industry, 1907 to 1917.
No. 236. Effects of the air hammer on the hands of stonecutters. [1918.]
No. 249. Industrial health and efficiency. Final report of British Health of Munition Workers' Committee. [1919.]
*No. 251. Preventable death in the cotton-manufacturing industry. [1919.]
No. 256. Accidents and accident prevention in machine building. [1919.]
No. 267. Anthrax as an occupational disease. [1920.]
No. 276. Standardization of industrial accident statistics. [1920.]
No. 280. Industrial poisoning in making coal-tar dyes and dye intermediates. [1921.]
No. 291. Carbon-monoxide poisoning. [1921.]
No. 293. The problem of dust phthisis in the granite-stone industry. [1922.]
No. 298. Causes and prevention of accidents in the iron and steel industry, 1910–1919.
No. 306. Occupational hazards and diagnostic signs: A guide to impairments to be looked for in hazardous occupations. [1922.]
No. 339. Statistics of industrial accidents in the United States. [1923.]
No. 392. Survey of hygienic conditions in the printing trades. [1925.]
No. 405. Phosphorus necrosis in the manufacture of fireworks and in the preparation of phosphorus. [1926.]
No. 425. Record of industrial accidents in the United States to 1925.
No. 426. Deaths from lead poisoning. [1927.]
No. 427. Health survey of the printing trades, 1922 to 1925.
No. 428. Proceedings of the Industrial Accident Prevention Conference, held at Washington, D. C., July 14–16, 1926.
No. 460. A new test for industrial lead poisoning. [1928.]
No. 466. Settlement for accidents to American seamen.

Industrial Relations and Labor Conditions.

No. 237. Industrial unrest in Great Britain. [1917.]
No. 340. Chinese migrations, with special reference to labor conditions. [1923.]
No. 349. Industrial relations in the West Coast lumber industry. [1923.]
No. 361. Labor relations in the Fairmont (W. Va.) bituminous-coal field. [1924.]
No. 380. Postwar labor conditions in Germany. [1925.]
No. 383. Works council movement in Germany. [1925.]
No. 384. Labor conditions in the shoe industry in Massachusetts, 1920–1924.
No. 399. Labor relations in the lace and lace-curtain industries in the United States. [1925.]

Labor Laws of the United States (Including Decisions of Courts Relating to Labor).

No. 211. Labor laws and their administration in the Pacific States. [1917.]
No. 229. Wage-payment legislation in the United States. [1917.]
No. 285. Minimum wage laws of the United States: Construction and operation. [1921.]
No. 321. Labor laws that have been declared unconstitutional. [1922.]
No. 322. Kansas Court of Industrial Relations. [1923.]
No. 343. Laws providing for bureaus of labor statistics, etc. [1923.]
No. 370. Labor laws of the United States, with decisions of courts relating thereto [1925.]
No. 408. Laws relating to payment of wages. [1926.]
No. 444. Decisions of courts and opinions affecting labor, 1926.
No. 467. Minimum wage legislation in various countries. (In press.)
No. 470. Labor legislation of 1927.

Proceedings of Annual Conventions of the Association of Governmental Labor Officials of the United States and Canada. (Name changed in 1928 to Association of Governmental Officials in Industry of the United States and Canada.)

*No. 266. Seventh, Seattle, Wash., July 12–15, 1920.
No. 307. Eighth, New Orleans, La., May 2–6, 1921.
No. 323. Ninth, Harrisburg, Pa., May 22–26, 1922.
No. 352. Tenth, Richmond, Va., May 1–4, 1923.
No. 389. Eleventh, Chicago, Ill., May 19–23, 1924.
No. 411. Twelfth, Salt Lake City, Utah, August 13–15, 1925.
No. 429. Thirteenth, Columbus, Ohio, June 7–10, 1926.
No. 455. Fourteenth, Paterson, N. J., May 31 to June 3, 1927.
No. 480. Fifteenth, New Orleans, La., May 15–24, 1928. (In press.)

Proceedings of Annual Meetings of the International Association of Industrial Accident Boards and Commissions.

No. 210. Third, Columbus, Ohio, April 25–28, 1916.
No. 248. Fourth, Boston, Mass., August 21–25, 1917.
No. 264. Fifth, Madison, Wis., September 24–27, 1918.
*No. 273. Sixth, Toronto, Canada, September 23–26, 1919.
No. 281. Seventh, San Francisco, Calif., September 20–24, 1920.
No. 304. Eighth, Chicago, Ill., September 19–23, 1921.
No. 333. Ninth, Baltimore, Md., October 9–13, 1922.
No. 359. Tenth, St. Paul, Minn., September 24–26, 1923.
No. 385. Eleventh, Halifax, Nova Scotia, August 26–28, 1924.
No. 395. Index to proceedings, 1914–1924.
No. 406. Twelfth, Salt Lake City, Utah, August 17–20, 1925.
No. 432. Thirteenth, Hartford, Conn., September 14–17, 1926.
No. 456. Fourteenth, Atlanta, Ga., September 27–29, 1927.

Proceedings of Annual Meetings of International Association of Public Employment Services.

No. 192. First, Chicago, December 19 and 20, 1913; second, Indianapolis, September 24 and 25, 1914; third, Detroit, July 1 and 2, 1915.
No. 220. Fourth, Buffalo, N. Y., July 20 and 21, 1916.
No. 311. Ninth, Buffalo, N. Y., September 7–9, 1921.
No. 337. Tenth, Washington, D. C., September 11–13, 1922.
No. 355. Eleventh, Toronto, Canada, September 4–7, 1923.
No. 400. Twelfth, Chicago, Ill., May 19–23, 1924.

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Proceedings of Annual Meetings of the International Association of Public Employment Services—Continued.

No. 414. Thirteenth, Rochester, N. Y., September 15–17, 1925.
No. 478. Fifteenth, Detroit, Mich., October 25–28, 1927.

Productivity of Labor.

No. 356. Productivity costs in the common-brick industry. [1924.]
No. 360. Time and labor costs in manufacturing 100 pairs of shoes, 1923.
No. 407. Labor cost of production and wages and hours of labor in the paper box-board industry. [1926.]
No. 412. Wages, hours, and productivity in the pottery industry, 1925.
No. 441. Productivity of labor in the glass industry. [1927.]
No. 474. Productivity of labor in merchant blast furnaces. (In press.)
No. 475. Productivity of labor in newspaper printing. (In press.)

Retail Prices and Cost of Living.

*No. 121. Sugar prices, from refiner to consumer. [1913.]
*No. 130. Wheat and flour prices, from farmer to consumer. [1913.]
*No. 164. Butter prices, from producer to consumer. [1914.]
No. 170. Foreign food prices as affected by the war. [1915.]
No. 357. Cost of living in the United States. [1924.]
No. 369. The use of cost-of-living figures in wage adjustments. [1925.]
No. 464. Retail prices, 1890 to 1927.

Safety Codes.

*No. 331. Code of lighting: Factories, mills, and other work places.
No. 336. Safety code for the protection of industrial workers in foundries.
No. 350. Specifications of laboratory tests for approval of electric headlighting devices for motor vehicles.
No. 351. Safety code for the construction, care, and use of ladders.
No. 375. Safety code for laundry machinery and operations.
No. 378. Safety code for woodworking plants.
No. 382. Code of lighting school buildings.
No. 410. Safety code for paper and pulp mills.
No. 430. Safety code for power presses and foot and hand presses.
No. 433. Safety codes for the prevention of dust explosions.
No. 436. Safety code for the use, care, and protection of abrasive wheels.
No. 447. Safety code for rubber mills and calenders.
No. 451. Safety code for forging and hot-metal stamping.
No. 463. Safety code for mechanical power-transmission apparatus—first revision.

Vocational Workers' Education.

*No. 159. Short-unit courses for wage earners, and a factory school experiment. [1915.]
*No. 162. Vocational education survey of Richmond, Va. [1915.]
No. 199. Vocational education survey of Minneapolis, Minn. [1917.]
No. 271. Adult working-class education in Great Britain and the United States. [1920.]
No. 459. Apprenticeship in building construction. [1928.]

Wages and Hours of Labor.

*No. 146. Wages and regularity of employment and standardization of piece rates in the dress and waist industry of New York City. [1914.]
*No. 147. Wages and regularity of employment in the cloak, suit, and skirt industry. [1914.]
No. 161. Wages and hours of labor in the clothing and cigar industries, 1911 to 1913.
No. 163. Wages and hours of labor in the building and repairing of steam railroad cars, 1907 to 1913.
*No. 190. Wages and hours of labor in the cotton, woolen, and silk industries, 1907 to 1914.
No. 204. Street-railway employment in the United States. [1917.]
No. 225. Wages and hours of labor in the lumber, millwork, and furniture industries, 1915.
No. 265. Industrial survey in selected industries in the United States, 1919.
No. 297. Wages and hours of labor in the petroleum industry, 1920.
No. 356. Productivity costs in the common-brick industry. [1924.]
No. 358. Wages and hours of labor in the automobile-tire industry, 1923.
No. 360. Time and labor costs in manufacturing 100 pairs of shoes, 1923.
No. 365. Wages and hours of labor in the paper and pulp industry, 1923.
No. 394. Wages and hours of labor in metalliferous mines, 1924.
No. 407. Labor cost of production and wages and hours of labor in the paper box-board industry. [1925.]
No. 412. Wages, hours, and productivity in the pottery industry, 1925.
No. 413. Wages and hours of labor in the lumber industry in the United States, 1925.
No. 416. Hours and earnings in anthracite and bituminous coal mining, 1922 and 1924.
No. 435. Wages and hours of labor in the men's clothing industry, 1911 to 1926.
No. 438. Wages and hours of labor in the motor-vehicle industry, 1925.
No. 442. Wages and hours of labor in the iron and steel industry, 1907 to 1926.
No. 443. Wages and hours of labor in woolen and worsted goods manufacturing, 1910 to 1926.
No. 446. Wages and hours of labor in cotton-goods manufacturing, 1910 to 1926.
No. 450. Wages and hours of labor in the boot and shoe industry, 1907 to 1926.
No. 452. Wages and hours of labor in the hosiery and underwear industry, 1907 to 1926.
No. 454. Hours and earnings in bituminous-coal mining, 1922, 1924, and 1926.
No. 457. Union scales of wages and hours of labor, May 15, 1927.
No. 471. Wages and hours of labor in foundries and machine shops, 1927. (In press.)
No. 472. Wages and hours of labor in slaughtering and meat packing, 1927. (In press.)
No. 476. Union scales of wages and hours of labor, 1927. Supplement to Bul. 457. (In press.)

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Welfare Work.

*No. 123. Employers' welfare work. [1913.]
No. 222. Welfare work in British munitions factories. [1917.]
*No. 250. Welfare work for employees in industrial establishments in the United States. [1919.]
No. 458. Health and recreation activities in industrial establishments, 1926.

Wholesale Prices.

No. 284. Index numbers of wholesale prices in the United States and foreign countries. [1921.]
No. 440. Wholesale prices, 1890 to 1926.
No. 453. Revised index numbers of wholesale prices, 1923 to July, 1927.
No. 473. Wholesale prices, 1913 to 1927. (In press.)

Women and Children in Industry.

No. 116. Hours, earnings, and duration of employment of wage-earning women in selected industries in the District of Columbia. [1913.]
*No. 117. Prohibition of night work of young persons. [1913.]
No. 118. Ten-hour maximum working-day for women and young persons. [1913.]
No. 119. Working hours of women in the pea canneries of Wisconsin. [1913.]
*No. 122. Employment of women in power laundries in Milwaukee. [1913.]
No. 160. Hours, earnings, and conditions of labor of women in Indiana mercantile establishments and garment factories. [1914.]
*No. 167. Minimum-wage legislation in the United States and foreign countries. [1915.]
*No. 175. Summary of the report on conditions of woman and child wage earners in the United States. [1915.]
*No. 176. Effect of minimum-wage determinations in Oregon. [1915.]
*No. 180. The boot and shoe industry in Massachusetts as a vocation for women. [1915.]
*No. 182. Unemployment among women in department and other retail stores of Boston, Mass. [1916.]
No. 193. Dressmaking as a trade for women in Massachusetts. [1916.]
No. 215. Industrial experience of trade-school girls in Massachusetts. [1917.]
*No. 217. Effect of workmen's compensation laws in diminishing the necessity of industrial employment of women and children. [1918.]
No. 223. Employment of women and juveniles in Great Britain during the war. [1917.]
No. 253. Women in the lead industries. [1919.]

Workmen's Insurance and Compensation (Including Laws Relating Thereto).

*No. 101. Care of tuberculous wage earners in Germany. [1912.]
*No. 102. British national insurance act, 1911.
No. 103. Sickness and accident insurance law of Switzerland. [1912.]
No. 107. Law relating to insurance of salaried employees in Germany. [1913.]
*No. 155. Compensation for accidents to employees of the United States. [1914.]
No. 212. Proceedings of the conference on social insurance called by the International Association of Industrial Accident Boards and Commissions, Washington, D. C., December 5–9, 1916.
*No. 243. Workmen's compensation legislation in the United States and foreign countries, 1917 and 1918.
No. 301. Comparison of workmen's compensation insurance and administration. [1922.]
No. 312. National health insurance in Great Britain, 1911 to 1921.
No. 379. Comparison of workmen's compensation laws of the United States as of January 1, 1925.
No. 423. Workmen's compensation legislation of the United States and Canada as of July 1, 1926.
No. 477. Public-service retirement systems, United States and Europe. (In press.)

Miscellaneous Series.

*No. 174. Subject index of the publications of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics up to May 1, 1915.
No. 208. Profit sharing in the United States. [1916.]
No. 242. Food situation in central Europe, 1917.
No. 254. International labor legislation and the society of nations. [1919.]
No. 268. Historical survey of international action affecting labor. [1920.]
No. 282. Mutual relief associations among Government employees in Washington, D. C. [1921.]
No. 299. Personnel research agencies: A guide to organized research in employment management, industrial relations, training, and working conditions. [1921.]
No. 319. The Bureau of Labor Statistics: Its history, activities, and organization. [1922.]
No. 326. Methods of procuring and computing statistical information of the Bureau of Labor Statistics. [1923.]
No. 342. International Seaman's Union of America: A study of its history and problems. [1923.]
No. 346. Humanity in government. [1923.]
No. 372. Convict labor in 1923.
No. 386. Cost of American almshouses. [1925.]
No. 398. Growth of legal-aid work in the United States. [1926.]
No. 401. Family allowances in foreign countries. [1926.]
No. 420. Handbook of American trade-unions. [1926.]
No. 439. Handbook of labor statistics, 1924 to 1926.
No. 458. Health and recreation activities in industrial establishments, 1926.
No. 461. Labor organizations in Chile. [1928.]
No. 462. Park recreation areas in the United States. [1928.]
No. 465. Beneficial activities of American trade-unions.
No. 479. Activities and functions of a State Department of labor.

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