

VIOLATIONS OF FREE SPEECH AND RIGHTS OF LABOR

REPORT

OF THE

U.S. Congress, Senate.
COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR

PURSUANT TO

S. Res. 266

(74th Congress)

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Special assistants in the preparation of this report: Karl Filter, Frederick Ryan, Philip Arno, Solomon Sherman, Allen Sayler, Ethel Landau and Charles Flato

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7. THE PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN

The association's propaganda campaign projected in 1933 and started in 1934, went into effect in full swing in the summer of 1936, just prior to the national election. Through newspapers, radio, motion pictures, slide films, stockholders' letters, pay-roll stuffers, billboard advertisements, civic-progress meetings and local advertising, the National Association of Manufacturers blanketed the country with a propaganda barrage which surpassed its "Industrial Conservation Movement" of 1916-20 in intensity, scope, and variety of technique. With the cooperation of large member corporations and local employers' associations affiliated with the National Industrial Council, the association's "educational" program reached every important industrial community in the United States. Its message was directed against "labor agitators," against governmental measures to alleviate industrial distress, against labor unions, and for the advantages of the status quo in industrial relations, of which company-dominated unions were still a part. Antiunion employers and local employers' association executives used the propaganda material of the National Association of Manufacturers to combat the organizational drive of unions in local industrial areas. This was particularly the case in the steel producing centers of Ohio where a labor organizational drive was under way.

The National Association of Manufacturers has blanketed the country with a propaganda which in technique has relied upon indirection of meaning, and in presentation upon secrecy and deception. Radio speeches, public meetings, news, cartoons, editorials, advertising, motion pictures and many other artifices of propaganda have not in most instances disclosed to the public their origin with the association. The Mandeville Press Service, the Six Star Service, Uncle Abner cartoons, George Sokolsky's services, the "American Family Robinson" radio broadcasts, "Harmony Ads" by MacDonald-Cook Co., "civic

The director of public relations of the National Association of Manufacturers, James P. Selvage, was not unmindful of the potential value of its program as a weapon against labor when he wrote, as quoted in the preceding section, "Now, more than ever before, strikes are being won or lost in the newspapers and over the radio."¹³⁶

The effectiveness of publicity against labor unions has been compared favorably with the use of labor spies and tear gas. The National Association of Manufacturers deemed it of interest to its members¹³⁷ to print in its labor relations bulletin a digest of an article by Don Gridley which had appeared in *Printers' Ink* of March 11, 1937, in which Gridley suggested that advertising, instead of tear gas and labor spies, be used as a weapon against strikers. In this article Gridley stated that, "If manufacturers would invest one-tenth of the money in advertising preparation that they are apparently quite willing to invest in labor spies, tear gas, and other methods, which have proved worse than useless, they will stand a far better chance of winning public support than is possible under present circumstances."¹³⁸ It was further stated in this article that "many manufacturers today sincerely believe that advertising is a useless weapon to employ against strikers." Don Gridley's feeling, however, was that "in doing so they eliminate from their armory a weapon which, if properly used, has great potential good."¹³⁹

The association actually supplied material from its variety of publicity devices to applicants beleaguered by the danger of unionization, thus revealing retardation of self-organization of workers as one of the purposes.

¹³⁶ Pt. 18, exhibit 3866, p. 8019. For a fuller quotation from this memorandum, see above, p. 157. See also appendix 9D.

¹³⁷ Testimony of Noel Sargent, secretary of the National Association of Manufacturers. Pt. 18, p. 7764.

¹³⁸ Pt. 18, exhibit 3851, pp. 7892-7893.

¹³⁹ Pt. 18, exhibit 3851, pp. 7892-7893.

APPENDIX 5. CONTRIBUTORS OF \$2,000 OR MORE TO THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MANUFACTURERS DURING THE PERIOD JANUARY 1, 1933 TO OCTOBER 31, 1937

Name of contributor	Address	1933	1934	1935	1936	January- November 1937	Total
Capitals indicate companies which were also represented on the board of directors.							
X 1. E. I. DU PONT DE NEMOURS & Co.†	Wilmington, Del.	\$725.00	\$16,875.00	\$16,000.00	\$30,000.00	\$55,000.00	\$118,600.00
X 2. General Motors Corporation and subsidiaries * †	Detroit, Mich.	1,650.00	6,100.00	7,425.00	34,800.00	9,800.00	
Ethyl Gasoline Corporation	New York, N. Y.	300.00		400.00	400.00	1,400.00	
Harrison Division	Lockport, N. Y.		1,100.00	100.00	25.00	100.00	
Hyatt Bearings Division	Newark, N. J.		100.00		100.00		
Inlaid Division	Dayton, Ohio		500.00	100.00	100.00		
New Departure Division	Bristol, Conn.					2,000.00	
Ternstedt Manufacturing Division	Detroit, Mich.			10.00		10.00	
							66,520.00
3. NATIONAL STEEL CORPORATION * †	Pittsburgh, Pa.	1,050.00	5,000.00	6,000.00	15,000.00	15,000.00	42,050.00
X 4. United States Steel Corporation and subsidiaries * †	New York, N. Y.	625.00	6,875.00	10,000.00	10,000.00	10,000.00	
American Steel & Wire Co.	Chicago, Ill.	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	
Columbia Steel Co.	San Francisco, Calif.			100.00		800.00	
Universal Atlas Cement Co.	Chicago, Ill.	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	850.00	
Virginia Bridge & Iron Co.	Roanoke, Va.	300.00	300.00	300.00	200.00	200.00	
							41,450.00
5. MONSANTO CHEMICAL CO. and subsidiaries	St. Louis, Mo.	1,600.00	7,500.00	6,000.00	11,025.00	10,650.00	36,775.00
6. WESTINGHOUSE ELECTRIC & MANUFACTURING CO.*	E. Pittsburgh, Pa.	975.00	6,937.50	3,000.00	12,500.00	12,500.00	35,912.50
7. Chrysler Corporation*†	Detroit, Mich.	500.00	1,900.00	2,000.00	16,000.00	15,000.00	35,400.00
X 8. Bethlehem Steel Corporation*†	Pittsburgh, Pa.	750.00	5,000.00	3,500.00	10,000.00	10,000.00	29,250.00
9. The Texas Corporation*†	New York, N. Y.	750.00	2,250.00	2,000.00	7,500.00	15,000.00	27,500.00
10. BORG-WARNER CORPORATION and subsidiaries*	Chicago, Ill.	225.00	916.67	6,000.00	10,000.00	10,000.00	27,141.67
11. REPUBLIC STEEL CORPORATION and subsidiaries*†	Cleveland, Ohio	237.50	2,312.50	1,800.00	7,550.00	12,750.00	24,650.00
12. Socony-Vacuum Oil Co., Inc.	New York, N. Y.	2,000.00	2,000.00	2,000.00	4,000.00	12,000.00	22,000.00
13. Swift & Co. and subsidiary*†	Chicago, Ill.	300.00	2,100.00	4,050.00	6,900.00	7,800.00	21,150.00
X 14. STANDARD OIL CO. OF NEW JERSEY	New York, N. Y.	100.00	1,000.00	1,000.00	7,500.00	11,000.00	20,600.00
15. EASTMAN KODAK CO.	Rochester, N. Y.	1,425.00	5,291.67	2,500.00	3,500.00	7,500.00	20,216.67
16. SUN OIL CO.	Philadelphia, Pa.		500.00	1,500.00	6,500.00	10,000.00	18,500.00
17. AMERICAN CYANAMID CO.*	New York, N. Y.	2,333.33	5,000.00	5,000.00	1,000.00	5,100.00	18,433.33
18. International Shoe Co.*	St. Louis, Mo.	2,000.00	2,000.00	2,200.00	7,000.00	5,000.00	18,200.00
19. Jones & Laughlin Steel Corporation†	Pittsburgh, Pa.	750.00	2,500.00	3,500.00	7,500.00	3,500.00	17,750.00
20. GENERAL MILLS, INC.*	Minneapolis, Minn.	475.00	708.34	2,000.00	7,000.00	7,000.00	17,183.34
21. The Atlantic Refining Co.†	Philadelphia, Pa.		1,000.00	1,500.00	7,000.00	7,500.00	17,000.00
22. THE AMERICAN ROLLING MILL CO.*†	Middletown, Ohio	1,500.00	5,400.00	2,750.00	2,000.00	5,150.00	16,800.00
23. Pittsburgh Plate Glass Co.*†	Pittsburgh, Pa.	500.00	3,000.00	3,000.00	5,500.00	4,000.00	16,000.00
24. The Youngstown Sheet & Tube Co.*†	Youngstown, Ohio	625.00	2,375.00	2,500.00	9,000.00	1,250.00	15,750.00
X 25. H. J. Heinz Co.	Pittsburgh, Pa.	1,250.00	1,000.00	500.00	7,100.00	5,000.00	14,850.00

* Parent company or subsidiary used labor spy services at some time during the years 1933-1936.

† Parent company or subsidiary purchased industrial munitions at some time during the period 1933-1937.

APPENDIX 5.—Contributors of \$2,000 or More to the National Association of Manufacturers During the Period January 1, 1933 to October 31, 1937—Continued

Name of contributor	Address	1933	1934	1935	1936	January to November 1937	Total
Capitals indicate companies which were also represented on the board of directors.							
26. GENERAL FOODS CORPORATION.....	New York, N. Y.....	\$300.00	\$500.00	\$500.00	\$5,000.00	\$8,500.00	\$14,800.00
27. Pennsylvania Salt Manufacturing Co.*.....	Philadelphia, Pa.....	250.00	3,000.00	3,000.00	5,500.00	3,000.00	14,750.00
28. The Lambert Co. and subsidiaries.....	Wilmington, Del.....						
LAMBERT PHARMACAL CO.....	St. Louis, Mo.....	1,391.67	5,125.00	750.00	2,750.00	2,750.00	
PRO-PHY-LAC-TIC BRUSH CO.....	Florence, Mass.....	375.00	400.00	400.00	400.00	400.00	
29. Union Carbide & Carbon Corporation and subsidiaries.....	New York, N. Y.....	200.00	1,100.00	3,000.00	2,100.00	4,000.00	14,741.67
Electro Metallurgical Co.....	New York, N. Y.....				1,500.00	500.00	
National Carbon Co., Inc.....	New York, N. Y.....				1,500.00	500.00	
30. Collins & Aikman Corporation†.....	New York, N. Y.....		750.00	1,000.00	1,750.00	10,750.00	14,400.00
31. Corn Products Refining Co.....	New York, N. Y.....	100.00	100.00	1,000.00	6,500.00	6,500.00	14,200.00
32. Continental Can Co., Inc.*.....	New York, N. Y.....	500.00	1,000.00	1,500.00	6,000.00	5,100.00	14,100.00
33. Johns-Manville Corporation†.....	New York, N. Y.....	100.00	200.00	600.00	5,600.00	7,500.00	14,000.00
34. REMINGTON RAND, INC.*†.....	Buffalo, N. Y.....	1,500.00	500.00	500.00	750.00	10,500.00	13,750.00
35. The Mathieson Alkali Works, Inc.....	New York, N. Y.....	1,000.00	2,000.00	750.00	5,750.00	4,000.00	13,500.00
36. CONGOLEUM-NAIRN, INC.*.....	Kearney, N. J.....	100.00	500.00	2,500.00	6,100.00	3,600.00	12,800.00
37. R. J. REYNOLDS TOBACCO CO.....	Winston-Salem, N. C.....		2,700.00	2,600.00	7,500.00		12,800.00
38. Singer Manufacturing Co.....	Elizabeth, N. J.....		2,500.00	2,500.00	2,500.00	5,000.00	12,500.00
39. Inland Steel Co.*†.....	Chicago, Ill.....	350.00	1,850.00	1,000.00	5,200.00	4,000.00	12,400.00
40. National Dairy Products Corporation*.....	New York, N. Y.....	100.00	100.00	200.00	11,000.00	1,000.00	12,400.00
41. ESTATE OF FRANK A. SAYLES.....			1,500.00	1,225.00	6,900.00	2,500.00	12,125.00
42. Dow Chemical Co. and subsidiary*.....	Midland, Mich.....		400.00		11,300.00		11,700.00
X 43. ANACONDA COPPER MINING CO. AND SUBSIDIARIES*†.....	New York, N. Y.....			1,000.00	1,000.00	4,500.00	
THE AMERICAN BRASS CO.....	Waterbury, Conn.....	100.00	250.00	500.00	500.00	1,500.00	
Anaconda Wire & Cable Co.....	New York, N. Y.....	100.00	250.00	600.00	500.00	500.00	
International Smelting & Refining Co.....	Perth Amboy, N. J.....			100.00	100.00		
44. AMERICAN CAN CO.*.....	New York, N. Y.....		2,500.00	100.00	7,500.00	1,000.00	11,500.00
X 45. INTERNATIONAL BUSINESS MACHINES CORPORATION.....	New York, N. Y.....	725.00	5,275.00	1,000.00	2,000.00	2,000.00	11,000.00
46. United Gas Improvement Co. and subsidiary.....	Philadelphia, Pa.....	600.00	600.00	1,700.00	1,100.00		
PHILADELPHIA ELECTRIC CO.*†.....	Philadelphia, Pa.....	300.00	1,000.00	1,900.00	2,400.00	1,400.00	
47. Armour & Co.....	Chicago, Ill.....		1,000.00	2,850.00	6,000.00	1,000.00	10,850.00
48. UNITED STATES RUBBER CO.....	New York, N. Y.....	200.00	700.00	1,500.00	1,675.00	6,700.00	10,775.00
49. American Radiator & Standard Sanitary Corporation and subsidiaries.1*†.....	New York, N. Y.....	800.00	300.00	400.00	3,150.00	5,400.00	
American Blower Corporation.....	Detroit, Mich.....				50.00	25.00	
Detroit Lubricator Co.....	Detroit, Mich.....		100.00				
50. Victor Chemical Works*.....	Chicago, Ill.....	100.00	2,700.00	2,700.00	3,200.00	1,500.00	10,225.00
							10,200.00

APPENDIX 8.—*Interlocking Membership Between the National Association of Manufacturers and Local Employers Associations in Ohio—Continued*

D. MEMBERS AND CONTRIBUTORS OF NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MANUFACTURERS LOCATED IN CLEVELAND, OHIO, ETC.—Continued

Name (Capitals indicate large contributors of N. A. M.)	Members or contributors of N. A. M. during 1933-1937	Members or contributors of A. I. C. during 1933-1937	Contributions to A. I. C. during period of membership	Positions on the board of governors
15. Cleveland Steel Tool Co.....	1937.....	1933-1937..	\$223.00	
16. CLEVELAND TWIST DRILL CO..	1933-1937..	1935-1937..	1,647.00	J. D. Cox, Jr., member, 1933-1937.
17. John P. Cochran Co.....	1937.....	1935-1936..	163.00	
18. THE CRANE COMPANY.....	1933-1936..	1933-1937..	41.00	
19. Hill Manufacturing Co.....	1933-1937..	1936-1937..	946.00	
20. Dobeckman Co.....	1937.....	1933-1937..	1,351.00	
X 21. E. I. DU PONT DE NEMOURS & Co.:				
Grasselli Chemical Co.....	1933-1937..	1935-1937..	1,500.00	
22. Eaton Manufacturing Co.....	1935.....	1935-1937..	1,505.00	
23. Electric Controller & Manufacturing Co.	1933-1937..	1933-1937..	1,489.00	F. R. Fishback, vice president, 1933-1935.
24. Electric Products Co.....	1937.....	1933-1937..	342.00	
25. Elwell Parker Electric Co.....	1937.....	1933-1937..	1,465.00	
26. Federal Foundry Supply Co...	1937.....	1935-1937..	122.00	
27. Ferbert-Schorndorfer Co.....	1935-1937..	1934-1937..	349.00	
28. Ferro Enamel Corporation.....	1934-1937..	1935-1937..	776.00	
29. Foote-Burt Co.....	1933-1937..	1935-1937..	917.00	G. E. Randles, member, 1933. T. H. Doan, member, 1934-1937.
30. Forest City Foundries Co.....	1933-1937..	1935-1937..	1,135.00	W. L. Seelbach, treasurer, 1933-1936; member, 1937.
X 31. GENERAL ELECTRIC CO.: National Lamp Works.....	1933-1937..	1933-1937..	2,250.00	
X 32. GENERAL MOTORS CORPORATION: Fisher Body Co.....	1933-1937..	1933-1937..	13,757.00	L. R. Scafe, member, 1933, 1937; vice president, 1934-35.

APPENDIX 4.—Companies Represented on the Board of Directors of the National Association of Manufacturers, 1933-1937—Continued

Company	Address	Name of person	Position	Positions held in the National Association of Manufacturers (Key: Ch, Chairman of the Board; P, President; VP, Vice President; D, Director; PR, Public Relations Committee; NIIC, National Industrial Information Committee.)				
				1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
48. Empire Coal & Coke Co.		William D. Ard		D				
49. THE ERWIN COTTON MILLS CO.	West Durham, N. C.	Kemp P. Lewis	President and treasurer.			D	D	
50. Esleeck Manufacturing Co.	Turners Falls, Mass.	Irving N. Esleeck	President				D-NIIC	
51. Farrell Birmingham Co.	Ansonia, Conn.	N. W. Pickering	President				VP & D	
52. ROBERT GAYLORD, INC.	St. Louis, Mo.	C. W. Gaylord	President		D	D	D-NIIC	
X 53. GENERAL ELECTRIC CO.*	Schenectady, N. Y.	Owen D. Young	Chairman				NIIC	
General Electric Vapor Lamp Co.	Hoboken, N. J.	W. A. D. Evans		D				
54. GENERAL FIRE EXTINGUISHER CO.	Providence, R. I.	Russell Grinnell	President	D	D	D	D-NIIC	
55. GENERAL FOODS CORPORATION	New York, N. Y.	Colby M. Chester	Chairman of board.				P & D	CH & D. ¹
		Austin S. Izlehart	Vice president				NIIC	
56. GENERAL MILLS, INC.	Minneapolis, Minn.	Harry A. Bullis	Vice president	D	D	VP & D-PR	VP & D-PR-NIIC	VP & D-NIIC. ¹
57. THE B. F. GOODRICH CO.*†	Akron, Ohio	J. D. Tew	Director				D-NIIC	
58. Graton & Knight Co.	Worcester, Mass.	F. H. Willard	President	D	D	VP & D		
59. Harnischfeger Corporation	Milwaukee, Wis.	W. Harnischfeger	President				D-NIIC	D-NIIC.
60. Hazel-Atlas Glass Co.*†	Wheeling, West Va.	Robert Ballentine		D				
61. HOOKER ELECTROCHEMICAL CO*	Niagara Falls, N. Y.	E. H. Hooker	President					D. ¹
62. Hughes Tool Co.*	Houston, Tex.	R. C. Kuldell	President					D. ¹
63. Illinois Tool Works*	Chicago, Ill.	Harold C. Smith	President			D	D	
64. INTERNATIONAL AGRICULTURAL CORPORATION.	New York, N. Y.	John J. Watson	President				D	D. ¹
65. INTERNATIONAL BUSINESS MACHINES CORP.	New York, N. Y.	O. E. Braitmayer	Vice president	D	D	D	D-NIIC	D. ¹
66. International Silver Co.	Meriden, Conn.	E. C. Stevens	President				D	
67. Iron Fireman Manufacturing Co.	Portland, Oreg.	T. H. Banfield	Chairman and president.					D. ¹
68. JOHNSON & JOHNSON, INC.	New Brunswick, N. J.	Russell Watson	Vice president			D-PR	D-PR-NIIC	D-NIIC.
69. KOHLER CO.	Kohler, Wis.	Walter J. Kohler	Chairman		D	VP & D	VP & D-NIIC	VP & D-NIIC. ¹
70. The Lambert Co.	Wilmington, Del.							
LAMBERT PHARMACAL CO.	St. Louis, Mo.	Robert L. Lund	Executive vice president.	P & D	CH & D	CH & D	D-NIIC	D-PR-NIIC. ¹
Pro-Phy-Lac-Tic Brush Co.	Florence, Mass.	William C. Bird		D				
71. Lebanon Woolen Mills	Lebanon, Tenn.	John E. Edgerton	President	CH & D	D	D	D	D. ¹
72. THE LINCOLN ELECTRIC CO.	Cleveland, Ohio	J. F. Lincoln	President					D. ¹

Capitals indicate contributors of \$2,000 or more during 1933-37.
* Used labor-espionage service.
† Purchased industrial munitions.

TABLE 7.—Companies represented on the board of directors of National Association of Manufacturers sometime during 1933-37, which used labor-espionage service and/or industrial munitions

Name of the company (CAPITALS indicate large contributors of National Association of Manufacturers)	Address	Detective agencies used ¹		Munitions purchased ²	
		Name ³	Period ⁴	Amount	Period
AMERICAN CAN CO.	New York, N. Y.	Corporations Auxiliary, Burns, Pinkerton	1933-36		
AMERICAN ROLLING MILL CO.	Middletown, Ohio	Corporations Auxiliary	1934-36	\$2,817.16	1933
AMERICAN SMELTING & REFINING CO.	New York, N. Y.	Pinkerton	1933-36		
REVERE COPPER & BRASS CO.	Rome, N. Y.	National Metal Trades	1933-35		
Ames Baldwin Wyoming Co.	Parkersburg, W. Va.			605.60	1934
X ANACONDA COPPER MINING CO.	New York, N. Y.			4,470.48	1934, 1936
Anaconda Wire & Cable.	do	Corporations Auxiliary	1934-36		
THE BALDWIN LOCOMOTIVE WORKS	Philadelphia, Pa.	Pinkerton, Corporations Auxiliary	1933-36		
BENDIX AVIATION CORPORATION	Chicago, Ill.	Railway Audit		4,866.47	1933, 1935-36
Bibb Manufacturing Co.	Macon, Ga.			1,365.12	1934
CLARK THREAD CO.	New York, N. Y.	Railway Audit		366.74	1934
CONGOLEUM-NAIRN, INC.	Kearney, N. J.	Pinkerton	1933-36		
CRANE CO.	Chicago, Ill.	Corporations Auxiliary	1934-36		
CURTIS PUBLISHING CO.	Philadelphia, Pa.	Pinkerton	1933-36		
Detroit Steel Castings Co.	Detroit, Mich.	Corporations Auxiliary	1934		
X E. I. DUPONT DE NEMOURS & CO.	Wilmington, Del.			1,944.49	1933-36
X GENERAL ELECTRIC CO.	Schenectady, N. Y.	Pinkerton	1933-36		
B. F. GOODRICH CO.	Akron, Ohio	Corporations Auxiliary, National Corporation Service, Pinkerton	1933-36	7,740.60	1933-35
Hazel-Atlas Glass Co.	Wheeling, W. Va.	National Corporation Service	1934	653.38	1935
HOOKER ELECTROCHEMICAL CO.	Niagara Falls, N. Y.	Pinkerton	1933-36		
Hughes Tool Co.	Houston, Tex.	do	1933-36		
Illinois Tool Works	Chicago, Ill.	National Metal Trades	1934-36		
LINK-BELT CO.	Chicago, Ill.	National Metal Trades	1933-36		
JOHN MORRELL & CO.	Ottumwa, Iowa	Pinkerton	1933-36	1,147.54	1934
MOTOR WHEEL CORPORATION	Lansing, Mich.	Corporations Auxiliary	1934-36		
NATIONAL STEEL CORPORATION	Pittsburgh, Pa.				
Weirton Steel Co.	Weirton, W. Va.	Central Industrial Service		11,778.17	1933-34
Great Lakes Steel Corporation	Ecorse, Mich.			307.20	1934
Cord Corporation	Chicago, Ill.				
NEW YORK SHIPBUILDING CORPORATION	Camden, N. J.	Pinkerton	1933-36	484.15	1933, 35
PITTSBURGH PLATE GLASS CO.	Pittsburgh, Pa.	Corporations Auxiliary	1934-36	3,151.40	1934-36
REMINGTON RAND, INC.	Buffalo, N. Y.	Bergoff, Burns, Railway Audit, Foster's, Cal Crim.	1936	372.50	1936
REPUBLIC STEEL CORPORATION	Cleveland, Ohio.	(9)		79,712.42	1933-35, 1937
X STANDARD OIL CO. OF OHIO	do			809.60	1934
STEWART-WARNER CORPORATION	Chicago, Ill.	National Metal Trades	1935		
SUN OIL CO.	Philadelphia, Pa.			2,431.22	1933-34, 1936