100 Years Hand-in-Hand: a Brief History of the AFL-CIO Emblem

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The "handshake" logo used by the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO) is one of the most widely recognized graphic symbols of labor unity in the United States (*fig 1: AFL logo, 1894.*). Although the AFL-CIO has used the handshake or "hand-in-hand" emblem for over one hundred years (since 1881), stylistically it has changed during these years both because of the political and cultural pressures of the different eras and because the messages the AFL-CIO was trying to send us about itself also changed. This article tracks the AFL-CIO logo through the establishment of the symbol in 1881 and seven subsequent redesigns, showing how the events of the AFL-CIO's history and their graphic self-representation are intertwined.

Figure 1: American Federation of Labor logo, 1894. Symbols of America. Hal Morgan. Viking/Steam Press: New York, 1986. 212.

The symbol of the handshake, representing the common ritualistic greeting by clasping hands, is a sign of goodwill that is almost universally understood. There are many opinions on how the custom of the handshake developed. One common assumption is that it started as a good faith gesture to show to strangers that the right hand was empty of weapons. The Art History Club web site claims that the Quakers invented the handshake in the 17th Century because the greetings of English society were elaborate and class-based and they wanted something that would indicate a meeting of equals.[1] Another theory, posted on an on-line advice blog by "Miranda," proposes that the handshake goes back to an ancient Assyrian ritual: The king would symbolically "shake" the hand of a statue of a god every year at the New

Year festival, receiving the blessings of the god and a transfer of power for another year[2]. But the handshake that concerns us in this article, the handshake signifying labor brotherhood and unity, comes from a different, specific source – The Jewish benevolent societies or *landsmanshaftn* of New York City.

Immigrants lend each other a helping hand

Between 1880 and 1924, over two million Jewish people immigrated from Eastern Europe to the United States. Jews already settled in New York developed aid societies to lend a helping hand to more recent immigrants. These groups furnished a way for people to retain ties with familiar old world customs while they assimilated into the new. One immigrant that took advantage of the social and practical support supplied by the *landsmanshaftn* was Samuel Gompers (1850-1924), the driving force behind the formation of the AFL and its first president, who reminisces in his memoirs about joining The Hand-In-Hand Society when he was eighteen and about to be a father for the first time. The society provided an amount of security for its members, as Gompers explains:

> It was a Hebrew mutual benefit society of men… who banded themselves together for the purpose of having a doctor and medicine for themselves, their wives, and their children, and provided for free burial in the Washington Cemetery. The remains of my wife, Sophia, my father and mother, my son Abraham, my daughter Sadie, and other members of my family are laid away there. I served as both president and secretary of the society and was a member until my second marriage.[3]

At various points in his biography, Gompers mentions monetary loans or other services provided to his family during the lean times at the birth of the AFL, and he credits his experience with fraternal orders like the Hand-In-Hand Society, the Ancient Order of Foresters and the Odd Fellows Order with the development of his belief in organizing for mutual benefit. Working as a cigar-maker and frustrated by the union's inability to put a stop to the abysmal working conditions he witnessed,

unionizing began to seem pointless, until he was inspired to apply the same ideas of group support to labor unions. "I had found the sentimental expression of humanitarianism and brotherhood with mutual care for others (in the societies)," Gompers said, and in that expression, he "found the meaning of the union."[4] (parenthetical added).

This "expression" was perfectly embodied in the "clasped hands" emblem of the Hand-in-Hand Society, here illustrated by the title graphic (*fig. 2*) used for Hello Landsman!, an archival exhibition created by the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research in New York (c. 1982), which focused on the history of New York *landsmanshaftn* societies.[5] Lucy Robins Lang (1921-1968), a friend and colleague of Gompers and a protégé of political activist Emma Goldman, described in an interview the genesis of the now-iconic AFL handshake symbol:

Figure 2. Title image for *Hello Landsman* exhibition brochure. YIVO Institute for Jewish Research: New York. nd. AFL ephemera collection #RG98. George Meany Memorial Archive.

> …After the American Federation of Labor was formed, the non-Jewish labor leaders honored Gompers by accepting this emblem of the Jewish society as their own, symbolizing trade union brotherhood. It is this Hebrew emblem… Hand-in-Hand, that decorates all of the stationary, books, buildings, and flags of the American Federation of Labor[6].

It seems likely that, in selecting the hand-in-hand symbol as their emblem, Gompers and the other founders of the AFL hoped it would reflect and embody, to all working men, the same helpful spirit found in the *Landsmanshaftn* society. According to the minutes of the AFL Legislative Committee meeting in Pittsburg, Pennsylvania , the hand-in-hand symbol was officially accepted as the AFL's official seal on November 19, 1881. The minutes summarize this decision thusly:

> The committee on seal reported having selected a design of hands crossed over a globe and clasped, which had been approved by the legislative committee, and they had ordered a seal accordingly.[7]

The newly accepted hand-in-hand symbol along with the new official motto, *Labor Omnia Vincit* ("Labor Conquers All") was soon put to work not only as the official insignia of the AFL but also as a union label (*fig 1*).

The Beginnings of the Union Label

According to the AFL-CIO Union Label and Service Trades Department (more about them in a moment), The first known use of the union label in the United States was by the Carpenter's Eight Hour League (1869), followed by the Cigar Maker's International Union (1874), both based in San Francisco.[8] The idea of the label was simple, yet ingenious: Identify union made goods and services by affixing labels, buttons or shop cards, and then actively encourage anyone that supported the ideals of the labor movement to buy those goods, boycotting the rest.[9]

In an era when strikers and protesters were commonly beaten and/or shot at and killed, the use of labels, which offered a non-violent, economically based way of supporting labor and punishing abusive employers, was a very attractive alternative. Gompers, a long-time member of Cigar Maker's Union local 15 in New York, and an advisor for nearly one hundred unions for other crafts, encouraged this strategy nationally. To help consumers across the country identify union-made products and show solidarity, the AFL formed the Union Label Service Trades Department (ULSTD) in 1909, and began periodically printing posters or "bulletins" reproducing all the affiliated union labels. These bulletins were widely distributed as posters to businesses and union members and frequently reproduced in labor oriented publications. By the time the 1912 union label bulletin *(fig. 4)* was printed, 67 national unions were represented. Of the 67, 18 unions incorporated the AFL hand-in-hand logo into their label, making it even more synonymous with labor unity. Symbols used in other labels tended to be products/tools of the trade (the

most frequent usage with 35 of the 67), mythological or patriotic icons, and simple text treatments.

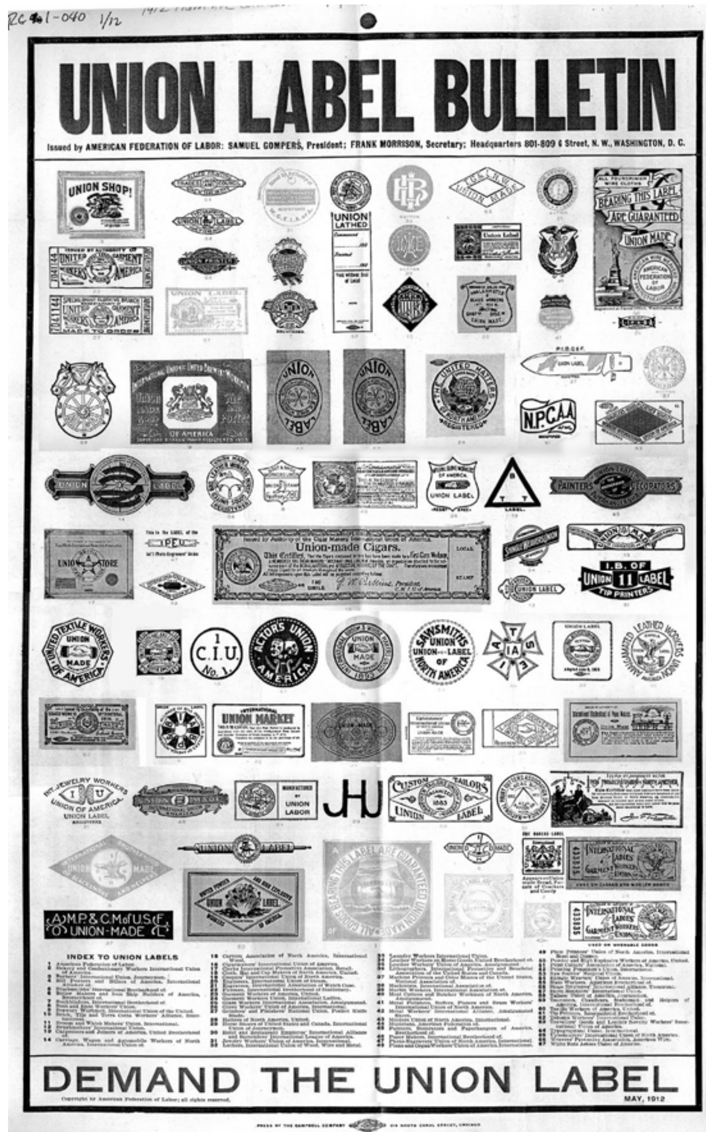

Figure 3. AFL. *Union Label Bulletin* (Poster). AFL: Washington DC, May 1912. AFL Cornerstone Papers. George Meany Memorial Archives. 2005.

This particular label poster is in pristine condition because it was discovered in a 1916 AFL time-capsule recovered in 1987. The labels were actually printed in bright colors so they could easily be seen by consumers. The Cigar Maker's label (one of the first) can be seen in the very center of the poster. In color, it is bright blue. The AFL label, originally printed in a light salmon color, is at the bottom center.

Two Case Studies: The Eight Hour Day and Proof of Patriotism

Along with being incorporated into various union emblems, the AFL handshake logo was also combined with other symbols in the service of the many strategic initiatives supported by the AFL.

The Eight Hour movement was one of the most important campaigns in the early days of the AFL. Its goal was to limit the workday to eight hours. At the time

it was common for most laborers and craftspeople to work a minimum of twelve hours a day, every day. Cutting hours would not only give the workers a better quality of life, but also allow more people to be employed. This undated graphic (*fig. 4, AFL 8 Hour Logo,*), which incorporates the text "8 hours" with the handshake and globe, may have been printed as part of a special ad and pamphlet campaign the AFL spearheaded in 1888, illustrating their hopes that the eight hour day would become a universal standard. Emblems like this were often actively put to use in many formats, as can be seen in this 1925 photo of the San Francisco Label Section of the San Francisco Labor Council, along with members of the Waiter's Union #30 and the Waitress's Union #48, proudly carrying it emblazoned on a banner during a Labor Day Parade (*fig. 5)*.

In another example (*AFL emblem with patriotic symbols*, *fig. 6*), we not only have the globe, handshake and patriotic icons, but also a Phrygian cap (labeled "liberty"), laurel leaves (victory?) and the Roman *fasces* (which often signifies "the state" or law and order), a combination of symbols I find particularly intriguing. Taking all these symbols into account, it seems that the message relayed by this graphic is that of proud Americans valiantly carrying on a revolution, but in an orderly manner within the law. Although variations of this version of the handshake logo were used up to the merger in 1955, this detailed, finely painted version closely resembles a hand-painted and embroidered banner from the earliest days of the organization (see *fig 7*).[10] It seems likely that the logo with all the surrounding emblems of patriotism and order could have been a visual expression of the AFL's need to distance itself from rival, more strident organizations like the Industrial Workers of the World (or other movements seen as socialist, anarchist or un-American), perhaps to avoid any connection with the 1886 Haymarket massacre and the hanging of 4 accused anarchists.[11]

Figure 4. AFL 8 Hour Emblem (photocopy) nd. AFL ephemera collection #RG98. George Meany Memorial Archive.

Figure 5: *Labor Day Parade with San Francisco Label Section, SF Labor Council , Waiters Union #30 and Waitresses Union # 48 Carrying AFL 8 Hour Banner, 1925* (photograph). Photo collection, SFSU Labor Archive and Research Center.

Figure 6. AFL Emblem with patrotic symbols (photocopy) nd. AFL ephemera collection #RG98. George Meany Memorial Archive.

Figure 7. An AFL banner c. 1880's with bust of Gompers and other artifacts. Photo by Henry Beville for the AFL-CIO, included in Bernard A Weisberger's Illustrious Americans: Samuel Gompers. Silver Burdett: Morristown, New Jersey, 1967

The AFL-CIO Merger

The AFL flourished during the war, achieving a peak in power due to the labor friendly legislation of the New Deal and the prevalence of wartime production contracts, which caused an increase in employment. During this time, the hand-in-hand logo continued with very few changes (for an example, see this logo published on the cover of the *1939 Union Label catalog*, *fig. 8*).[12] However, work itself was evolving from the craftsman/artisan model idealized by the leaders of the AFL to assembly line work and mass production. Due to the AFL's disinterest in organizing "non-craftsmen," a vacuum developed in union representation – a gap which was filled in 1935 by a rival federation of unions, the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO). After twenty years of antagonizism and negotiation, the AFL and CIO merged in 1955. This necessitated an update of the hand-in-hand logo and a new union label (*AFL-CIO Union Label, 1961*, *fig.9*), reflecting both the merger and the AFL-CIO's place in the world.[13]

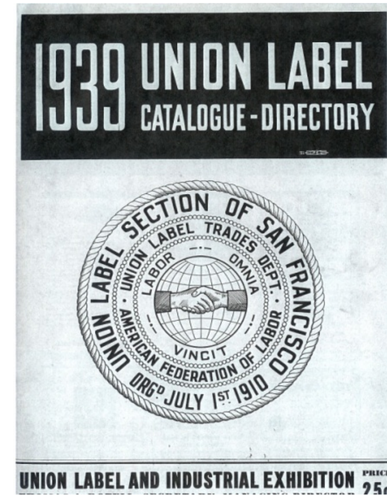

Figure 8. *1939 Union Label Catalogue-Directory*. Union Label Section of San Francisco, 1939. Union label ephemera collection, SFSU Labor Archives and Research Center.

Figure 9. AFL-CIO Union Label (photograph), April 26, 1961. California Labor Federation papers. SFSU Labor Archives and Research Center.

The AFL-CIO's place in the world has solidified specifically to North America, which we now see instead of the abstract ideal of the globe. Perhaps this change in orientation was a reflection of both the optimistic geocentric nationalism of the United States in the 1950's, and the fact that the AFL-CIO now included unions with "locals" in Canada. The 1950's era hand-in-hand logo itself, in contrast with the 1939 version (*fig. 8*), seems more solid and confident. No Victorian hand

holding here; this is a firm and manly handshake. The long, puffy shirt sleeves (as seen in *fig. 6*) have been rolled up to show bare, strong arms labeled with the initials of the AFL and CIO. We can also clearly see, comparing these two versions of the logo, the movement over time away from the Victorian era need to explain everything in a graphic and the more modern, streamlined version depending on the signified meaning of the sign to convey the meaning of the "brand." John Mendenhall, author of a three volume series of books on trademarks created between 1930 and 1950, talks about how "streamlining became the designer's metaphor for the nation's renewed prosperity" and continues on to explain the meaning of the changes in graphic style from one era to the other:

> Replacing the folksy illustrations that passed as logos during the 1920s was a more sophisticated form. Trademarks became bolder and more emphatic, visual metaphors for up-to-date companies… these symbols were signposts of a nation on the move. Abandoning their old-fashioned trademarks as quickly as their outdated goods, industrialists seemed anxious to reflect society's growing demand for modernity.[14]

Mendenhall also mentions the need for designers of the time to find ways to "humanize the machine," making workers and consumers part of the excitement of industrial progress. All these properties fit the AFL-CIO redesign of their logo/label in the mid-1950's. They wanted to be seen as modern, as moving forward in a positive direction in American industry and above all, as an organization of humans unified and building for success. [15]

Jack Baer and the Universal Logo campaign

As has often been the case in the history of the AFL-CIO, the ideas of its affiliate unions are sometimes at odds with the larger goals of the organization. In 1909, at the founding of the Union Label Service Trades Department (ULSTD), Samuel Gompers charged the department with the mission of creating a universal

union label. This went unfulfilled for 72 years, due to a divergence of views as to the need for this kind of one-size-fits-all graphic.

The pro-universal label side would say that one unified symbol would be easier for consumers to recognize and more effective to promote nationally. Advocates would point to the millions of dollars corporations poured into the development and promotion of their trademarks and how those familiar logos directly contributed to brand recognition and increased sales.

The main argument standing in the way of the universal label was the idea that the individual affiliated unions would be giving up their own historic labels, often a source of tradition and pride. There was also much disagreement on how such a label would be formatted and overseen.

Due to a flood of imported products in the mid-1960's, interest in resolving the question of a universal "made in the USA" label resurfaced (perhaps spurred by the successful ILGWU *Look for the Union Label* campaign of the 1960's), resulting in a redesign of the AFL-CIO hand-in-hand logo in an attempt to develop a universal label. Unable to get the individual unions to agree to losing their traditional labels, the ULSTD came up with series of three formats that varied from simply using the hand-in-hand symbol encircled by the union's name to an almost blank seal into which the union could insert all or part of their traditional emblem (see *fig. 10* for examples of these logos reproduced in a 1977 edition of the ULSTD's newsletter).

The job of seeing this concept through and redesigning the AFL-CIO hand-in-hand logo to allow it to work with these different formats fell to the ULSTD's publicity director, Jack Baer. John "Jack" Miller Baer (1886 – 1970, photo *fig. 11*) had a wide ranging career. He began his working life as a civil engineer, served in Congress as a Representative for North Dakota from 1918-1921 and then had a successful career as a political cartoonist, working with several labor-oriented publications and sketching every president from McKinley to Johnson. Reproduced here are two of his best known labor-related cartoons:

The Appropriation Pie, (*fig. 12*) one of the most widely reproduced political cartoons of the late 1900's and the first "New Deal" cartoon (1931, *fig. 13*). Among Baer's papers at the Meany Archives is a piece of AFL-CIO letterhead featuring the updated logo with the notation "I redesigned this emblem." (*fig. 14*).[16]

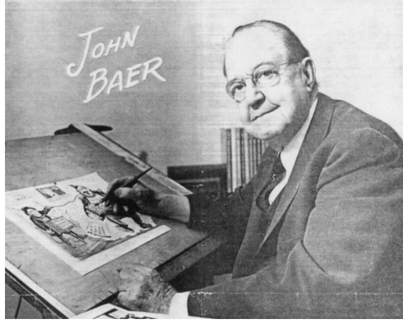

Figure 11. John Baer at his drawing table. The Illustrator Magazine (reprint). Nd. Union label ephemera collection #RG98, George Meany Memorial Archive.

Above: Baer's most famous cartoon, **"The Appropriation Pie,"** probably the most widely reproduced political cartoon ever drawn.

Figure 12. John Baer's *Appropriation Pie*. 1918-21. Cartoon reprinted in The Fargo Forum (North Dakota). July 31, 1966. The small figures at the table are labeled "Labor," "Farmer" & "Public," with "Education" crawling for crumbs on the floor.

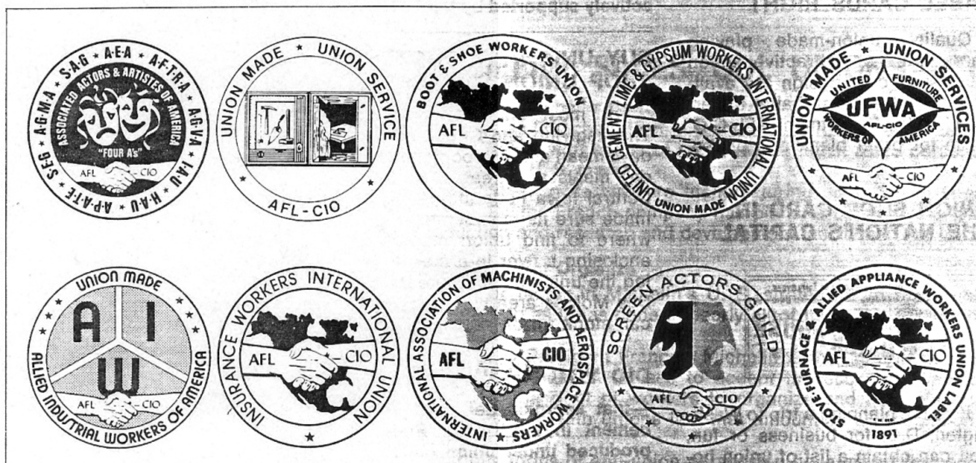

Figure 10. The first group of universal labels officially announced by the ULSTD. Labeletter. AFL-CIO ULSTD: Washington DC, December 1977.

Figure 13. John Baer's cartoon *New Deal*. 1931. Reprinted in The Fargo Forum (North Dakota). July 31, 1966. The worker, the farmer and honest business confront Congress and special interests.

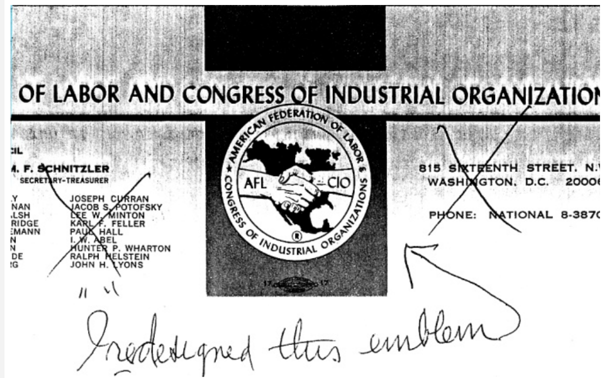

Figure 14. John Baer's Note to Archie Mercey, "I redesigned this emblem." nd. Union label ephemera collection #RG98, George Meany Memorial Archive.

Despite Baer's hard work, it took a joint resolution at the AFL-CIO convention in 1975 to finally get the universal label effort going, with the first labels appearing in 1977, seven years after Baer's death. Sadly, after all the years of wrangling over the issue, this version of the universal logo concept was not successful. We can only guess at the public's response (if they noticed at all), perhaps the logos still weren't uniform enough to make the "made in the USA" message clear. It could be that people were more concerned with their own pocketbooks in the 1980's and inexpensive Chinese imports were more affordable than American union-made goods. For whatever reason, the bulk of the unions never fully embraced the universal label idea. Of the 89 unions represented on the 1982 ULSTD bulletin/poster, only 21 reflect the adoption of one of the universal label formats. By the 1997 poster, the majority of the unions that had tried the universal label had reverted back to a simpler version of their traditional emblem.

An Emblem of Diversity

In 1982, another break with union tradition caused another redesign of the hand-in-hand symbol: a change from a checkered history of racial discrimination to a commitment to diversity. Although the national constitution of the AFL nominally committed to a non-discrimination policy back when it was originally formed in 1881, in practice the Federation's leadership seemed extremely conflicted about the issue of race, which made it almost impossible for them to find a way to enforce this policy on affiliated unions in regions or trades where racial discrimination was customary. Because of its focus on organizing skilled craftsmen in the AFL's early years, workers not associated with those occupations, such as recent immigrants, African Americans, and women were excluded. Through the efforts of A. Philip Randolph on behalf of the Pullman Porters Union in the 1930's, the AFL was able to make some strides in the area of equal representation for African-Americans, but generally they still seemed to be paralyzed by internal and regional discord - unable to take any sort of consistent position. The 1950's and 60's saw the AFL-CIO starting to present a more united front on the issue nationally, with official pamphlets and posters speaking glowingly of fair employment practice laws and generally criticizing employers for using segregation as a divisive tactic to drive down wages. Even then, as with the case of the universal label, each affiliated union had, and acted upon, their own ideas.

In this short paper, I can't really do more than scratch the surface of the complicated and tumultuous history of segregation and racism in the US labor movement as reflected in the AFL-CIO and its affiliates, yet in the 1980's there was a subtle change in the handshake symbol that must be noted. By 1982, several court cases had mandated non-discrimination in the workplace and the doctrine of affirmative action was firmly in place. In what was probably a show of support for

diversity, the AFL-CIO added a "colored" hand to the hand-in-hand symbol (see *fig 15, AFL-CIO emblem, 1982*).

Figure 15. AFL-CIO emblem, 1982. Photograph from the papers of the Central Labor Council for Alameda County. SFSU Labor Archives and Research Center.

Was this a last slap at the former CIO or just a graphic design decision that enhanced the contrast between the two hands? Was this the older, more traditional AFL offering a helping hand? We don't know, but it seems likely that the AFL-CIO was relieved to finally stop arguing with its affiliates about this sensitive issue and to be able to simply help enforce the law of the land.[17] The AFL-CIO and many of the state and local labor federations affiliated with them still use variations of this logo (see *fig. 16*, AFL-CIO Flag Logo, 1997 and three examples of current state labor federation logos, *fig. 17*, California, *fig. 18*, Michigan, and fig *19*, Western Kentucky). Although some state federations have made regional adaptations of the logo, the original AFL-CIO version is almost always printed in black and white, so the "colored" hand is grey, rendering it unable to project a connotation of a specific race, thereby making it open to all.

Figure 16. The *AFL-CIO emblem* as reproduced on the 1997 AFL-CIO ULSTD Union Label poster. AFL-CIO Union Label and Service Trades Department: Washington DC, 1997.

Figure 17. *Emblem of the California Labor Federation - AFL-CIO* found on their web site. <http://www.calaborfed.org/resources/index.html> Accessed 2/11/2008.

Figure 18. Emblem of the Michigan State ULSTC - AFL-CIO found on their web site. <http://www.miaflcio.org/UnionLabel/index.htm> Accessed 2/11/2008.

Figure 19. Emblem of the Western Kentucky Area Council - AFL-CIO found on their web site. <http://www.wkyafl-cio.org/> Accessed 2/11/2008.

Rauschenberg's Contribution to the Centennial

Throughout its history, the AFL-CIO has been placed at the center of and has been effected by every major issue the country has faced. In 1981, the AFL-CIO celebrated one hundred tumultuous years of existence. Artist Robert Rauschenberg, whose work has frequently addressed social and political issues, created and donated to the AFL-CIO his work entitled Commemorative Artwork (AFL-CIO Centennial), 1981 (color offset lithograph on paper mounted on foam core, 36" x 24," later donated by the AFL-CIO to the Smithsonian American Art Museum, *fig. 16*). In this work, Rauschenberg shows workers and protests, AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland (with glasses), the hand-in-hand logo and, along the bottom, the union labels of all the affiliated unions. This work was featured as the cover image of the AFL-CIO Centennial publication and a poster of it is presently touring the country with the Smithsonian's Robert Rauschenberg, Artist-Citizen: Posters for a Better World exhibition.[18]

Rauschenberg's work both expresses the emotions and energy of the labor movement and the pride of the individual workers through the images of their traditional union labels. The hand-in-hand logo, proudly displayed in the center, seems meant to convey the same ideals Samuel Gompers intended when he endorsed it back in 1881: that the labor movement celebrated unity and a helping hand. Over the years the AFL-CIO and its affiliates have both accomplished great goals and made some truly horrible decisions. These highs and lows, combined with hostile legislation, the overwhelming voice of corporate power, and the challenges of globalization, have caused the labor movement to be increasingly marginalized. I hope that someday fairness will prevail and the labor movement can find its way back to that ideal of the universal helping hand.

Figure 20. Robert Rauschenberg's *Commemorative Artwork (AFL-CIO Centennial), 1981*. Smithsonian Museum of American Art. <http://americanart.si.edu/search/search_artworks1.cfm?StartRow=2&ConID=3951&format=long&db=onlyart&LastName=&FirstName=&Title=&Accession=&Keyword>. Accessed November, 18, 2006.

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[1] "Handshake." The Art History Club web site.
<http://www.arthistoryclub.com/art_history/Handshake> Accessed November 18, 2006.
[2] Miranda. "The Handshake." NZGirl.com. <http://www.nzgirl.co.nz/articles/983> Accessed November 18, 2006.
[3]Gompers, Samuel. Seventy Years of Life and Labour, Volume 1. Augustus M. Kelley Publishers: New York, 1967. 36-37.
[4] Gompers. 42-46, 156.
[5] No exhibition date is given on the YIVO brochure. It states that the exhibition is the culmination of research done between 1979 and 1981, so I have placed it around 1982.
[6] As cited in Bernard A. Weisberger. Illustrious Americans: Samuel Gompers. Silver Burdett: Morristown, New Jersey, 1967. 17. Unfortunately, Robins Lang's comments are featured in a sidebar and no citation or context is given. As of the time I'm writing this, I have not yet discovered the source of the original interview.
[7] AFL-CIO. Minutes of the Legislative Committee of the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada – from November 19, 1881 to December 17, 1887. Transcribed by the George Meany Archives, Silver Spring, Maryland, 1958. Gompers also mentions this occasion briefly in his memoirs, saying that the symbol "represented the idea of the labor movement from that time on" (228).
[8] AFL-CIO Union Label and Service Trades Department. "The Union Label: an Historical Overview." Brochure. AFL-CIO Union Label and Service Trades Department: Washington DC, nd
[9] AFL-CIO ULSTD.
[10] Photo by Henry Beville for the AFL-CIO, included in Weisberger's Illustrious Americans, page 89. While no date is given, I was told by an archivist at the GMMA that one of the first AFL banners is regularly on display in the Washington DC office of the AFL-CIO's president along with Gomper's gavel, record book, a bust and other artifacts. I am speculating that this is the one.
[11] The Haymarket Massacre occurred in Chicago on May 4, 1886. It began as a pro-labor rally which became violent and was followed by an internationally publicized trial. During the rally, an unknown person threw a bomb at police as they marched to disperse a public meeting in support of striking workers. Seven police officers and an unknown number of civilians were killed as a result of the bomb blast and ensuing gunfire. Eight anarchists were tried for murder. Four were put to death by hanging and one committed suicide in prison. The resulting public outrage forced the AFL to distance themselves from any radical elements in order to retain public support for the labor movement.
[12] Union Label Section of San Francisco. 1939 Union Label Catalogue-Directory. Directories like this were published yearly by many unions and labor federations as a way to promote use and recognition of the labels. These were often distributed at large "industry fairs," with displays showing of the best of each trade. The national ULSTD still does an "America-at-Work Union Industries Show" annually.
[13] Although I'm showing this 1961 image of the post-merger logo from the CLF papers because it was the clearest reproduction I had, this label is concurrent with the merger. Morgan shows an identical 1956 label and it appears on a 1957 ULSTD poster with all the unions newly united by the merger. Good sources of information about all the drama leading up to the merger can be found in Philip Taft's The A.F. of L. from the Death of Gompers to the Merger (1959) and Robert H. Zieger's The CIO: 1935-1955 (1995).
[14] [14] Mendenhall, John. Symbols of Power & Progress: American Trademarks 1930 to 1950 (Volumes 1, 2, and 3). Art Direction Books: New York, 1983, 1985 and 1990.

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[15] Mendenhall.

[16] According to Bob Reynolds, long-time archivist for the GMMA and the former editor of the AFL-CIO's magazine Labor's Heritage, Jack Baer badly wanted someone to write his biography. He compiled a file of notes and articles for the use of a labor oriented author named Archie Mercey. Apparently the project never happened, but the GMMA inherited all of Baer's papers. The "I redesigned this" letterhead is included in these papers. The cartoons and most of the biographical information are from an article by Jerry Ruff, "John Baer Active in Washington: State's First NPL Congressman, Top Labor Cartoonist at 80." The Fargo Forum (North Dakota). July 31, 1966. Baer claimed to have invented the phrase "the New Deal" in this cartoon. The FDR Presidential Library has denied this in an e-mail to Bob Reynolds, saying that while FDR loved the cartoon, he had already used the phrase in a prior speech. Several presidential libraries include Baer's caricatures in their collections. Baer also designed the famous globe logo for PAN-AM Airlines.

[17] Background information about the AFL-CIO and racism is mainly from various AFL-CIO pamphlets, Taft's The A.F. of L. in the Time of Gompers (1957) and from Nelson Lichtenstein's State of the Union: A Century of American Labor (2002).

[18] Smithson Institution Traveling Exhibition Service. "Robert Rauschenberg, Artist-Citizen: Posters for a Better World." Smithson Institution Traveling Exhibition Service web site <http://www.sites.si.edu/exhibitions/exhibits/rauschenberg/main.htm> accessed November 18, 2006. I was fortunate to see the original work on display at the Smithsonian in Washington DC in 2006; the color, vitality and sweep of it was awe inspiring.

Works Cited

AFL. 8 Hour Emblem (photocopy) nd. AFL ephemera collection #RG98. George Meany Memorial Archive.

___. Emblem with patrotic symbols (photocopy) nd. AFL ephemera collection #RG98. George Meany Memorial Archive.

___. Union Label Bulletin (Poster). AFL-CIO: Washington DC, 1906. Collection of the Library of Congress, Washington DC.

___. Union Label Bulletin (Poster). AFL-CIO: Washington DC. May 1912. AFL Cornerstone Papers. George Meany Memorial Archives.

AFL-CIO. Emblem, 1982. Photograph from the papers of the Central Labor Council for Alameda County. SFSU Labor Archives and Research Center.

_______. AFL-CIO Union Label (photograph), April 26, 1961. California Labor Federation papers. SFSU Labor Archives and Research Center.

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