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**EBB AND FLOW
IN
TRADE UNIONISM**

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(Resolution of October 25, 1926, revised February 6, 1933)

EBB AND FLOW IN TRADE UNIONISM

LEO WOLMAN

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LEO WOLMAN

Introduction

SINCE this book has come off the press, the conflict, which has for nearly a year divided the American Federation of Labor into two factions has, following the action taken by its Executive Council, precipitated open warfare within the ranks of organized labor. At its meeting held in Washington, D. C., August 3-5, 1936, the Executive Council of the Federation voted to suspend ten unions affiliated with the Committee for Industrial Organization from membership in the A. F. of L. The suspension was to become effective within thirty days, unless the unions in question meanwhile severed all connections with the C. I. O. Of the fourteen members of the Executive Council present at this meeting, one voted against suspension. The dissenting member was Mr. David Dubinsky, president of the International Ladies Garment Workers, a union affiliated with the C. I. O. and one of the suspended organizations. Two members of the Council, the presidents of the railway clerks and musicians unions, were absent and did not participate in its deliberations and decision.

This action is the culmination of many months of negotiation, formal and informal, to effect a peaceful settlement of the differences between these two groups of unions and to avoid an open split within the ranks of the Federation. Following the announcement of the Council's decision on August 5, 1936, Mr. John L. Lewis stated: "We will not disband the Committee for Industrial Organization", and the majority of the suspended unions have

indicated their refusal to disassociate themselves from the C. I. O. Unless upset by the courts, suspension is tantamount to expulsion, since the delegates of the suspended unions will in all probability not be seated at the next convention of the Federation in November 1936.

The decision and arguments of the Executive Council are given in the following excerpts from the statement issued by Mr. William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, on August 5: ¹

“The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor decided that the Committee for Industrial Organization is a dual organization and that its originator and leader is John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers of America.

This decision was reached after the Executive Council had made a careful study of the charges filed by President Frey of the Metal Trades Department against the Committee for Industrial Organization and of the evidence offered in support thereof.

This is the first attempt ever made during the existence of the American Federation of Labor, covering a period of more than fifty years, to set up a dual movement within it. It was the opinion of the Executive Council that it could not condone the setting up of a rival organization within the officially recognized family of labor, or tolerate and countenance it without sacrificing its self-respect, or making an unconditional surrender to a minority group composed of members who are in open rebellion to democratic procedure and majority rule, as exemplified at the latest convention of the American Federation of Labor.

The decision of the executive council to suspend those organizations from affiliation with the American Federation of Labor which hold membership in the dual organization (the Committee for Industrial Organization) within thirty days unless they withdraw therefrom means that said organizations are required to do nothing more than to discontinue holding membership in, and to cease fostering, financing and maintaining a dual, rival organization within the American Federation of Labor. The decision means just that and nothing else.

¹ Statement by Mr. William Green appearing in the *New York Times*, August 6, 1936.

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Because there seems to be a public misunderstanding of the real issue which arose out of the formation of the Committee for Industrial Organization, the executive council declares in most positive terms that the industrial versus craft union dispute is in no way involved in its official decision.

No organization will ever be suspended from affiliation with the American Federation of Labor because its members believe in or advocate the acceptance of either the industrial or craft form of organization, nor are any of the organizations which hold membership in the Committee for Industrial Organization asked to withdraw their endorsement or espousal of industrial unionism.

They are not asked to give up industrial unionism. Instead, they are asked to give up a dual union. They may choose whether they will remain with the American Federation of Labor or cast their lot with the dual, rival organization. The decision of the executive council means they cannot belong to both organizations at the same time.

Both the industrial and craft forms of organization are widely applied in all the organizing work of the American Federation of Labor. As evidence of this fact some organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor are organized upon an industrial and some upon a craft union basis.

Through all the months intervening since November 10, 1935, when the Committee for Industrial Organization was formed, the council has shown great patience and forbearance under most trying and difficult circumstances. When it extended a cordial invitation to the representatives of the organizations holding membership in the Committee for Industrial Organization to meet with it on July 8, 1936, for the purpose of acquainting the members of the executive council with their reasons for refusing the request of the executive council to dissolve their organization set-up, the council hoped that through such a conference a settlement could be reached which would be fair and just to all.

But the invitation of the executive council was refused, its request for a conference was spurned and its authority to administer the affairs of the American Federation of Labor between conventions was treated with contempt.

Thus the issue has been clearly drawn. The executive council has met it in a definite and decisive way. A mere loss of membership could not be considered when a vital principle was at stake.

When ambitious men form a dual, rival organization for the purpose

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of forcing the acceptance of minority rule within the American Federation of Labor, the executive council decides they cannot do so within and as a part of the American Federation of Labor."

Preliminary estimates of the membership in 1935 of the American Federation of Labor and of the unions affiliated with the C. I. O. are given below:

	MEMBERSHIP
American Federation of Labor	3,317,100
Unions affiliated with the C. I. O.	
<i>Ten suspended unions, total</i>	1,022,100
United Mine Workers	507,200
Amalgamated Clothing Workers	135,000
International Ladies Garment Workers	220,000
United Textile Workers	79,200 ¹
Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers	43,500
Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers	14,600 ¹
Federation of Flat Glass Workers	14,000
United Automobile Workers	.....²
United Rubber Workers	.....²
Iron, Steel and Tin Workers	8,600 ¹
<i>Two unions not suspended, total</i>	95,000
United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers	21,400 ¹
International Typographical Union	73,600
<i>Status uncertain</i>	
United Electrical and Radio Workers	30,000

¹ Membership for the year ending August 31, 1935.

² Membership not known.

The membership of the suspended unions was in 1935 not quite one-third of the total membership of the A. F. of L. Among these organizations no reliable figures are available for the national unions of automobile and rubber workers, since these unions were but recently chartered by the A. F. of L. and the amount of their payment of per capita taxes to the Federation for the fiscal year ended August 31, 1936 will not be published until this fall.

Suspension of the hat and cap and printers unions was held in abeyance pending a clarification of their position by these organizations. The United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers represents a merger in 1934 of two unions—the United Hatters of North America and the Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers International Union—which exist as separate departments of the amalgamated union. The hatters' department of this union has apparently informed the A. F. of L. that it is not affiliated with the C. I. O. and postponement of action in this case was clearly for the purpose of forcing the two departments of the union to indicate their official position. The present membership of the two departments is not known, but in 1933, one year before the merger, the United Hatters claimed 8,500 and the Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers, 6,100 members.

Affiliation of the Typographical Union with the C. I. O. is for similar reasons, likewise, in doubt. In this case no official action has been taken by the union but Mr. C. P. Howard, its president, personally associated himself with the C. I. O. at its inception and has been the Committee's secretary from the beginning. It is expected that official action on the question will be taken by the next convention of the International Typographical Union, to be held in September 1936.

The United Electrical and Radio Workers Union, claiming a membership of about 30,000, is independent of the A. F. of L. It is involved in disputes with the Electrical Workers Union, an A. F. of L. affiliate, concerning jurisdiction over employees of the radio and electrical manufacturing industries. While there is no record of the formal affiliation of the Electrical and Radio Workers Union with the C. I. O., it is for all practical purposes associated with that organization.

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TRADE UNIONISM**

CHAPTER I

Problems of Measurement

UNION membership is interesting and important as an index of the strength of organized labor. It is clearly an imperfect index since the power of trade unionism often manifests itself in forms that are difficult to express in terms of membership. In established unions the strength of an organization is, or should be, reflected in the sum of its achievements. But the gains made by labor in a complicated economic society, subject to the impact of innumerable forces, cannot as a rule be accurately attributed to any single cause or factor. The strength of young organizations may be proportionate to the number of employees they can count on in the event of a strike. How large this number is can be determined in most instances only after a strike has been called, and even then usually not until it has been going for some time. Participation in strikes, moreover, does not necessarily signify membership in a union. For these reasons the records frequently disclose substantial discrepancies between the membership of a union and the number it has succeeded in involving in strikes. Membership, likewise, may be, and has been in this country, at least, a totally inadequate barometer of political influence, because of the wide gulf between adherence to a labor movement through membership in it and the sympathy for the aspirations of organized labor that is expressed by casting a ballot for its policies and the candidates it endorses.

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Although records of membership have these defects in reflecting the changing power, prestige, or influence of labor movements, which is what people have in mind when they speak of the strength of unions, they remain the most reliable and continuous source of measurement of the growth and decline of organized labor. Since in this country unions, like political parties, are still voluntary organizations which men join and quit as the spirit moves them, membership fluctuates frequently and substantially in response to developments in industry, law and politics which in familiar ways affect the views and conduct of employees. Compared to other indices of union importance—such as the number participating in strikes, changes in wages and hours, and the votes in legislative bodies on labor measures—the data of membership appear in the long run most faithfully to represent the state of unionism.

The most readily available source of membership statistics is naturally the record of the union itself. Most of the modern labor unions are elaborate organizations engaged in a wide variety of activities. They negotiate with management over working conditions, conduct strikes, employ staffs of organizers to extend the boundaries of organization, publish newspapers, magazines and other matter, retain lobbyists and press agents to represent them in dealing with Federal and local governments and the public, and provide their members with certain beneficial and insurance measures. In the exercise of these assorted functions, the common run of union collects initiation fees, dues, assessments, premiums and fines and altogether bears the earmarks of a substantial business undertaking. Like private concerns, unions have their financial offices and staffs, and keep the requisite accounts subject to periodic, independent audit. Where these accounts are published

in sufficient detail, they are the most reliable source of information on membership. But where they are not issued in satisfactory form, the investigator must rely for his data on the statements of the union officers with whom he is in communication. Since labor unions are among other things political and propaganda organizations which depend for their position in part on the prestige they inspire, the reported figures of membership are often quite other than prevailing conditions and general knowledge would lead one to expect. This is, of course, especially true during critical periods when extensive campaigns of organization are being waged and reputation for strength or weakness is considered to count heavily with prospective members, the government, and the public.

Inquiries on union membership undertaken by the National Bureau of Economic Research at various times in 1931, 1933, 1934, and 1935,¹ have in some instances elicited estimates of membership that illustrate this temptation to make claims not always supported by the record. Particularly since June 16, 1933, the date of the approval of the National Industrial Recovery Act when some of the most spirited and extensive organization efforts in the history of American labor began, has the divergence between announced and recorded statistics of membership tended to become wider than usual. While a part of the divergency is due to the sporadic character of recent events in labor relations

¹ The form of question asked by the National Bureau is indicated in the following letter sent to all the unions on its lists:

"The National Bureau of Economic Research is now preparing for publication a study of the growth of trade unionism during the post-war period. Your union has been most helpful in the past in supplying us with information for this study. We have received from you figures representing your average membership in good standing for each of the years from 1923 to 1932. We should like to bring these figures up to date. Would you, therefore, send us figures for the average membership of your union in good standing during the years 1933 and 1934?"

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and to peculiar developments in union growth in the last two years, much is attributable to the methods and enthusiasms of the organization campaign. How great the discrepancy can be is shown in estimates of membership reported at various times in 1933 and 1934 by the United Textile Workers, given in Table 1.

TABLE I
UNITED TEXTILE WORKERS, MEMBERSHIP, 1931-1934

DATE	FIRST REPORT ¹	SECOND REPORT ²	THIRD REPORT ³
1931	30,000	30,000
1932	27,500	27,500
1933	150,000 ⁴	55,000	230,000 ⁵
January 1934	100,000 ⁵	275,000 ⁶
July 1934	350,000 ⁶

¹ Letter from the union dated November 3, 1933.

² *Ibid.*, January 19, 1934.

³ *Ibid.*, September 7, 1934.

⁴ As of October 1933.

⁵ As of January 10, 1934.

⁶ Described by the union as approximate.

Large as the differences in these estimates are, it is a mistake to assume that they are all figments of the imagination and have no basis in fact. The United Textile Workers has since the middle of 1933 run the gamut of experiences typically encountered by weak unions in attempts to extend the area of their control over industry. Claiming jurisdiction over employees in all the primary branches of the textile industry—the manufacture of cotton, wool, silk and rayon cloths—this union has in the last several years successively attacked each of these divisions of the industry with organizing activities and strikes. In the great cotton textile strike of 1934, initiated and managed by the United Textile Workers,

several hundred thousand employees left the mills. On this occasion, and while the result of the conflict was still uncertain, the efforts of union officers and organizers seemed to be rewarded by a rush of new members who attested their affiliation with the union by signing applications for membership or merely by participating in striking and picketing. When the strike was ended and the men returned to work, whether through inertia, indifference, disappointment, opposition of the employers or what not, they failed to pay the initiation fees which they had promised to pay or ceased to pay the dues which they had begun to pay, and union membership measured by these standards sharply declined. Episodes like this have since 1933 occurred in all the other branches of the textile industry and were indeed not uncommon in the history of textile unions even before the World War. They account for the dramatic apparent rise and fall from time to time in the membership of the United Textile Workers and for the marked discrepancies in the estimates of the union recorded in Table 1.

These reports by the United Textile Workers may be said to provide an extreme instance of a practice often met in gathering membership data. The estimates in Table 2, furnished by the officers of four unions, further illustrate the point.

Difficulties such as these may be overcome, in part at least, by using the membership data annually reported by the American Federation of Labor. Approximately four-fifths of the total membership of American labor unions is that of unions affiliated with the Federation. Voting strength in the annual conventions of the Federation is proportionate to the per capita tax that the affiliated unions pay to the Federation on their membership. The figures

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TABLE 2

MEAT CUTTERS, UPHOLSTERERS, HOTEL AND RESTAURANT EMPLOYEES, AND LONGSHOREMEN UNIONS, MEMBERSHIP, 1933 AND 1934

NAME OF UNION	DATE	FIRST REPORT ¹	SECOND REPORT ²	THIRD REPORT ³
Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen	1933	35,000	18,000	.....
	Jan. 10, 1934	35,000	20,000	.....
	July 1934	.....	22,000	.....
Upholsterers, Carpet and Linoleum Mechanics	1933	4,650	9,000	.....
	Jan. 10, 1934	5,207	10,150	.....
	July 1934	.....	11,000	.....
Hotel and Restaurant Employees	1933	23,943	32,211	26,612
	Jan. 10, 1934	30,521	34,119	} 47,449 ⁴
	July 1934	.....	45,561	
Longshoremen	1933	24,451	23,369	.....
	Jan. 1-10, 1934	22,325	42,774 ⁵	.....
	July 1934	.....	33,431	.....

¹ Letters from unions in January and February 1934.

² *Ibid.*, August 1934.

³ *Ibid.*, March 1, 1935.

⁴ Average for the year 1934.

⁵ Average for January 1934.

of voting strength, from which membership is computed,² are published annually in the reports of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor. Except for occasional large

² Since 1897 each annual report of the convention proceedings of the American Federation of Labor has contained a table showing the voting strength of each affiliated national or international union and of all directly affiliated local unions. According to the constitution of the Federation (Art. IV, sec. 3) each delegate to the annual convention may "cast one vote for every one hundred members or major fraction thereof he represents". The voting strength of a union is computed from the monthly payment of per capita tax to the Federation (Art. IV, sec. 4). The membership of each organization is, therefore, obtained by multiplying its voting strength by one hundred.

discrepancies in the recorded membership of single unions, this source may be considered as yielding conservative and comparable estimates of the aggregate membership of those unions which are a part of the Federation. Of the unions independent of the Federation and consequently not included in its reports, the largest are the organizations of railroad train service employees. Since they are all old and strong unions, accustomed as most unions of this type are to keep and publish reliable records, the statistics of membership that they themselves furnish can be accepted with a high degree of confidence.

All statistics of membership based on the collection of dues and per capita taxes naturally reflect fluctuations in employment and unemployment. Especially since 1929, when many bona fide members of unions have been unable to pay their dues because of prolonged idleness, the available figures probably understate the actual strength of some organizations. Conversely, before 1929 many unions exaggerated their membership. How large the underestimate in recent years has been the records do not disclose, but the reports of a few unions show that it may, on occasion, be appreciable. The United Textile Workers wrote in 1931: "We continue to pay the American Federation of Labor on 30,000 members. We were paying on this number in 1923 and are paying on the same number today. . . . We are carrying on our books approximately 30,000 (additional) who are either unemployed or working under two and three days a week, conditions which make it impossible for them to pay their dues regularly." In 1935 the papermakers union, likewise, reported: "Our membership in 1934 was 21,000. We paid per capita tax to the American Federation of Labor on 11,500 members. The remainder were not working full time." The Executive Council of the Federation,

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commenting on the factor of partial and total unemployment, stated in 1934:⁵

“National and international organizations are required to pay the per capita tax upon their full paid-up membership and, therefore, the membership does not include all the members who were unemployed during the fiscal year.

A survey of the membership of the national and international organizations and the unions directly affiliated with the American Federation of Labor shows that the reason for the comparatively small increase in membership is due almost entirely to the unemployment of members of national and international unions and directly affiliated local unions.”

Offsetting the effects of prevailing unemployment on dues-paying membership is the tendency, already noted, of unions to exaggerate their strength in order to enhance their prestige in the eyes of members, the public and employers. Affiliated organizations, also, will often pay per capita taxes to the Federation on an over-estimated membership in order to maintain their voting strength in the annual conventions of the American Federation of Labor. Many unions have in this way not only overstated their membership at any given time, but have also concealed the year-to-year fluctuations in membership to which all unions are subject. The influence of all these factors is illustrated in the various statistics of membership of the United Mine Workers, the largest union in the American Federation of Labor. From 1923 to 1931 it paid per capita taxes to the Federation on 400,000 members. In view of the changing state of the industry as well as the growth of the non-union area after 1923, the probabilities are that the membership of the union had in this period measurably declined.

⁵ *Report to the 54th Annual Convention, October 1, 1934, p. 7.*

The relation, further, between paid-up and other membership since 1929 is shown in Table 3.

TABLE 3
UNITED MINE WORKERS, MEMBERSHIP, 1929-1934

DATE	MEMBERSHIP REPORTED BY THE UNION			
	MEMBERSHIP REPORTED BY THE A. F. OF L. ¹	Paid-up	Exonerated	Total paid-up and exonerated
1929	400,000	169,301	92,855	262,156
1930	400,000	140,065	81,613	221,678
1931	400,000	158,250	143,000	301,250
1932	308,300	129,212	187,522	316,734
1933	300,000	135,285	162,484	297,769
January 1934	300,000 ²	362,000	95,000	457,000
July 1934					403,883	124,802	528,685

¹ Annual reports, A. F. of L. Executive Council.

² Letters from the union dated August 28 and September 18, 1933; and replies to letters dated January 11, July 24, August 2 and September 7, 1934.

³ Average for the year ended August 31, 1934.

Exonerated membership the union defines as follows: ⁴ "Under our law, persons on strike, unemployed, and those who do not work five or more days in any one month are granted exoneration and at the same time their membership is maintained in good standing." It is significant that the membership reported by the American Federation of Labor is, until 1932, far in excess of the combined paid-up and exonerated membership of the union, the excess ranging from 180,000 in 1930 to 100,000 in 1931. The rise in the exonerated and, therefore, in the combined membership in 1932 is puzzling since by all available evidence the strength of the union was then at its lowest ebb.

Although many unions differentiate between their employed

⁴ Letter from the union dated July 6, 1931.

and unemployed members, or between those in good standing and in arrears, and, in addition, pay per capita tax to the Federation on still another membership, practice in respect of all these methods is so diverse that it is quite impossible to derive a formula that could translate one estimate of membership into another. Several further examples will suffice to throw light on the various methods of estimating membership used by American unions. The National Federation of Post Office Clerks explains ⁵ that the

“American Federation of Labor figures cover only national per capita membership—and not all of that. We have a great many members who for various reasons do not pay national per capita tax. Some of these are on the civil service retirement roll, others function as local officers and are therefore excused from the payment of tax, while again it is the policy of some of our locals not to pay on the entire membership. To illustrate, our local in Chicago has an actual membership of 4,200 while per capita tax is paid on 3,500. The difference represents to a large extent the members who act as dues collectors and in various official capacities and for these services . . . they are not required to pay dues, although to all intents and purposes they are bona fide members.”

The national union of iron molders, which was earlier in its history one of the large and more powerful American craft unions, paid per capita taxes to the American Federation of Labor on a constant membership of 50,000 each year, 1907–18. The membership of this union reported by the Federation fluctuated thereafter annually, but the union distinguishes ⁶ on its own records between the membership on which it pays per capita taxes to the Federation and its ‘actual’ membership, which includes “members who are out of employment or who are employed at work

⁵ Letter from the union dated July 9, 1931.

⁶ Letter from the union dated March 1, 1935.

other than the trade of molding". The differences between these two sets of data are shown in Table 4.

TABLE 4
INTERNATIONAL MOLDERS UNION, MEMBERSHIP, 1923-1934

DATE	REPORTED BY THE A. F. OF L. ¹	REPORTED BY THE UNION ²
1923	32,100	37,470
1924	33,600	37,231
1925	27,500	31,359
1926	28,400	30,474
1927	26,500	29,122
1928	23,200	26,802
1929	23,700	26,480
1930	21,800	22,249
1931	15,200	18,415
1932	9,500	15,400
1933	6,000	17,351
1934	8,800	20,233

¹ Annual reports, A. F. of L. Executive Council.

² Reply by the union to letter dated March 4, 1935.

Comparison of these figures of membership with those for the United Mine Workers illustrates again the sharp diversity among unions in policy and practice. While the miners union was paying per capita taxes to the American Federation of Labor on a membership greatly in excess of its combined paid-up and exonerated membership, the tax payment of the molders union was limited by the number of its members in good standing. The Federation data consequently reflect much more accurately changes in the position of the molders union than in that of the United Mine Workers. The ratio, moreover, of members in arrears to those in good standing was, for the molders, relatively low until 1932, but for the miners it was always high, and in several

of the years recorded in Table 3 the number exonerated exceeded the number in good standing. These marked discrepancies raise an interesting, if unanswerable, question concerning the procedure followed by unions in dropping delinquent members.

The membership data of American unions being what they are it is clear that the choice among materials must rest upon as careful an examination as is possible of the available statistics for each. Since the membership of some twenty national unions accounts for a very large share of the total membership of all labor unions, this examination can for all practical purposes be limited to the larger organizations. In nearly all cases of doubt accessible collateral information—such as the size of the industry, the relative extent of its organized and unorganized sections, the union's reputed strength, and the size of strikes—has proved of great assistance in judging the relative value of conflicting data.

In this study, then, the source of membership figures most frequently used is the annual report of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor. Where the figures clearly understate the membership of a union, whether because of failure to make adequate allowance for unemployment and underemployment or because the union deliberately reduces its payment of per capita taxes to the Federation, or where they exaggerate membership in order to enhance the union's prestige or to preserve its political position within the Federation, they are replaced by series supplied by the union itself but in every instance subjected to extensive examination and check. Viewed over a relatively long period and tested by our general knowledge of the course of industrial relations in this country, the series of membership statistics gathered in this way appear to be a dependable index of the ebb and flow in American trade unionism.

CHAPTER II

Union Growth Before the World War

THE modern period of American trade unionism, beginning in 1897¹ and dominated by the methods and policies of the American Federation of Labor and the independent railroad unions, resolves itself into several well-defined phases. The first phase of growth and consolidation lasted eighteen years, 1897-1914. The second phase of accelerated increase in membership, arising from the business and political conditions associated with the World War, was terminated in the last months of 1920 with the onset of the first severe post-War depression. The degree and nature of the losses suffered by organized labor during this relatively brief depression returned the movement to nearly its pre-War status. The vicissitudes of organized labor during the prosperity of the 1920's constitute the data of the next phase. This was followed by more than three years, starting in 1930 and ending about the middle of 1933, of severe losses in membership under the influence of the forces of the world depression. The present and latest phase, marked by a swift and large increase in membership as a result of economic recovery and the social policies of the government, is so far as we know not yet at its close. Over this span of thirty-eight years the unions comprising the

¹For a discussion of the choice of 1897 as a starting point, see Leo Wolman, *The Growth of American Trade Unions, 1880-1923* (National Bureau of Economic Research, 1924), pp. 29-32.

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organized labor movement of the United States have alternately gained and lost millions of members. The characteristics of these phases and the magnitude of these changes, the general course of which appears in Table 5, are the subject of this monograph.

During the first period, the eighteen years from 1897 to 1914, the number of trade unionists in this country increased two and one quarter million, or at the rate of 125,000 a year. Starting with a small but widely distributed membership, which was greatest in the construction and railroad industries but was not very powerful even there, the organized labor movement had by

TABLE 5
AMERICAN TRADE UNIONS, TOTAL MEMBERSHIP, 1897-1934¹

YEAR	AVERAGE ANNUAL MEMBERSHIP	YEAR	AVERAGE ANNUAL MEMBERSHIP	YEAR	AVERAGE ANNUAL MEMBERSHIP
1897	447,000	1910	2,140,500	1923	3,622,000
1898	500,700	1911	2,343,400	1924	3,536,100
1899	611,000	1912	2,452,400	1925	3,519,400
1900	868,500	1913	2,716,300	1926	3,502,400
1901	1,124,700	1914	2,687,100	1927	3,546,500
1902	1,375,900	1915	2,582,600	1928	3,479,800
1903	1,913,900	1916	2,772,700	1929	3,442,600
1904	2,072,700	1917	3,061,400	1930	3,392,800
1905	2,022,300	1918	3,467,300	1931	3,358,100
1906	1,907,300	1919	4,125,200	1932	3,144,300
1907	2,080,400	1920	5,047,800	1933	2,973,000
1908	2,130,600	1921	4,781,300	1934	3,608,600
1909	2,005,600	1922	4,027,400		

¹ For the source of the figures in this table, see Appendix, Table I. The slight differences between the figures in this table for the years 1897-1923 and similar ones in *The Growth of American Trade Unions, 1880-1923*, p. 33, are due to revisions of the earlier data.

1914 established strong unions in parts of the coal mining industry, and among building and railroad labor, and had made some progress with the expansion of organization in manufac-

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turing industries by the development of craft unions, particularly among skilled craftsmen in the metal trades. While growth was uneven and there were losses due to bad business and its concomitant spells of unemployment, the reverses suffered as a result of the business recessions of the period were not great and acted to retard the rate of growth of unions rather than to inflict severe losses upon them. Thus in only four of the eighteen years did aggregate membership decline, and for no year was the drop as great as 10 per cent.

This early period, furthermore, bore the earmarks of solid and permanent development. In contrast with the policy of its predecessor, the Knights of Labor, the American Federation of Labor assisted in organizing local craft unions in the hope that they would spread through the industries of the country and become the nuclei of autonomous national craft unions each based on a natural community of interest among its members. Largely in consequence of this policy, the number of national and international unions, preponderantly craft in structure, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor had increased from 58 in 1897 to 120 in 1904. There was, to be sure, a large turnover and a high mortality rate among these newly organized national unions,² but many of the unions important at present originated in this manner. Later, after the zest for further expansion had perhaps spent itself and the existing unions had staked their jurisdictional claims over the principal organizable areas of industry, the number of affiliated national unions declined, mainly as a result of amalgamations, and remains now about 110. The

² The total number of national and international unions, affiliated and independent, of which we have a record between 1897 and 1923 is 220; between 1923 and 1934, the corresponding number is 159.

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number of affiliated national and international unions, 1897-1935, is shown in Table 6.

TABLE 6

NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS AFFILIATED WITH THE A. F. OF L., NUMBER, 1897-1935¹

FISCAL PERIOD ENDING		NUMBER OF AFFILIATED NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS AT END OF FISCAL PERIOD
October	31, 1897	58
"	" 1898	67
"	" 1899	73
"	" 1900	82
"	" 1901	87
September	30, 1902	97
"	" 1903	113
"	" 1904	120
"	" 1905	118
"	" 1906	119
"	" 1907	117
"	" 1908	116
"	" 1909	119
"	" 1910	120
"	" 1911	115
"	" 1912	112
"	" 1913	111
"	" 1914	110
"	" 1915	110
"	" 1916	111
"	" 1917	111
April	30, 1918	111
"	" 1919	111
"	" 1920	110
"	" 1921	110
"	" 1922	112

¹ Data for 1897, 1898, 1933, 1934 and 1935 were compiled from the *Proceedings of the Annual Conventions of the A. F. of L. for those years*; data for other years are from Lewis L. Lorwin, *The American Federation of Labor* (Brookings Institution, 1935), p. 488.

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TABLE 6—Continued

NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS AFFILIATED WITH
THE A. F. OF L., NUMBER, 1897-1935¹

FISCAL PERIOD ENDING		NUMBER OF AFFILIATED NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS AT END OF FISCAL PERIOD
August	31, 1923	108
"	" 1924	107
"	" 1925	107
"	" 1926	107
"	" 1927	106
"	" 1928	107
"	" 1929	105
"	" 1930	104
"	" 1931	105
"	" 1932	106
"	" 1933	108
"	" 1934	109
"	" 1935	109

But for the exceptional period of the War, and perhaps also during the present phase of which the outcome is still obscure, expansion in the total membership of American unions has been dominated by advances in the membership of the coal mining, railroad and building trades unions. From 1902 to 1903, when the movement recorded a net increase of 538,000 members, an annual gain not equalled until the first post-War boom, half of the increase is attributable to the gains of the United Mine Workers, growing out of the settlement of the famous anthracite coal strike in 1902, and to advances in the membership of the building and railroad unions. Likewise, over the period 1897-1914 considerably more than half of the entire advance in membership is accounted for by increases in these three groups of unions. While the total membership of all unions increased

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2,240,100, the number in these groups, as is shown in Table 7, rose 1,279,300. The fortunes of these groups—mining dominated by the United Mine Workers, an industrial union, and the other two composed almost wholly of strictly craft organizations—have from time to time vitally affected the course of the whole American labor movement.

TABLE 7
MINING, BUILDING AND TRANSPORTATION UNIONS,
INCREASE IN MEMBERSHIP, 1897-1914

GROUP OF UNIONS	AVERAGE ANNUAL MEMBERSHIP ¹		INCREASE OVER PERIOD
	1897	1914	
Mining, quarrying and oil	20,900	380,200	359,300
Building construction	67,300	542,000	474,700
Transportation and communication	116,400	561,700	445,300
Total, above groups	204,600	1,483,900	1,279,300
Total, all unions	447,000	2,687,100	2,240,100

¹ See Appendix, Table I.

Except during the brief period of the World War, when the metal and clothing unions rose to power, the building, railroad and coal miners unions have dominated the organized labor movement of this country.

CHAPTER III

War Prosperity and Its Aftermath

FROM 1915 to 1920 organized labor encountered forces new in quality and magnitude. Developments in trade unionism mirrored the extraordinary succession of events that characterized the economic history of the United States during and after the World War. The number of union members increased almost 2,500,000, a gain greater than the entire increase in membership in the eighteen years, 1897-1914. With the turn of the economic tide in 1920 the loss in membership began, and by 1923 the number of members was roughly 1,500,000 less than it had been three years previous and more than half of the gains had been dissipated. Not only are the manifold aspects of the economic and social phenomena of this period in themselves of great interest and importance, but also their consideration may assist in accounting for the spectacular alternation of success and failure that marked the fortunes of organized labor in this crucial epoch of its history.

First among the factors that contributed to these striking changes in the position of trade unionism was the improvement in business consequent upon the expanding volume of European orders in the American market. The period beginning with the depression of 1914 and the appointment by President Wilson of the United States Industrial Relations Commission to study unemployment and labor unrest was converted by the World War

into one of unusual industrial activity. Heavy foreign borrowing and purchasing in the United States furnished the spur to American industry. Business activity increased, employment expanded, wages and prices rose. War blockades stopped the flow into our labor market of European immigration which had previously contributed an annual net increase to the American population of between 750,000 and 1,000,000. Active and profitable business and a growing scarcity of labor—conditions always regarded as favorable to the expansion of trade unionism—were present in the American situation to an unusual degree in the years immediately following 1914.

The entry of the United States into the World War in April 1917 simply threw more of the same fuel on the fire. To European war orders were added the American. Huge borrowings by our Federal government furnished the means for the purchase of war materials, clothes, food and ships. Under this stimulus new war industries, soon working overtime, sprang up beside the equally busy established industries of the country. The withdrawal of more than 5,000,000 able-bodied men from their ordinary pursuits made it still harder to fill available jobs with satisfactory workers and generally strengthened the bargaining power of industrial labor.

The end of the War only interrupted this advance. After a brief lull, terminating in the spring of 1919, the inflation of the War period was resumed. The fiscal and economic policies of the War made themselves felt in a vast expansion of bank credit with its usual consequences of active business and rapidly rising prices. Although there was much work and a good demand for labor; and, although wage rates and earnings climbed to extraordinary heights, the continued rise in the cost of living became

a source of extensive unrest and a further cause of the growth of unionism. The number of employees involved in strikes and lockouts increased nearly 3,000,000 between 1918 and 1919.

This state of affairs continued well into 1920. But before the close of that year the turn had come. The normal sequences of depression were soon well started. Because of a veritably catastrophic fall in wholesale prices the pressure for the liquidation of costs became enormous and irresistible. The shortage of labor of the preceding years was turned into a labor surplus; unemployment in 1921 was variously estimated at from 3,500,000 to more than 5,000,000. Efforts to cut wages and pare the standards of labor conditions were a natural and inevitable result of the desire of many men to stay in business. Conditions had become unfavorable to union growth.

The crucial economic developments from 1915 to 1920, sketched here in their barest outline, took place in a social and political atmosphere peculiarly conducive to the spread of collective bargaining and trade unionism. After the American declaration of War the interest of the government in maintaining industrial peace became a paramount factor in the total situation. Labor relations, which had historically been of concern to the Federal government on only the rarest occasions, were elevated to a position of major importance among the activities of many public agencies. The policy of encouraging collective bargaining, in part to allay unrest and preserve the peace and in part as an end desirable in itself, was announced. The President of the United States addressed an annual convention of the American Federation of Labor. The tasks of administering the newly established labor standards on governmental contracts and general supervision over labor relations were entrusted to numerous ad-

ministrative officers and labor adjustment boards created for the purpose. On many of these agencies officials of labor organizations served in advisory and executive capacities, and the unions they represented naturally profited from their positions of influence and authority. In this respect the conditions then prevailing were, in their essentials, not unlike those of some fifteen years later under the National Recovery Administration.

Changing attitudes on the relations of employers and employees were revealed in the rise and dissemination of new views concerning the status of labor. Industrial democracy became a subject of widespread interest and discussion. Experiments in cooperation between labor and employers were tried in the management of a large government arsenal. The Plumb Plan, a proposal for the joint management of the rail transportation industry by representatives of employees, operators and consumers, was evidence of the trend of opinion of this period. The governmental labor boards made their contribution to the practices of industrial democracy by applying the device of elections among workmen, at present the subject of considerable interest and controversy in this country, as a method of ensuring the free and democratic choice of employee representatives. Systems of employee representation or of plant committees, now under heated attack, were set up by these boards as a means of promoting collective bargaining in the relations of workers and management. Amid so general a ferment of ideas and so extensive an espousal of the cause of collective bargaining, it is not surprising that the trade union, the traditional instrument of collective bargaining, should have benefited alike from economic prosperity and a more sympathetic State.

The depression of 1921 confronted the labor movement not

only with those disabilities invariably associated with extensive business liquidation and unemployment but also with the loss of a large part of the friendly attitude that had played so great, if imponderable, a role in bringing about its earlier gains. The decline of business hastened the revulsion against governmental intervention and control. Even before the depression the strictly War agencies and the United States Railroad Administration, under whose aegis the railway unions had made such gigantic strides, had gone. With the return to 'normalcy' and the economic views that it represented much of the system of ideas and practices that had grown out of the War economy and prosperity was swept away. This important phase in the history of American organized labor, which began roughly with the report of the United States Industrial Relations Commission and was punctuated by the creation of an elaborate public machinery for supervising and guiding labor relations, ended with the failure of the members of President Wilson's first Conference on Industrial Relations to agree upon a formula for the furtherance of the principles and practices of collective bargaining.

American trade unions during these phases of prosperity, public control and depression undoubtedly reflected the impact of numerous forces, the description of which would add considerably to our knowledge of the period. Unfortunately available statistics of membership are usually in the form of averages for the calendar year or for some other twelve-month period. They therefore conceal important monthly fluctuations in response to business conditions and other factors and may give a distorted image of the actual sequence of events. But even as they stand they reveal the close correspondence between social, political and economic conditions of the kind we have just mentioned and the

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 gains and losses of organized labor. Table 8 shows the annual changes in total membership, 1913-23.

TABLE 8
AMERICAN TRADE UNIONS, ANNUAL CHANGES IN
TOTAL MEMBERSHIP, 1913-1923

YEAR	AVERAGE ANNUAL MEMBERSHIP	INCREASE OR DECREASE OVER PRECEDING YEAR
1913	2,716,300	
1914	2,687,100	— 29,200
1915	2,582,600	—104,500
1916	2,772,700	+190,100
1917	3,061,400	+288,700
1918	3,467,300	+405,900
1919	4,125,200	+657,900
1920	5,047,800	+922,600
1921	4,781,300	—266,500
1922	4,027,400	—753,900
1923	3,622,000	—405,400

It is clear from these changes in the number belonging to unions that on both the upward and downward trend the force of inertia is great. Until 1918 the annual accessions were not unusually large in comparison with the increases in many of the years before the War. And, indeed, in the first year of expanding membership, 1916, the gain just about made up the losses resulting from the depression of 1914. Even the increase of 1918 was exceeded by that of 1903. But once it had started the advance gained momentum. The combined increases of 1919 and 1920, reflecting the impetus of war economic prosperity and public policy, on the one hand, and, on the other, the rush of employees into trade unions for the purpose of protecting the purchasing power of their wages against the steep rise in the cost of living, amounted

to the amazing total of 1,580,500, or almost twice the whole increase in 1916, 1917 and 1918.

Again, on the decline, the loss in the severest year of the depression, 1921, was relatively slight, but in 1922 when the recovery of business had already begun, membership dropped three-quarters of a million. Even in 1923, which was an exceptionally good business year, over 400,000 additional members were lost. While particular factors, such as the railroad shopmen's strike in 1922, may explain a part of the lag on the decline, a noticeable lag between fluctuations in economic conditions and their effects on membership runs through the course of changes in union membership during the last half century.

While all unions prospered on the upswing from 1915 to 1920 in terms of their previous condition, the degree of improvement differed immensely among the many groups of organizations comprising the American labor movement. As before, expansion in total membership was dominated by the developments within a relatively restricted group of unions. The United Mine Workers, whose changing fortunes had been one of the several determining factors in the growth of the whole labor movement before the War, had by 1914 become the largest of all American unions, with a membership of 339,000. Its capacity for further expansion was therefore limited, and between 1914 and 1920 it added no more than 55,000 new members. The building and transportation groups, though of substantial size in 1914, included many small unions, and also claimed jurisdiction over numerous occupations that were hardly organized. These two groups, together with the unions in the metal, machinery, shipbuilding and clothing industries, accounted for three-quarters of the increase in the membership of all unions from 1915 to 1920. The expansion of

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the group of clothing unions was due almost entirely to the founding in 1915 and rapid rise of one union, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. And the growth of the unions in the metal, machinery and shipbuilding industries was the combined result of the tremendous expansion of these industries and the influence within them of governmental policy.

In the period of declining membership from 1920 to 1923 the same groups of unions were responsible for nearly four-fifths of the total loss. But the losses were not nearly so evenly distributed over the four groups as were the gains. The metals group lost practically all it had previously won; the transportation unions surrendered something more than half their gains; while the building and clothing unions fared materially better. The figures for the periods of rise and fall are given in Table 9.

TABLE 9
BUILDING, METAL, TRANSPORTATION AND CLOTHING UNIONS, CHANGES IN MEMBERSHIP,¹ 1915-1920 AND 1920-1923

GROUP OF UNIONS	INCREASE, 1915-1920	DECREASE, 1920-1923
Building construction	355,200	98,400
Metals, machinery and shipbuilding	634,600	601,700
Transportation and communication	680,100	348,800
Clothing	200,800	79,300
Total, above groups	1,870,700	1,128,200
Total, all unions	2,465,200	1,425,800

¹ For the group membership figures from which these changes are computed, see Appendix, Table I.

The groups of labor organizations hitherto considered are composed of many individual national unions varying widely in character, membership and field of jurisdiction. In 1923, for instance, there were 14 unions in the building group, 17 in metals,

machinery and shipbuilding, 8 in clothing, and 26 in transportation and communication. In every period of changing membership, the experience of all unions within a group by no means follow the same pattern, for unions are distinguished from one another by their state of development, the condition of the industry in which their members work, and a variety of other equally influential factors. Thus from 1915 to 1920 the building industry proper failed to share proportionately in the general prosperity of American industry, and a strictly building trade union, like the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers Union, reported over this period a stationary membership. The unions of carpenters and electrical workers, on the other hand, although classified in the building group, had jurisdiction over craftsmen employed in substantial number in almost all important industries; consequently, the membership of these two organizations rose with that of all unions. In the next stage—the depression of 1921—when unions in manufacturing industries were suffering severe losses, the building industry began that expansion which was soon to become so notable a feature of the business history of the decade, and the carpenters and electricians unions gained in membership in the building industry some part of what they were losing elsewhere.

Several unions in the metals, machinery and shipbuilding group which recorded among the largest of the increases of individual unions, 1914–21, were dependent for the continuance of their prosperity on an unprecedented volume of employment in strictly war industry and in the vastly over-expanded shipbuilding industry and on the permanence of efficacious governmental policy. When these sources of employment shrank after the War (in some instances only similar circumstances can restore them),

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and public control was removed, the unions suffered heavy losses which were not recovered in the next period of business recovery. The International Association of Machinists and the Brotherhood of Boilermakers and Iron Shipbuilders are in this class. The machinists union increased from 72,000 members in 1915 to 330,000 in 1920, and fell again to 76,000 in 1923; the boiler-makers gained 86,000 members between 1915 and 1920, and had lost 84,000 by 1923.

The membership of ten unions that illustrate this variety of experience among individual unions and indicate the importance

TABLE 10
BUILDING, METALS, CLOTHING AND TRANSPORTATION,
MEMBERSHIP OF SELECTED UNIONS, 1915, 1920, AND 1923

UNION GROUP AND NAME OF UNION	AVERAGE ANNUAL MEMBERSHIP ¹		
	1915	1920	1923
<i>Building construction</i>	532,700	887,900	789,500
Carpenters	194,000	371,900	315,000
Electrical Workers	36,200	139,200	142,000
<i>Metals, machinery and shipbuilding</i>	224,200	858,800	257,100
Boilermakers and Iron Shipbuilders	17,300	103,000	19,400
Machinists	71,900	330,800	76,400
Railway Carmen	29,300	182,100	76,700
<i>Clothing</i>	173,700	374,500	295,200
Amalgamated Clothing Workers	38,000	177,000	134,000
<i>Transportation and communication</i>	576,000	1,256,100	907,300
Railway Clerks	5,000	186,000	96,100
Seamen	16,000	65,900	17,900
Teamsters	51,600	110,800	72,700
Longshoremen	25,000	74,000	34,300
Total, above unions	484,300	1,740,700	984,500
Total, all unions	2,582,600	5,047,800	3,622,000

¹ See Appendix, Table L

of relatively few organizations in the labor movement as a whole is shown in Table 10. In 1915 these unions represented nearly one-fifth of the total membership of all unions; in 1920 their number had mounted to more than one-third of the total; in 1923 their share of the whole was still more than a quarter.

The history of organized labor in this country during the War and early post-War period was not unique. In all countries affected by similar conditions of War prosperity, public control of labor relations, post-War boom and depression, union membership pursued a course not dissimilar to that in the United States. In Great Britain, where the forces influencing the growth and decline of unionism were in broad outline most analogous to those in this country, membership increased, 1914-20, more than 4,000,000, declined in each year after 1920, and stood in 1923 at approximately 3,000,000 less than at the peak. The figures for Great Britain and Northern Ireland are presented in Table 11. They are representative of conditions in many countries in this period

TABLE 11
GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND, TRADE UNION
MEMBERSHIP, 1914-1923 ¹

YEAR	MEMBERSHIP AT END OF YEAR
1914	4,145,000
1915	4,359,000
1916	4,644,000
1917	5,499,000
1918	6,533,000
1919	7,926,000
1920	8,346,000
1921	6,632,000
1922	5,624,000
1923	5,428,000

¹ *Ministry of Labour Gazette*, October 1935, p. 373.

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except where the relation of trade unions to the state underwent radical revision during and after the War. In these countries the changes in union membership departed widely from the patterns observed in the United States and Great Britain; in several countries, distinguished by unusual developments in political organization, union membership after the War mounted to several times the pre-War and War levels (see Appendix, Table XII).

CHAPTER IV

The New Era and the World Depression

THE decade preceding the inauguration of President Roosevelt in March 1933 and the adoption a few months later of an elaborate national system of industrial control and labor legislation, witnessed an almost uninterrupted decline of about 650,000 in union membership. The downward movement, which had begun with the depression of 1921, continued, except for a nominal advance in 1927, until the turn came with the recovery of business and the labor policy of the New Deal in the second half of 1933. Altogether the organized labor movement had since the peak in 1920 lost 2,074,800 members, leaving it in 1933 where it had been in 1917, or, if the growth meanwhile of the working population of the United States be taken into account, in 1910. Of the total decrease in members since 1923, 179,400 had been lost during the seven prosperous years, 1923-29, and the remainder, 469,600, during the subsequent depression. The year-to-year changes in membership, 1923-34, are recorded in Table 12.

On their face these figures do not disclose the reasons for the course pursued by trade unionism during the period. Beginning with the decline of 85,900 in 1924, which reflected the inevitable slackening in the unusual rate of loss of the three preceding years, the annual recessions thereafter remained relatively slight until the impact of the next depression accelerated the rate of decline once more and produced in 1932 and 1933, together, a loss in

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membership of nearly 400,000. The influence of the business contractions of 1924 and 1927, which briefly interrupted the prosperity of the New Era, is hardly noticeable in the figures of membership, and, indeed, in 1927 membership actually increased, though slightly. It was as if the momentum of decline, originating in the depression of 1921, transcended all other forces, including business prosperity, and carried union membership lower each year until the decline was intensified by the powerful factors of unemployment and business liquidation initiated by the depression of 1929. The reason the American labor movement failed in these post-War years of more than normal business activity, high profits, good employment and rising wages to resume the advances traditionally associated with the favorable effects on unionism of good times and to retrieve at least part of its previous losses has been for some time the subject of speculation and controversy.

TABLE 12
AMERICAN TRADE UNIONS, ANNUAL CHANGES IN TOTAL
MEMBERSHIP, 1923-1934

YEAR	AVERAGE ANNUAL MEMBERSHIP	INCREASE OR DECREASE OVER PRECEDING YEAR
1923	3,622,000	—405,400
1924	3,536,100	— 85,900
1925	3,519,400	— 16,700
1926	3,502,400	— 17,000
1927	3,546,500	+ 44,100
1928	3,479,800	— 66,700
1929	3,442,600	— 37,200
1930	3,392,800	— 49,800
1931	3,358,100	— 34,700
1932	3,144,300	—213,800
1933	2,973,000	—171,300
1934	3,608,600	+635,600

Among the numerous explanations for the persistence of this anomalous condition throughout the New Era prosperity some deal with influences arising from the business and industrial developments of the period and others with factors inherent in American trade unionism itself. That elements of both kinds had a powerful if indeterminate effect on the position of organized labor is clear from the records of the times.

In business and industry the period was marked by an immense shift in the centers of economic activity. Although the history of an expanding economic system is replete with instances of the decline of old industries and the rise of new, it is rare that the rate of change in this respect has been so great as it was in this brief spell of seven years. In manufacturing, the relatively young automobile, chemical, and electrical industries contributed a disproportionate share of the increase in output, employment and payrolls. Outside manufacturing, substantial new sources of employment were created in the rapidly expanding public utility industries, throughout the distributive trades, and in the whole range of services. With few exceptions the industries and trades comprising at this time the most prosperous sections of the American economy had in the past been least penetrated by trade unionism and retained their immunity to organization probably through their capacity to pay high rates of wages and to offer satisfactory conditions of employment.

At the same time a fair number of the large firms in nearly all these industries pursued an aggressive labor policy. This consisted not only in putting up barriers to the unionization of employees, but also in the adoption of a variety of positive measures calculated to raise standards of labor, to stress the community of interest of employer and employee, and to win

the loyalty of members of the work-force. The familiar devices of group insurance, employee-stock ownership, employee-savings funds and the like, though not originating in this period, were the subjects of more extensive experimentation than at any previous time. The combined effect of these measures—aptly described in the literature of the period as ‘welfare capitalism’—and of the relatively high weekly and annual earnings of the employees of the large companies was probably to aggravate the difficulties of the union organizer and to retard, if not to block, the advance of organization.

Technical developments in industry at this time likewise acted, in the opinion of observers and of union sympathizers, to render more difficult the problems of extending organization into the non-union industries and even of retaining membership in some already unionized. The more general application of mass production methods was held to have resulted in the destruction of many established skills and crafts and to have caused a radical revision in the prevailing ratios of skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled workingmen in industry. The skilled and semi-skilled employees thus shorn of their trades were converted into machine tenders and unskilled common laborers. As a result of this process, the craftsman, traditionally the source of an overwhelming majority of union members in this country, became a rarity in the shops of these new industries, and where he persisted his trade no longer fitted the jurisdictional framework of existing unions.

Associated with the spread of mass production methods was a marked acceleration in the rate of the application of invention to the processes of industry and of the introduction of machinery. These features of the changing technique of industry in the 1920's revealed themselves in extraordinary increases in the per capita

output of labor. They were regarded, therefore, as having the two-fold effect of throwing out of employment precisely those workmen most likely to join unions and to become the nucleus of organization, and of creating in good times the unusual phenomenon of a surplus of labor. Current estimates of unemployment, which, it was believed, showed the existence of a considerable volume in even the best years of this period, and the observed decline in manufacturing and railroad employment after 1923 lent support to the belief in the existence of a substantial amount of so-called technological unemployment and of a surplus of labor.¹

Alongside the growing and prosperous industries there was another group which failed to participate to anything like the same degree in the business activity and prosperity of the period. Such industries as clothing, textiles and coal mining were, during much of this era of general boom, often in considerable difficulty, in part because of factors peculiar to each and in part because of the competition of the products of new industries. For this reason several of them, notably textiles and bituminous coal mining, were universally regarded as 'sick' industries and their plight became a matter of public concern. Both the clothing and coal mining industries, moreover, had been strongly organized for some time and the New England sections of the textile industry, while not extensively unionized, had long been a fertile field for unionizing activities. The unfavorable condition of this group of industries serves to account for some of the obstacles in the path of union recovery in the prosperous years from 1923 to 1929.

In these industries, further, the movement of centers of pro-

¹ Evidence bearing on most of the foregoing items is to be found in Frederick C. Mills, *Economic Tendencies* (National Bureau of Economic Research, 1932).

duction from union to non-union areas weakened the unions both directly by reducing the employment of their members and indirectly by furnishing the industry with hitherto unused reserves of labor. This movement is strikingly exemplified in the rise of the cotton textile industry in the South at the expense of the North. In the soft coal industry, where the sources of supply are scattered over an extensive area in Pennsylvania, Illinois, West Virginia, Indiana, Ohio and other states, the policy of the miners union and generally adverse economic conditions so far as the coal business was concerned caused an equally radical change in the centers of production. Similarly, non-union competition in the manufacture of clothing resulted in a great shrinkage in the volume of business in established union centers and its dispersion to the large unorganized cities, such as Baltimore and Philadelphia, and to numerous small towns principally in New York, New Jersey, Connecticut and Pennsylvania in the East, and Illinois and Michigan in the West. During this period, consequently, the effects on the American labor market of the policy of drastic restriction of immigration were offset to some degree by the opening of new industrial areas with their pools of cheaper labor.

The structure and policy of American trade unions, both friendly and hostile critics of the movement believed, were not adapted to meeting the problems of organization arising from the economic developments of the times. The craft union, the dominant form of organization in the movement, was not in this view suited to the requirements of unionization in industries in which the customary skills and crafts had been modified by radical changes in technology and management. The case for industrial unionism, long a subject of controversy in this country, was in

these years more vigorously urged than before. The arguments marshalled in its support and the practical measures proposed for conciliating the differences between the advocates of craft and industrial unionism forecast the beginnings of a change in policy observable in the proceedings of the annual American Federation of Labor convention held in San Francisco in October 1934. But at the 1935 convention, in Atlantic City, compromise proposals for adjusting the conflicting jurisdictional claims of these two types of labor organization proved unsatisfactory to the supporters of industrial unionism and led them to take steps in defense of their position that perhaps mark the beginnings of the most serious schism within the ranks of organized labor since the struggle for supremacy, fifty years earlier, between the American Federation of Labor and the Knights of Labor.

The influence of these different factors on the constituent elements of the labor movement illustrates again the diversity of experience among single unions and among groups of them. Special circumstances either in the industry or in the union produce results sometimes consonant with the prevailing trend and at other times at sharp variance with it. The data bearing on the fortunes of the principal groups of unions, 1923-29, are presented in Table 13.

The unions in five of the thirteen groups here recorded increased in membership. The building unions, which already had more than three-quarters of a million members in 1923, registered the heaviest gain because of the great boom in both private and public construction in this country during the years under review. The miners and clothing workers unions together lost approximately 330,000 members as a result of the unfavorable state of their industries and the severe competition within them

TABLE 13
PRINCIPAL GROUPS OF UNIONS, CHANGES IN
MEMBERSHIP, 1923-1929

GROUP OF UNIONS	AVERAGE ANNUAL MEMBERSHIP ¹		INCREASE OR DECREASE OVER PERIOD
	1923	1929	
Mining, quarrying and oil	529,600	270,800	-258,800
Building construction	789,500	919,000	+129,500
Metals, machinery and shipbuilding	257,100	211,400	- 45,700
Textiles	37,300	35,300	- 2,000
Leather and shoes	55,900	46,600	- 9,300
Clothing	295,200	218,100	- 77,100
Lumber and woodworking	10,600	13,200	+ 2,600
Paper, printing and bookbinding	150,900	162,500	+ 11,600
Chemicals, clay, glass and stone	49,500	37,900	- 11,600
Food, liquor and tobacco	76,300	64,600	- 11,700
Transportation and communication	907,300	892,200	- 15,100
Public service	179,800	246,600	+ 66,800
Theatres and music	103,600	135,000	+ 31,400

¹ See Appendix, Table I.

between union and non-union employers. For the rest the losses and gains were relatively slight. But the figures are striking evidence of the extent to which the strength of all the important unions, except those in the building trades and possibly public service and printing, failed to reflect the advantageous conditions of one of the most prosperous periods in the history of this country.

The reversal of the business trend in 1929 and the beginning of the world depression, one of the severest and longest declines in the annals of business fluctuations, initiated a further loss in the next three and a half years of nearly one-half million members. Great as this decline was it is surprising, in light of the prevailing rate of unemployment in these years, that it was not

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considerably greater. By early 1933 the number employed on construction, on the railroads, and in manufacturing was barely half of the work-force in 1929. That the loss was not larger can be explained only by the fact that so much had already been surrendered since 1920. Total union membership in the large textile industry was only 35,000 in 1929. The mining group had 270,800 members in 1929, but a large part of these were in the anthracite fields where the monopolistic state of the industry and its highly localized condition in a small area in Pennsylvania made it practically impossible to dislodge the union even in bad times. In the bituminous fields unionism was by 1929 all but wiped out.

If the American labor movement as a whole were to suffer in proportion to the severity of the depression, the greatest losses were bound to be encountered in those groups of unions where organization in 1929 was still extensive. It is, in fact, the drop in membership in the building and transportation groups, whose combined membership in 1929 was more than half that of all unions, that more than accounts for the net decline in total membership in the depression. The reduction in the membership of

TABLE 14
BUILDING AND TRANSPORTATION UNIONS, CHANGES IN
MEMBERSHIP, 1929-1933

GROUP OF UNIONS	AVERAGE ANNUAL MEMBERSHIP ¹		DECREASE OVER PERIOD
	1929	1933	
Building construction	919,000	582,700	336,300
Transportation and communication	892,200	609,300	282,900
Total, above groups	1,811,200	1,192,000	619,200
Total, all unions	3,442,600	2,973,000	469,600

¹ See Appendix, Table I.

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the unions in these groups is compared in Table 14 with the net loss of all unions during the same period.

But for the vicissitudes of these two groups of unions the upward turn in total membership, which reached such a substantial figure in 1934, might well have begun in 1933. Already in 1933, as a reaction against considerable reductions in wages and the widespread violation of labor standards and in response to new and vigorous organizing campaigns, several groups had gathered a considerable number of new members. While from 1932 to 1933 the transportation and building unions lost more than 300,000 members, unions in the mining, leather, shoe and clothing industries and in public service gained 280,000. The large increase of 1934 was thus anticipated by the substantial improvement in the position of some unions in 1933.

CHAPTER V

Unions Under the Recovery Administration

THE persistent decline in union membership, which began in 1921 and was interrupted only nominally in 1927, ended in 1933. Within the following year the number of union members increased over 600,000. Membership in 1934 was thus restored to almost the level of 1923, in the post-War period, and to above that of 1918, during the War. The recorded gain in this single year almost equalled the total loss in the decade 1923-33, and it exceeded the entire decline during the recent depression. Final membership data for the next year, 1935, are not at this time available; but preliminary figures indicate that the advance has continued, though at a considerably slower rate.

The causes of these recent changes in unionism are, against the background of the history of organized labor in this country, of more than passing interest. Although the downward trend of business activity and employment was unmistakably reversed about the middle of 1933 and the upward movement has continued with brief interruptions since, the gains in union membership cannot be ascribed mainly to the effects of the forces of industrial recovery. In many important industries employment and payrolls remain far below the levels of the pre-depression period. Large reserves of unemployed exist throughout the American labor market, and the proportion of the population on public relief rolls continues at unprecedented heights. Expanding production

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and a tight labor market, which historically account for the major spurts in membership and obviously explain much of the growth of trade unionism during the War and the first post-War boom have certainly not been equally influential factors in the present situation. Even if we accept the most extreme estimates of the alleged increase in technological unemployment during the 1920's, the contrast between the steady decline in membership throughout the prosperous period 1923-29 and its considerable rise since 1933 suggests the action of forces other than those of business revival alone, and, in all probability, much more powerful than the lift in employment and wages.

An extensive experiment in governmental control over the competitive practices of business and in labor legislation, not unlike the measures in effect during the World War, became probably the prime factor in union expansion in this latest phase of the history of organized labor in this country. For the second time in a generation the Federal government sought, though for somewhat different ends, to regulate the conduct of labor relations. Whereas the labor policies of 1917-18 were a by-product of the requirements of a national war economy, the recent proposals were dominated by the goal of reform in prevailing economic and social relationships. It is true of course that the encouragement given to collective bargaining was an integral part of the government's program to increase the volume of consumers' purchasing power, and that the achievement of greater equality in bargaining power between employers and employees was regarded as crucial in the application of the administration's theory of an effective program of business recovery. Strong as this motive was, it was joined with the equally strong intention to adjust the traditional grievances of organized labor, to redress

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old wrongs in industrial relations, and to establish a species of partnership in the affairs of the shop between labor and management.

The preponderant influence in furthering the administration's labor policy was the National Industrial Recovery Act and the practices and agencies, directly and indirectly, growing out of its administration. In the now famous Section 7 (a) of this law, effective June 16, 1933, the rights of employees with respect to organization are stated in the following language:

(1) "Employees shall have the right to organize and bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing, and shall be free from the interference, restraint, or coercion of employers of labor, or of their agents, in the designation of such representatives or in self-organization or in other concerted activities for the purpose of collective bargaining or other mutual aid or protection;

(2) "No employee and no one seeking employment shall be required as a condition of employment to join any company union or to refrain from joining, organizing, or assisting a labor organization of his own choosing."

Paragraph (b) of the same section of the law, though less widely cited, is of almost equivalent importance in paving the way for joint collective relations between employers and employees:

"The President shall, so far as practicable, afford every opportunity to employers and employees in any trade or industry or subdivision thereof . . . to establish by mutual agreement the standards as to the maximum hours of labor, minimum rates of pay, and such other conditions of employment as may be necessary in such trade or industry or subdivision thereof to effectuate the policy of this title; and the standards established in such agreements, when approved by the President, shall have the same effect as a code of fair competition . . ."

Again, in the Act's declaration of policy it is declared to be the policy of Congress, among other things:

"To provide for the general welfare by promoting the organization of industry for the purpose of cooperative action among trade groups, to induce and maintain united action of labor and management under adequate governmental sanctions and supervision, . . . (and) to increase the consumption of industrial and agricultural products by increasing purchasing power . . . "

Whatever practical ambiguities these principles may later have been found to contain, their intent to encourage organization and collective action among employees is plain. Their enunciation in an act of Congress furnished the advocates of organized labor with the arguments and sponsorship they had long desired and which they were now quick to use. The terms of this law swiftly became that effective spur to organization which the labor movement had presumably been unable to devise for itself in the years since 1920. If the labor provisions of the Recovery Act produced strikes and lockouts in industry, the conflicts were in the main concerned with the efforts of unions to extend the boundaries of organization.

The impetus given to unionization by the passage of the Act was further strengthened by the composition and procedures of its administration. In the whole process of code making the trade unions played a prominent, and nearly an exclusive, role as representatives of labor. The Labor Advisory Board of the NRA, the chief agent of labor in the Recovery Administration, was composed with two exceptions of officers of the American Federation of Labor and of important national unions affiliated with that organization. The hundreds of labor advisers on individual codes were in the overwhelming majority of cases selected by the

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American Federation of Labor and by its constituent unions. In the negotiation of only one code was a representative of a company union or works council appointed labor adviser and in that case he shared the position with the president of a union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, the Commercial Telegraphers Union. On each of the various boards and committees created to perform the numerous functions which soon developed within the Administration—such as the board empowered to grant exceptions under the President's Reemployment Agreement and the Compliance Board—the organized labor movement was similarly represented. Although the Federation and its friends and supporters frequently complained of the ineffectiveness of the Labor Advisory Board, and although the influence of the Board necessarily varied with the changing problems and situations before it, the amount of prestige gained by trade unionism by reason of its official participation in the proceedings of the NRA may be inferred from the record.

In the later stages of code revision and code administration, organized labor likewise constituted the agent through which grievances were presented, reforms pressed, and the interests of employees emphasized. The proposal of the Labor Advisory Board that unions be permitted to draft and initiate the labor provisions of codes of fair competition and to designate union representatives as full-fledged members of the code authorities was not acceded to by the Recovery Administration. But with the passage of time and the gathering of experience the influence of the Board grew, both in determining the original and revised terms of codes and in affecting the methods and decisions of code authorities.

Industries naturally differed widely in respect of the degree of union participation in the many stages of code procedure. In in-

dustries accustomed to union labor relations, such as some of the clothing industries, the bituminous coal industry and the theatrical industry, union representatives played a large, and occasionally a determining, part in drafting the labor terms of the codes and succeeded also in being selected as members of the code authorities. But where labor relations had been traditionally non-union no equivalent provision for labor membership on code authorities was made. Labor participation in the administration of such codes was in some instances gained indirectly by putting pressure on the Recovery Administration, and in others, as in the cotton textile industry, directly through the appointment by the Administrator of one public representative to the code authority selected because of his labor affiliation. The distinction between these two classes of industry—an old one in American industrial relations—accounts for the striking differences among unions in the course of membership in 1933 and 1934 and helps to explain the unusual gains of some.

The part of public policy in furthering unionization is suggested in the official documents relating to certain codes and at times in the terms of the codes themselves. Thus in the letter transmitting the code for the bituminous coal industry to the Administrator for National Recovery, the deputy Administrator writes (September 17, 1933):

“This industry also presented the unique problem of one in which there was far-reaching organization of labor on an industrial basis, the United Mine Workers of America having contracts with many operators in many fields and claiming organization of workers in many other fields where no contractual relations existed.

The difficulty of reconciling all the conflicting elements in this situation can hardly be overemphasized. During the progress of the discussion following the public hearings, representatives of the Appala-

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chian Associations requested the aid of the Administration in facilitating the negotiations of a contract between these associations and the United Mine Workers of America, and it was evident to the Administration that this step having been taken a successful conclusion to these negotiations was of the utmost importance in bringing about the submission of a code for the industry as a whole."

In the body of the bituminous coal code, Article VII, Section 5, it is provided that "any controversy concerning hours, wages and conditions of employment . . . *between employers and employees who are organized or associated for collective action* shall, if possible, be adjusted by conference and negotiation between duly designated representatives of employers and such employees . . ." (italics are the author's).

The letter of October 31, 1933 from the Administrator to the President, accompanying the code for the dress industry, begins by stating:

"This Code is a conspicuous example of the effectiveness of the National Industrial Recovery Act in rehabilitating a disorganized and demoralized industry. So pressing was the need for some such helpful influence that the Act and the forces released by the Act met with no great opposition. The Code herewith presented, while embodying some compromise, represents a remarkable reconciliation of interests widely divergent and hitherto in bitter opposition."

Among the Code's outstanding features is the

"establishment of minimum wage scales which increase the purchasing power not only of the unskilled but also the skilled labor throughout the industry. They are satisfactory to organized labor and will make impossible the operations of exploiters of labor and 'sweat shops'.

Article VI (of the Code) establishes a Code Authority representative of the organized interests in the industry including organized labor. This Authority is clothed with ample powers to administer and enforce the Code, subject always to the approval of the Administrator."

These are, of course, extreme illustrations of the results of the active participation by organized labor in code making and code administration. But they reflect an atmosphere and a point of view that sooner or later inevitably permeates public experiments of the type of the National Industrial Recovery Act. That these and other circumstances connected with the administration of the Recovery Act powerfully affected the fortunes of trade unionism generally will be made clear later in the consideration of the sources and character of trade union growth during the life of the NRA.

Particularly in the group of clothing industries the various code provisions creating the NRA label were probably the greatest single influence in stimulating the increase of membership among the employees engaged in the manufacture of numerous articles of men's and women's apparel. Among the trades and industries in this category, special characteristics of the business account for prevailing attitudes towards unionism and for the part played by unions in drafting the provisions of the codes and in their administration. In nearly all sections of the apparel industry, business and industrial units are numerous and small; especially during severe and prolonged depression competition in all forms is extraordinarily vigorous and competitive practices are hard to condone. Under the circumstances the larger and more reputable concerns are forced to yield to the less responsible businesses which survive through the drastic reduction of all labor standards. Where these are the conditions many leaders of the industry have shown themselves willing to join with unions in preventing excessive competition in labor costs and even to depend upon the power of labor organizations to impose appropriate standards upon their competitors. For these reasons a label, issued under governmental

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sanction and distributed under quasi-public control, proved a powerful factor not only in maintaining code standards but also, in view of the methods of label administration, in promoting the unionization of unorganized sections of the industry.

The code provisions governing the issuance and management of NRA labels are worth citing for their novelty and for the light they may throw on the relation of the use of the label to the position of unions. Article VIII of the Code of Fair Competition for the Dress Manufacturing Industry, approved October 1, 1933, gives the regulations for the use of the label as follows:

“All garments manufactured or distributed subject to the provisions of this Code shall bear an NRA label to symbolize to purchasers of said garments the conditions under which they were manufactured . . . The Code Authority shall have the exclusive right in the industry to issue and furnish said labels to the members thereof. Each label shall bear a registration number especially assigned to each employer by the Code Authority and remain attached to such garment when sold to the retail distributor . . . The Code Authority, subject to approval by the Administrator, shall establish rules and regulations and appropriate machinery for the issuance of labels and the inspection, examination, and supervision of the practices of employers using such labels in observing the provisions of the codes for the purpose of ascertaining the right of said employer to the continued use of said labels . . .”

To ensure further the effectiveness of the label, the Code of Fair Competition for the Retail Trade, approved October 21, 1933, contained these provisions (Art. IX, Sec. 2):

“No retailer shall purchase, sell, or exchange any merchandise manufactured under a Code of Fair Competition which requires such merchandise to bear an NRA label, unless such merchandise bears such label. Any retailer rightfully possessing the insignia of the NRA who has in stock or purchases similar merchandise which has been

manufactured before the effective date of the Code of Fair Competition requiring such merchandise to bear an NRA label, may attach thereto the NRA insignia."

The foregoing provisions speak for themselves. Compared to the traditional union label, the NRA label proved in practice to be an infinitely more effective instrument for the enforcement of labor standards within competitive industry. The bearing of this device on the position of unions in industries using the NRA label is not hard to discern. In practically all the industries that use the label, union representatives were members of the code authorities. In this capacity it was one of their functions to participate officially in the enforcement of the standards of working conditions embodied in the codes and, hence, in the establishment of "rules and regulations and appropriate machinery for the issuance of labels and the inspection, examination, and supervision of the practices of employers using such labels". To the growth of organization the strategic significance of union participation in the administration of the label cannot be overestimated, and it is attested by the fact that, since the dissolution of the Recovery Administration and the code authorities, employers and unions in parts of the women's clothing industry have attempted by voluntary arrangements to provide for the continued use of labels on much the same terms, though without the same legal force.

To these numerous agencies engaged in code making and administration were added the various boards of labor adjustment created after June 1933 to interpret Section 7(a) and to prevent and settle strikes and lockouts. The first and most important of these was the National Labor Board created by order of the President late in the summer of 1933. Before long similar boards, limited in jurisdiction to disputes affecting labor relations in single

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industries, were established in the cotton textile, printing, iron and steel, petroleum, automobile and other industries. In June 1934 the sole national agency for the adjustment of labor disputes, the National Labor Board, was replaced by the National Labor Relations Board, a statutory body created by a joint Congressional resolution.¹ This Board was empowered to "investigate issues, facts, practices or activities of employers or employees in any controversies arising under Section 7(a) of the Recovery Act" and to order and conduct elections for the choice of employee representatives for the purpose of collective bargaining.

With their regional and local machinery of investigation and enforcement these boards constituted an imposing governmental undertaking for translating into practical arrangements the general principles of collective bargaining embodied in the Recovery Act, in executive orders issued by the President, and in the Joint Resolution creating the National Labor Relations Board. To this preoccupation of the Federal government with the form and content of labor relations in all industry there is no parallel in American history, except the similar developments during the World War and the control exercised by Congress in recent years over industrial relations on the railroads.

The Recovery Administration and all the labor boards were alike swept away by the decision of the United States Supreme Court on May 27, 1935, in the case of *Schechter v. United States*. Section 7(a) and the administrative agencies set up to interpret and enforce the law had lasted just short of two years. The reception that this decision met from the spokesmen for organized labor, their anxiety to devise another NRA that should be consti-

¹ Public Resolution No. 44, 73d Cong., H.J. Res. 375.

tutional, and the pressure put behind the Guffey Bill, creating the so-called 'little NRA' of the bituminous coal industry, are strong evidence of the high esteem in which the policies and procedure of the Recovery Administration and collateral agencies were in reality held by the labor movement of this country. While during the life of the NRA the trade unions appear to have stressed its shortcomings and weaknesses, after its demise they began more frankly to admit how great an impetus it had given to union growth.

Experiments with this type of labor legislation did not, however, end with the dissolution of the labor boards and code authorities. On July 5, 1935 the President signed the National Labor Relations Act ² and, on August 30, 1935, the Guffey Act.³ Although these measures differ in many details, they have in common the purpose of encouraging the use of collective bargaining in the labor relations of industry. The National Labor Relations Act follows and strengthens the pattern of labor law embodied in the first two clauses of Section 7(a) of the Recovery Act and thereby furnishes the basis for the powers of regulation over the discharge of employees, the choice of employee representatives, and the procedures of collective bargaining. The Act lists as unfair labor practices (Section 8) on the part of the employer, (a) interference with the right of employees to organize, (b) domination or interference "with the formation or administration of any labor organization" or the contribution of "financial or other support to it", and (c) discrimination "in regard to hire or tenure of employment or any term or condition of employment to encourage or discourage membership in any labor organization". It provides

² Public No. 198, 74th Cong., S. 1958.

³ Public No. 402, 74th Cong., H.R. 9100.

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for the appointment of a National Labor Relations Board (Sections 3 and 4) which is empowered to assist employees in choosing their representatives, by election or other methods (Section 9) and in general to administer the provisions of the law.

The intent of Congress to promote collective bargaining and the organization of labor is disclosed in the following excerpts from the Act's statement of policy:

"The inequality of bargaining power between employees who do not possess full freedom of association or actual liberty of contract, and employers who are organized in the corporate or other forms of ownership association . . . tends to aggravate recurrent business depressions, by depressing wage rates and the purchasing power of wage earners in industry and by preventing the stabilization of competitive wage rates and working conditions within and between industries.

It is . . . declared to be the policy of the United States to eliminate the causes of certain substantial obstructions to the free flow of commerce and to mitigate and eliminate these obstructions when they have occurred by encouraging the practice and procedure of collective bargaining and by protecting the exercise by workers of full freedom of association, self-organization, and designation of representatives of their own choosing, for the purpose of negotiating the terms and conditions of their employment or other mutual aid or protection."

The provisions of the Bituminous Coal Conservation Act—the Guffey Act—went beyond the regulation of collective bargaining to control over production and prices. In so competitive an industry as bituminous coal mining, in which the union has long suffered from the shift of business from high to low cost areas, regulation of prices was expected to contribute to maintaining prevailing wage rates and labor costs and hence to fortifying the position of organized labor. The Guffey Act was held unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court on May 18, 1936. A substitute measure, limited to control over prices and output, was

introduced in the last session of the 74th Congress. In spite of the support of the United Mine Workers the bill failed to be brought to a vote before Congress adjourned on June 20, 1936.

The agencies set up under these more recent Acts were designed to take the place of those dissolved in consequence of the Schechter decision and to afford facilities for promoting collective bargaining and the organization of labor. The National Labor Relations Board, like its predecessors, has appointed subordinate regional agencies throughout the country. These have become in practice a far-flung machinery before which union officials may present their complaints and keep alive the issue of union recognition.

The Federal Social Security Act,⁴ approved August 14, 1935, may, though to a considerably less degree, be expected to confer analogous opportunities upon the American labor movement and, therefore, to produce similar results in organization. This measure, providing among other things the beginning of a nation-wide system of compulsory unemployment insurance, will require for its administration the setting-up of innumerable local joint committees and courts of appeal to hear and adjust complaints of beneficiaries under the Act. The task of representing the employee litigants in these important proceedings has in many foreign countries become the voluntary function of alert officials of trade unions. Where this function is intelligently, forcefully, and unselfishly performed its exercise may well redound to the advantage of organized labor and result in increasing union membership.

The significance of this structure of labor legislation and its administration to the growth and decline of unions is manifold.

⁴Public No. 271, 74th Cong., H.R. 7260.

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In this country, where the relations of Federal and local governments to organized labor have for long periods not been particularly sympathetic, the firm assertion of the rights and privileges of labor contained in the Recovery Act was bound to act as an effective stimulus to union organization. The labor terms of the law were at once accepted by the unions as an expression of the policy of the Administration and, hence, as a mandate to organize the unorganized. Coming as the law did after a lengthy period of union decline, it supplied the incentive which until then had appeared lacking, and the rebound was greater than it might otherwise have been. The extensive machinery for interpretation, administration, review and appeal set up all over the United States, afforded unions the opportunity they needed to represent actual and potential members on questions of immediate concern to practically all classes of American employees. The deeds performed by union officials in labor's interest in Washington and elsewhere, and the policies of the labor movement on wages, hours, overtime, collective bargaining and the like were broadcast to the shops and factories of the country. The reputation and prestige of organized labor gained immeasurably thereby, with the result that the task of proselytizing and organizing became easier than it had been in a very long time. The unions, in short, confronted with a radical transformation in the American political and social climate, and accorded numerous opportunities to share in defining a new labor policy and in applying it, found themselves in a position to utilize their organizing equipment more forcefully and effectively than at any time since the World War.

American organized labor had at its disposal, at the turn of business in 1933 and on the eve of these far-reaching social and

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political developments, an elaborate organizing machinery. Not counting the facilities for this purpose of the independent unions, whose average membership from 1929 to 1933 was approximately 20 per cent of total membership in this country, the national and local unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, its geographical and trade confederations, and its staff of organizers constituted a far-flung foundation for extending unionism into unorganized industries, trades, and areas. The number of each type of constituent element of the Federation in 1933 is given below.⁵

National and international unions	108
National departments	4
Local department councils	710
State federations	49
City central bodies	618
Local unions	29,988
'Local trade and federal labor unions'	673

There were, accordingly, in 1933, 30,661 local unions throughout the United States to serve as the nuclei for the organizing activities of the American Federation of Labor. The Executive Council reported also to the 53rd Convention of the Federation (pp. 5, 8) that "the Federation has 1,468 general and district organizers, as well as 33 paid organizers and the officers of 618 city central bodies that are ready at all times to respond to a call to assist the members of directly affiliated unions in the case of strike or lockout". To this number of organizers should be added the members of the organizing staffs of 108 affiliated national and

⁵ *Report of the A. F. of L. Executive Council to the 53rd Annual Convention, October 2, 1933, p. 8.*

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international unions, and of the 28 national and international unions independent of the American Federation of Labor.

The organizing campaigns launched during this period were carried on simultaneously by the affiliated and independent national unions themselves and by the American Federation of Labor. Even before the passage of the Recovery Act, the United Mine Workers, several of the clothing unions, and a few others had begun their organization drives to repair the disastrous damage wreaked by the depression. And in the next years, under the stimulus of new hopes, practically all national organizations mobilized their organizing forces within the fields over which they claimed jurisdiction. The American Federation of Labor, historically the source of union charters in totally unorganized places, was at the outset faced with the knotty problem of penetrating the non-union industries without conflicting with the jurisdictional claims of its constituent national organizations. In the great unorganized fields of agriculture, public utilities, services, and distribution, this problem raised no insuperable difficulty because there were few national unions of importance to reckon with. But in the traditionally unorganized manufacturing industries, where the strongest of the affiliated national craft unions held specific and long-standing jurisdictional rights and were at the same time avid for more members, the activities of the Federation precipitated the jurisdiction question anew. And as in the past, the solution of the problem involved the discovery of an adjustment between the jurisdictional claims of established craft unions and the counter claims of the newly-organized local unions among the employees in mass production industries.

In the first stages of its organizing activities during this period, the American Federation of Labor did what it had done on many

similar occasions in the past. It rapidly set up in many industries a type of local union technically known as 'local trade and federal labor unions'. These unions, as long as they exist in their original form, are directly affiliated with the Federation and are not related to it indirectly, as other local unions are, through their affiliation with national unions. Historically, local unions of this type have served as simple and reasonably effective devices for organizing the unorganized, and have pursued a characteristic course. Usually initiated in unorganized trades and industries in the midst of organizing campaigns, their membership is later distributed among the appropriate existing national craft unions. Where there is no established national organization with clearly defined jurisdictional rights, directly affiliated local unions among related groups of workers may combine into a national union and receive a charter as such from the Federation, or may continue as locals directly affiliated with the Federation.

The organizing strategy adopted by the Federation in 1933 continued this established practice. By August 1934 consequently, the number of 'local trade and federal labor unions' had increased almost six-fold from the low of the depression. But accompanying the expansion in this direction, which left potential jurisdictional conflicts unsettled, was a mounting tide of dissatisfaction with the method and its anticipated results. Probably the most fertile source of opposition to the prevailing policy was the young organizers, fresh from the shop and unfamiliar with the principles and practices of the American Federation of Labor, who envisioned effective labor organization only in the form of industrial unionism. In support of their view they pointed to the inability of the established national craft unions to make material headway in organizing the employees of the mass production in-

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dustries of the country and to the alleged indifference of the craft unions to the conditions of the semi-skilled and unskilled workers. To them the craft unions, whatever their achievements in the past, bore the stigma of failure.

In the automobile, rubber, aluminum, and other industries, the organizers proceeded to admit all employees into the new unions with the evident intention of keeping them there regardless of the existence of acknowledged jurisdiction. In the iron and steel industry, where the national organization affiliated with the American Federation of Labor—the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers—is itself an industrial union, the alleged ineffectiveness of the union led to vigorous efforts to persuade the Federation to sanction the granting of charters to new 'local trade and federal labor unions'. Acceptance of this view would have involved a radical departure from previous practice and would have been considered by the affiliated national craft unions an illegal as well as a disruptive act.

The national craft unions on their part were skeptical of the superiority of industrial unions and doubted the relevancy of the relatively limited experience with industrial unionism in this country to the problems in hand. They foresaw and deplored the hasty rise of new and impermanent organizations whose survival power they regarded as slight and whose final effect they considered would be to retard and not to stimulate the spread of organization. Adoption of the industrial form of labor organization would, they believed, weaken if not destroy the foundations of union autonomy on which their own strength as well as that of the Federation had, in their estimation, rested.

This issue has been widely and vigorously debated for the last several years. The annual convention of the American Federation

of Labor in October 1934 took action which many then accepted as the approach to a satisfactory solution. The Committee on Resolutions of the 1934 convention reported as follows (*Proceedings*, 1934, p. 586) on the numerous proposals for granting industrial union charters:

“These Resolutions deal with a question that affects the interest of many of the organizations affiliated with and holding charters issued by the American Federation of Labor . . .

The evidence presented . . . conclusively indicates that to deal effectively with the question of organization . . . there should be a clear and definite policy outlined by this convention that will adequately meet the new and growing condition with which our American labor movement is confronted.

During recent years there have developed new methods. This has brought about a change in the nature of the work performed by millions of workers in industries which it has been most difficult or impossible to organize into craft unions. The systems of mass production are comparatively new and are under the control of great corporations and aggregations of capital which have resisted all efforts at organization. The provision of the National Industrial Recovery Act protecting the right of employees to organize and select representatives of their own choice without interference on the part of employers, or their agents, has had the effect of freeing the flood of organization sentiment in the breasts of millions of workers who have been prevented by employer opposition from satisfying their desire for organization.

The American Federation of Labor is desirous of meeting this demand. We consider it our duty to formulate policies which will fully protect the jurisdictional rights of all trade unions organized upon craft lines and afford every opportunity for development and accession of those workers engaged upon work over which these organizations exercise jurisdiction. Experience has shown that craft organization is most effective . . . in advancing the interests of workers where the nature of the industry is such that the lines of demarcation between crafts are distinguishable.

However, it is also realized that in many of the industries in which

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thousands of workers are employed a new condition exists requiring organization upon a different basis to be most effective.

To meet this new condition the Executive Council is directed to issue charters for National or International Unions in the automotive, cement, aluminum, and such other mass production and miscellaneous industries as in the judgment of the Executive Council may be necessary to meet the situation.

That the Executive Council shall at the earliest practical date inaugurate, manage, promote and conduct a campaign of organization in the iron and steel industry.

That in order to protect and safeguard the members of such National and International Unions as are chartered, the American Federation of Labor shall for a provisional period direct the policies, administer the business and designate the administrative and financial officers of such newly organized unions."

In the discussion of this report the officers of several large craft unions sought assurance that the provisions of the Federation's constitution, protecting the jurisdictional rights of existing organizations, would not be violated. Such assurances were freely given by all members of the Committee who participated in the debate. And the Chairman of the Resolutions Committee characterized the report as "a clear-cut statement and guarantee of the rights of jurisdiction of existing organizations. . ." (p. 593). The motion to adopt the report was carried by unanimous vote and with enthusiastic applause.

The first charters under the terms of this action by the Federation convention were issued in the autumn of 1935 to unions of automobile and rubber workers, thus uniting into national unions the directly affiliated local unions organized in those industries since 1933. In defining the jurisdiction of the automobile employees union, the officers of the Federation observed the following principles (*Proceedings*, 1935, p. 95):

"1. That a charter for a national or international union of automobile workers be issued at once to embrace all employees directly engaged in the manufacture of parts (not including tools, dies, and machinery) and assembling of those parts into completed automobiles but not including job or contract shops manufacturing parts or any other employee engaged in said automobile production plants.

2. That for a temporary period determined by the Executive Council the officers to function under the charter thus issued to be designated by the officers of the American Federation of Labor.

3. That an active organizing campaign be inaugurated by this international union in the automobile industry under the direction of the President of the American Federation of Labor.

4. That facilities be provided the new union for necessary publicity and even the publication of a paper if it is deemed desirable.

5. That organizing assistance and finances within proper limitations of the American Federation of Labor be provided.

6. That every effort be made to expedite the complete organization of the automobile industry at the earliest possible date.

7. That all questions of overlapping jurisdiction in the automobile parts and special crafts organizations encountered in the administration of this policy is referred to the Executive Council for consideration at such time as the Council may elect to give these questions consideration."

A charter on these terms was granted the organized automobile employees at their convention in Detroit during the week of August 26, 1935. At a convention of rubber workers, convened September 12, 1935, a charter for the Rubber Workers International Union was similarly issued. The jurisdiction of this union was defined to cover

". . . all those in that industry who are engaged in the mass production of rubber products, same not to cover or include such workers who construct buildings, manufacturing or installing of machinery, or engage in maintenance work or in work outside of the plants or factories."

The receipt of these charters precipitated, particularly among

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the automobile workers, a storm of protest against the limits placed on the jurisdiction of the new national unions and the designation by the President of the American Federation of Labor of the principal officers of the organizations. The issue of industrial unionism, believed settled at the San Francisco convention in 1934, was raised anew by the submission to the convention held in October 1935 of an avalanche of resolutions in support of the industrial form of organization. The resolutions committee split on the question, with officers of the United Mine Workers and Typographical Unions presenting a minority report strongly urging the granting of practically unrestricted jurisdiction to the unions of employees working in mass production industries. After a bitter debate the minority report failed of adoption by a vote of 10,933 to 18,024.⁶

This action, however, failed to conclude the conflict. Several weeks after the convention a group of eight national unions⁷ affiliated with the Federation, led by the United Mine Workers, announced that they had organized themselves into a Committee for Industrial Organization to promote the unionization of the unorganized, above all in the steel, automobile and rubber industries, by means of industrial unions. With this declaration it would appear that the American Federation of Labor faces a long and bitter conflict within its ranks.

Developments in policy and practice during these eventful years are partly reflected in the available data on the number and membership of the local unions directly affiliated with the Ameri-

⁶ *Proceedings*, 1935, pp. 521-74.

⁷ United Mine Workers; Amalgamated Clothing Workers; International Ladies Garment Workers; United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers; United Textile Workers; International Typographical Union; Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers; and Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers.

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can Federation of Labor (Table 15). The fortunes of these local unions clearly parallel the movements in total membership and are an interesting gauge of the organizing activities of the American Federation of Labor. From 1914 to 1920 when unions were growing at a very rapid rate and organizers were prosecuting vigorous campaigns among the unorganized, the number of these

TABLE 15
 'LOCAL TRADE AND FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS'
 DIRECTLY AFFILIATED WITH THE A. F. OF L.,
 NUMBER AND MEMBERSHIP, 1914-1935¹

FISCAL PERIOD ENDING	NUMBER OF UNIONS AT END OF FISCAL PERIOD	AVERAGE MEMBERSHIP DURING FISCAL PERIOD
September 30, 1914	570	27,194
" 30, 1915	489	23,763
" 30, 1916	705	35,163
" 30, 1917	845	58,416
April 30, 1918	854	66,453 ²
" 30, 1919	884	65,227
" 30, 1920	1,286	86,784
" 30, 1921	941	68,165
" 30, 1922	666	31,258
August 31, 1923	523	23,426 ²
" 31, 1924	458	22,755
" 31, 1925	436	21,150
" 31, 1926	380	22,317
" 31, 1927	365	24,237
" 31, 1928	373	25,286
" 31, 1929	388	21,704
" 31, 1930	348	18,150
" 31, 1931	334	14,531
" 31, 1932	307	11,368
" 31, 1933	673	10,396
" 31, 1934	1,788	89,083
" 31, 1935	1,354	111,489

¹ Annual reports of the A. F. of L. Executive Council to annual conventions.

² Average for 7 months.

³ Average for 16 months.

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unions more than doubled and their membership tripled. The adverse conditions of 1921 were immediately reflected in the decline of the directly affiliated local unions. One of the features of the barren decade of the 1920's was the relatively small number and slight membership of these unions. The resumption of campaigns for organization in 1933 resulted first in a considerable rise in the number of 'local trade and federal labor unions' without a corresponding increase in their membership. But in the next year, 1934, both number and membership advanced until they exceeded the levels of 1920. Although the number of these unions declined in 1935, their membership increased and was in that year the highest on record.

These local unions are distributed over a great range of industry and over an extensive geographical area, and vary widely in the size of membership. Accurate statistics of the number of members are impossible to obtain. These unions are all new, and the membership they record is considerably influenced by sporadic events such as new organizing drives, strikes and arbitration awards. There is always a wide disparity between the number of members claimed and the number paying initiation fees and dues. In the absence of any superior record, the average dues-paying membership reported by the American Federation of Labor (Table 15) still remains the safest figure to use. In the summer of 1935 the American Federation of Labor claimed that 'local federal labor unions' in the automobile and automotive parts industries had 35,000 members; and in October 1934 it estimated ⁸ the membership of similar unions in the rubber tire and rubber manufacturing industries at from 60,000 to 70,000. The

⁸ *Report* of the A. F. of L. Executive Council to the 54th Annual Convention, October 1, 1934, p. 19.

total membership of the local unions of agricultural workers and those engaged in the processing of agricultural products was early in 1935 approximately 1,489.⁹

Although the organizing activities of these last years have been carried on in all classes of employment, even among agricultural workers hitherto relatively immune to such efforts, there has been a great concentration of organizers in the large manufacturing industries and it is here that organization of 'local federal labor unions' has been most common. Unfortunately no complete data are available on the industrial distribution of these local unions. But a compilation based on scattered information in the report of the Executive Council of the Federation and covering more than 40 per cent of the 1,788 local unions throws some light on their location and the changes in their number from 1933 to 1934 (see Table 16). The directly affiliated local unions of the Federation are found in many different industries and trades, but they are concentrated, so far as manufacturing is concerned, in the rubber, automobile and lumber industries and, outside of manufacturing, in the personal service and distributive trades of cleaning and dyeing, gasoline filling stations, and the theatre.¹⁰

⁹ Computed from data furnished by the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics.

¹⁰ In addition to the industries and occupations included in Table 16 the same report of the Executive Council (pp. 36-7) presents the following list of federal unions: suspender workers, tar products workers, slag mill workers, sausage seasoning and spice workers, sail makers, paste makers, marking device employees, wire workers, aeronautical workers, lock and hardware workers, match workers, music autographers, pen and pencil workers, spring and wire workers, umbrella workers, waste material sorters, fertilizer workers, fish handlers, trappers, harbor workers, municipal employees, film exchange employees, librarians, egg inspectors, paper box makers, smoking pipe workers, cork workers, divers and tenders, oyster openers, funeral supply workers, athletic goods workers, button workers, neckwear workers, dental technicians workers, retail store employees other than clerks, and employees in the toys and plaything, merchandise warehouse, salt, and electrical storage and wet primary battery industries.

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TABLE 16

'LOCAL TRADE AND FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS' DIRECTLY AFFILIATED WITH THE A. F. OF L., BY INDUSTRY OR OCCUPATION, NUMBER, 1933 AND 1934¹

INDUSTRY OR OCCUPATION	NUMBER OF UNIONS	
	1933	AUGUST 1934
Rubber tires and rubber	.. ²	75
Automobile and automotive parts	0	106
Aluminum	1	20
Lumber and sawmills	4	130
Coke and gas	.. ²	30
Cement	.. ²	30
Flour, feed and cereal	.. ²	30
Cleaning and dyeing	5	91
Office workers	12	32
Soap and glycerine	.. ²	9
Canning	.. ²	15
Agricultural workers	.. ²	40
Gasoline filling stations	.. ²	56
Wholesale industries	.. ²	15
Theatre ushers, ticket sellers, etc.	.. ²	50
Dairy Products	.. ²	18

¹ Report of the A. F. of L. Executive Council to the 54th Annual Convention, October 1, 1934, pp. 18-37.

² Number not given but small.

The average membership of the directly affiliated local unions is small, amounting for the fiscal year ending August 31, 1934 to something less than 50. Among the thousand or more of such local unions organized since 1932 there are many with only a nominal membership and the prospects of a transient existence. Thus in 1934-35, 110 were disbanded and 510 suspended from the Federation. In a few industries, however, where organizing has been more successful, groups of local unions in the same industry or in allied occupations have attempted to achieve perma-

nence and unity by combining into loose confederations, known as national councils, usually under the auspices of the American Federation of Labor. In the first quarter of 1935, the available records disclose eight such councils under the following names:

National Council of Aluminum Workers
United Match Workers Council
National Council of Optical Technicians and Workers
Gasoline Station Operators National Council
National Council of United Automobile Workers Unions
United Rubber Workers Council
Ocean Pearl Button Workers National Council
National Radio and Allied Trades

These councils apparently represent an intermediate stage in the conversion of 'local federal labor unions' into national unions, for the councils of automobile and rubber employees received national charters from the American Federation of Labor in August and September 1935.

The council of radio workers, the National Radio and Allied Trades, voted at its convention in Pittsburgh, December 1935, to apply to the American Federation of Labor for a national charter. Since jurisdiction over radio and allied workers was claimed at the same time by the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, affiliated with the Federation, this application was denied by the A. F. of L. Executive Council at its meeting in Miami, Florida, January 1936, and full jurisdiction over the trades in question was granted to the electrical workers union. This action precipitated a jurisdictional dispute. The New York local of radio workers joined the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. The rest merged with an independent union of electrical workers and became members of the United Electrical and Radio Workers of America, an organization for the present independent of the A. F. of L.

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In addition to the various affiliated unions, many national and local unions independent of the Federation have been organized in recent years. Unfortunately no single source of information concerning these organizations exists, and although every effort has been made to track down unions to which some reference is available, it is altogether probable that many have been missed. Their number and total membership is not likely to be large. The majority of the new independent national unions are included in the Appendix, Table I.

Among the independent unions for which there are less reliable data are the four unions of automobile employees—the Associated Automobile Workers, the Automobile Industrial Workers Association, the Mechanics Educational Society, and the Society of Automotive Engineers—the Industrial Association of Aircraft Workers, the United Licensed Officers of the United States, the National Federation of Post Office Motor Vehicle Employees, and the Brotherhood of Railroad Shop Crafts of America. In the elections held by the Automobile Labor Board the Associated Automobile Workers polled 6,083 votes. The Automobile Industrial Workers Association claimed 21,000 workers in 1935.¹¹ These two automobile unions together with the Mechanics Educational Society agreed on November 3, 1935 to amalgamate into a single organization under the name of the Industrial Automobile and Metal Workers Union. An independent union of anthracite coal miners—the United Anthracite Workers—was disbanded late in October 1935.¹² The merger of the independent automobile unions was not consummated. But at the convention of the union of automobile workers affiliated with the A. F. of L., held in South Bend,

¹¹ *New York Herald-Tribune*, September 2, 1935.

¹² *New York Times*, October 27, 1935.

Indiana, May 1936, steps were taken to unite all automobile unions into a single organization affiliated with the Federation. Within several months the Associated Automobile Workers, the Automobile Industrial Workers Association and several locals of the Mechanics Educational Society surrendered their independent existence and merged with the Federation union.

According to the estimates prepared for this study after careful examination of conflicting claims wherever there was considerable divergence in the available materials, unions gained 600,000 members in 1934. The figures on which this conclusion is based are doubtless, particularly during a period of the establishment of numerous new unions, subject to some margin of error, and there are those who believe that the advance was considerably greater. Membership claims of new unions are difficult to check. Where unions compete for members in the same industry, as they do in coal mining, automobiles, railroads and shipbuilding, it is a fair inference that the data furnished contain an indeterminate degree of duplication and that each union tends to exaggerate its strength. But judging by comparisons among the whole list of more than 100 national unions included in the tables of this monograph it would appear that in the data finally chosen a degree of overestimate remains which more than compensates for omissions or underestimates concerning new unions.

As in previous periods of sharp fluctuation in the number of union workers, the rise of considerably more than one-half million in 1934 did not take the form of a general increase spread evenly over all classes of labor organization. It was noted in Chapter IV that, but for the continued and large decline of the building and transportation groups, the upturn in total membership would have begun in 1933; for in that year the two groups

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of clothing and leather and shoe unions together gained almost 175,000 members. In the next year, 1934, the large gains were also highly concentrated in relatively few groups of unions. Table 17 shows that 4 of the 18 groups of unions accounted for 60 per cent of the entire increase from 1933 to 1934. Combining the record of the two years, 1933 and 1934, the clothing unions show an amazing growth of close to 200,000 members. The leather and shoe unions, likewise, increased in these two years nearly 100,000 and had in 1934 more members than in 1920. Because of the union's methods of reporting its unemployed, or exonerated membership, the turn in the United Mine Workers began in 1931. From that year to 1934, the total membership of the unions in the mining, quarrying and oil group increased, by this method of reckoning from 309,200 to 579,100, or 269,900.

TABLE 17
MINING, METAL, LEATHER AND SHOE, AND CLOTHING
UNIONS, CHANGES IN MEMBERSHIP, 1933-1934

UNION GROUP	AVERAGE ANNUAL MEMBERSHIP		INCREASE IN MEMBERSHIP, 1933-1934
	1933	1934	
Mining, quarrying and oil	354,600	579,100	224,500
Metals, machinery and shipbuilding	179,600	221,800	42,200
Leather and shoes	76,000	117,200	41,200
Clothing	336,100	404,700	68,600
Total, above groups	946,300	1,322,800	376,500
Total, all unions	2,973,000	3,608,600	635,600

Within all groups of unions there has been the diversity of movement so typical of the history of American organized labor. Nearly half, for example, of the entire increase in the metals, machinery and shipbuilding group is due to the gain of 15,000 members by the machinists union. In the developments among clothing workers unions since 1932 the expansion of the Inter-

national Ladies Garment Workers was by all odds the outstanding phenomenon. Its recorded gain in these two years was in excess of 150,000 members and was due mainly to the expansion of organization in the hitherto unorganized dress and waist industry. Even in the groups which participated only nominally in the recovery of 1934, single unions, affected by factors peculiar to each, deviated from the general course. While the large group of building trades unions showed a net gain of less than 22,000 members from 1933 to 1934, the Electrical Workers Union alone increased 37,400. Most of the organizations in transportation and communication failed to gather any new members in 1934, but the union of teamsters and chauffeurs gained 24,200. In this latest period of union recovery, the revivals staged by two unions, the United Mine Workers and the International Ladies Garment Workers, were the dominating factor in the whole situation. These organizations together gained 247,200 members, or more than one-third of the net increase of all unions.

Data on the distribution by sex and skill of the present membership of American unions and of the new members collected in the last several years are sparse and unreliable. The female membership of unions in this country has always been small. In 1920 a fairly exhaustive count showed less than 400,000 women members, or not quite 8 per cent of the total membership.¹³ It is doubtful that this ratio has changed perceptibly in recent years in spite of the growth of the clothing and shoe unions, all of which have a large female membership. If the ratio has risen to 10 per cent, the number of women members would now be 360,000. The general character of the occupations and skills of

¹³ Leo Wolman, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

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union members has, likewise, probably not undergone much change. While the disproportionate increase in the membership of the mining, clothing, and shoe unions has disturbed somewhat the traditional balance between the number of skilled craftsmen and of semi-skilled and unskilled workingmen in unions, the majority of the labor movement remains essentially craft in form. Whether this balance is destined to be restored or still further disturbed depends upon the future fortunes of the recently organized directly affiliated 'local trade and federal labor unions' and the two national unions of automobile and rubber workers chartered in 1935 by the American Federation of Labor, and upon the achievements of the Committee for Industrial Organization in the steel and textile industries.

CHAPTER VI

Representation Elections

THE labor boards established to apply Section 7(a) of the National Industrial Recovery Act were from the outset faced with serious problems of interpretation. Of the many administrative problems evoked by the Section, enforcement of the provision that "employees shall have the right . . . to bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing . ." proved in practice among the most baffling and contentious. Sharp differences of opinion arose not only concerning the meaning of collective bargaining and the purposes of Congress but also with respect to specific methods for selecting representatives. The desire to avoid costly strikes and lockouts over these issues and strong pressure from all sides to clarify the terms of the law soon led to the multiplication of agencies dealing mainly with the question of representation.¹ The first of these boards—the National Labor Board, created by order of the President in August 1933—used from the very beginning the device of secret elections held under governmental supervision for the choice of employee representatives. The method was generally adopted by the boards later established to settle the same issue. Altogether, nine Federal labor boards have conducted elections of this character, and two, the National Mediation Board and the Petroleum Labor Policy Board,

¹ See Lewis L. Lorwin and Arthur Wubnig, *Labor Relations Boards* (Brookings Institution, Washington, D. C., 1935).

have in addition certified representatives by checking membership lists of labor organizations against the payroll records of companies.

The results of these elections and certifications have been regarded as throwing new light on the extent of trade union sentiment in American industry and, hence, on the potential membership of the labor movement in this country. This view is stated in the following observations by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.²

"The paid-up membership of the American Federation of Labor in August 1934 was 2,823,750. While this figure represents the members whose per capita tax to the Federation is fully paid to date, there are many others who are just as loyal trade unionists and who are just as desirous to have the trade union represent them in collective bargaining, but who are unable to keep their dues fully paid to date because of inadequate employment. On the basis of reports from our international unions and careful examination of the records of local unions affiliated directly with the American Federation of Labor, we estimate that the total organized strength of the labor movement at the beginning of September, 1934, was 5,650,000.

This figure includes the members who can be counted on to stand with their union and who will come back into membership as soon as they are able to pay dues. In addition to these, however, there are others who, although they are not paid members, desire to have the trade union represent them in collective bargaining. On the basis of votes actually taken in elections, numbers standing with the union where a show of strength was required, and information received from those directly in touch with local situations, we estimate that the total number who look to the Federation as their representative agency cannot be less than 12,000,000. In making these estimates we have chosen always the most conservative figures."

The summary in Table 18 of the results of all the elections held from August 1933 to September 1935 shows that the total

² Report to the 54th Annual Convention, October 1, 1934, p. 41.

number of votes cast was 407,000. Of these 190,953 or 46.9 per cent were for trade unions, and 216,447 or 53.1 per cent were for forms of representation other than trade union. What light these figures throw on the views of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor as to "the total organized strength of the labor movement" it is impossible to determine without inquiry into questions that lie beyond the scope of this study. Objective appraisal of the results of the many elections so far held would require extensive examination of the highly diverse conditions surrounding their conduct and detailed investigation of the many steps through which typical elections passed. It is clear, of course, that the distribution of the total vote is greatly affected by the results of the polls taken by the Automobile Labor Board, for in the elections of the other boards the majority of the votes were, with the exception of the elections supervised by the Bituminous Coal Labor Boards, heavily trade union.*

The description of the procedure governing these elections may throw some light on the meaning of the results. In practically all but the automobile elections, the occasion for an election was the submission of a specific complaint, usually by a trade union, that the employer had refused to recognize and to deal with the complainant as the representative of his employees. Where such

* DIRECTOR'S NOTE: The conduct of the balloting by the Automobile Labor Board, of which the author of this book was Chairman, was criticized not only by the labor unions involved and by the American Federation of Labor, but by economists specializing in labor problems, such as Dr. William Leiserson, Chairman of the National Mediation Board. It was the contention of the critics that the manner of taking the vote influenced the result adversely to the trade unions. Since the author himself indicates that the totals are "greatly affected" by the automobile vote, it would appear desirable to present a parallel distribution of the votes with the automobile vote eliminated. In that case, out of a total vote of 252,620 the votes for trade unions numbered 169,825 or 67.2 per cent and the votes for employee-representation other than trade union were 74,240 or 29.4 per cent.—N. I. Stone

TABLE 18
REPRESENTATION ELECTIONS HELD BY FEDERAL LABOR BOARDS,
AUGUST 1933—SEPTEMBER 1935

NAME OF BOARD	APPROXIMATE PERIOD COVERED	TOTAL VALID VOTES CAST ¹	VOTES FOR A TRADE UNION		VOTES FOR EMPLOYEE-REPRESENTATION		VOTES FOR NO REPRESENTATION, OTHER ORGANIZATIONS, ETC.	
			Number	Percentage of total	Number	Percentage of total	Number	Percentage of total
National Labor Board ²	Aug. 5, 1933– July 9, 1934 ³	103,714	71,931	69.4	29,644	28.5	2,139	2.1
National Labor Relations Board ⁴	July 10, 1934– June 16, 1935	45,287	26,478	58.5	15,060	33.2	3,749	8.3
Petroleum Labor Policy Board ⁵	Mar. 8, 1934– Feb. 28, 1935 ⁸	11,463	7,220	63.0	1,951	17.0	2,292	20.0
Bituminous Coal Labor Boards ⁶	Apr. 18, 1934– Dec. 28, 1934 ⁸	4,571	2,104	46.0	2,262	49.5	205	4.5
National Mediation Board ⁷	July 21, 1934– Sept. 7, 1935	84,878	60,212	70.9	24,666 ⁸	29.1		
National Steel Labor Relations Board ⁹	Sept. 6, 1934 ⁸	378	237	62.7	134	35.4	7	1.9
National Longshoremen's Labor Board ¹⁰	October 1934 ⁸	977	733 ¹¹	75.0	220	22.5	24	2.5
Automobile Labor Board ¹²	Dec. 19, 1934– Apr. 19, 1935 ⁸	154,780	21,128 ¹³	13.6	133,652 ¹⁴	86.4		
Textile Labor Relations Board ¹⁵	Dec. 27, 1934– Feb. 27, 1935 ⁸	1,352	910	67.3	303	22.4	139	10.3
Total, all boards		407,400	190,953	46.9	207,892	51.0	8,555	2.1

REPRESENTATION ELECTIONS

a complaint was accepted, it was customary for the Board to order an election. A typical order by the National Mediation Board reads as follows (National Mediation Board, Case No. R-182, Certification, October 11, 1935):

"The services of the National Mediation Board were invoked by the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees in behalf of clerical and office employees (including telephone operators) and station, yard and storehouse employees other than clerks (including foremen who do not exercise supervision through sub-foremen), of the Duluth, Missabe and Northern

Footnotes to Table 18:

- ¹ Excludes all blank, void and destroyed ballots. The figures, therefore, do not indicate either the total number eligible to vote or the total number of votes cast.
- ² Emily Clark Brown, Selection of Employees' Representatives, *Monthly Labor Review*, January 1935, pp. 1-18. Does not include five elections.
- ³ Experience here reported covers the entire life of the board; dates given indicate the period during which elections were conducted.
- ⁴ George Shaw Wheeler, Employee Elections Conducted by National Labor Relations Board up to June 16, 1935, *Monthly Labor Review*, October 1935, pp. 956-9.
- ⁵ David A. Moscovitz, Employee Elections Conducted by the Petroleum Labor Policy Board, *Monthly Labor Review*, October 1935, pp. 951-6. Includes certifications based on checks of authorizations against payrolls as well as those based on elections held.
- ⁶ Based on elections held under the Bituminous Coal Labor Board, Divisions 1, 4 and 5 only.
- ⁷ Tabulated directly from the Board's reports of certifications. Includes certifications based on checks of authorizations.
- ⁸ Covers all votes and authorizations other than those cast for a standard union.
- ⁹ Covers the only election held by the Board, the one at the West Virginia Rail Co. in Huntington, West Virginia.
- ¹⁰ Data from American Federation of Labor, *Weekly News Service*, January 12, 1935. These are the results of balloting among unlicensed personnel on tanker fleets on the Pacific coast up to October 23, 1934.
- ¹¹ Comprises 709 votes for the International Seamen's Union and 24 for the Communist Marine Workers.
- ¹² *Final Report*, Automobile Labor Board, August 6, 1935.
- ¹³ Comprises 14,057 votes for the A. F. of L.; 6,083 for the Associated Automobile Workers; 665 for the Mechanics Educational Society; and 323 for all other unions.
- ¹⁴ Comprises 111,878 unaffiliated votes and 21,774 for employees' associations. Covers all votes except those cast for a standard union.
- ¹⁵ Covers the only two elections held by the Board.

Railway, to settle a dispute as to who may properly represent said employees in accordance with Section 2, Ninth, of the Railway Labor Act, as amended.

The Board directed its mediator . . . to investigate the dispute and to take a secret ballot to determine the choice of the employees."

The elections in the automobile industry, on the other hand, were held in pursuance of a general order by the Automobile Labor Board on December 7, 1934 calling for the election of representatives throughout the industry under its jurisdiction.

These differences in the origins of elections naturally account for the striking diversity in the relative number of employees polled as well as in the results. Where the number of votes cast falls short of furnishing an adequate and representative sample of the class of employees in question, the value of these elections as an index of potential union membership is problematical. In the automobile manufacturing industry something more than 80 per cent of all employees under the jurisdiction of the Automobile Labor Board³ participated in its elections. But the total vote cast in the elections held by the National Labor Relations Board, the Petroleum Labor Policy Board, the National Steel Labor Relations Board, and the Textile Labor Relations Board was less than 3 per cent of the average number employed in manufacturing industries in 1934 and 1935.⁴ The elections of the National Mediation Board had by September 7, 1935 covered something less than 10 per cent of the employees of the railroad industry.*

³ The Board's jurisdiction did not cover the automotive parts industry or the Ford Company.

⁴ Several elections ordered by some of the Boards, notably the first National Labor Relations Board and the Steel Board, were not held because employers challenged the authority of the Boards, and the issue was thrown into the courts. All pending cases of this nature were withdrawn by the government when the United States Supreme Court announced its decision in the Schechter case on May 27, 1935.

* DIRECTOR'S NOTE: However, Table 33 in this report shows that 71 per cent of all

The character of the ballot and the alternatives placed before the voters constitute another feature that varied widely among these polls. Here again the practice of the Automobile Labor Board differed from that of the rest. In the great majority of cases the ballot carried the name of a trade union and of a company union or plan of employee-representation, and had a blank space in which the voter could write the name of an individual or another organization, or vote against any representation. In the automobile poll there were primary and final elections and the voters nominated and elected individuals, not organizations, as their representatives. The nominating ballot had one space where the voter could write the name of his choice for representative and another space, marked 'labor group affiliation', in which he could write the name of a labor organization. The nominating ballot bore the following instructions:

"Write the name of the person you want for representative of your district. Candidates are not restricted to employees.

Indicate, if you wish to do so, the labor group affiliation, if any, of your candidate. For purposes of proportional representation, employees who do not specify any labor group affiliation will be treated as a group.

The names of the two persons in your district who receive the largest number of votes will be printed on the final ballot.

In the final election the candidate receiving the largest number of votes will be the representative of your district. If the representatives receiving the largest number of votes for all districts do not provide proportional representation on the bargaining agency for all substantial labor groups, additional representatives will be added from among candidates receiving the next highest votes in the plant in any groups entitled to more representatives."

In the one set of elections, accordingly, the employees voted for or

classes of employees of Class I railroads were covered by trade union agreements with the railroads.—N. I. Stone

against a specified union, and in the other they voted for individuals⁵ and specified the affiliation of their candidate by writing in the appropriate place on the ballot the name of the organization they favored.

To these factors bearing on the outcome of elections for the choice of representatives should be added equally important influences connected with the size and composition of voting districts, the location of elections, the character of the electioneering, the type of election officials and like questions. If the method of elections were to become a permanent device for determining representation in American industry, experience with it would in time suggest the rules and regulations best calculated to ensure the free and democratic choice of representatives and would furnish the standards essential to an appraisal of the votes already taken.

For several months after the Scheghter decision the railroad labor board—the National Mediation Board—was the only board to continue to hold elections. The second National Labor Relations Board, appointed late in the summer of 1935, began also to order elections on the petition of employees soon thereafter. According to reports obtained from the Board, it had by May 1, 1936 supervised twenty-five elections in which 5,936 votes were cast; of these 3,792 or 63.9 per cent were votes for a trade union and 2,144 or 36.1 per cent against a trade union. The numbers eligible to vote and, hence, the percentage of eligibles who voted are not available in the records of the Board.

⁵ In many of the early elections held under the supervision of the National Labor Board the vote was for individuals, nominated either as individuals or as officers of specified organizations. The ballots used by this Board in elections in the bituminous coal industry and in the hosiery industry of Reading, Pennsylvania, were of this character. On these ballots there was printed, for example 'John L. Lewis, President of the United Mine Workers of America', or 'Emil Rieve, President of the American Federation of Hosiery Workers'.

CHAPTER VII

Centers of Unionism

AMERICAN trade unions, even in the periods of maximum expansion, have included among their members only a relatively small fraction of the organizable employees of the country. The contrast between the growth and extent of labor organization in the United States and in England has long been a subject of wonderment and inquiry. Drawing on a working population less than half that of this country, the English unions had, in 1920, 70 per cent more members than the American, and the English movement has been larger than ours for many years.

The American labor movement, however, has not consisted of numerous small and weak unions evenly distributed over the available fields of employment and of no great significance in any. Organized labor in this country has, on the contrary, been distinguished by striking differences in its position in the industries and employments commonly regarded as susceptible to unionization. The persistent juxtaposition of powerful and weak unions, the phenomenon of thoroughly organized trades and industries with adjacent occupations scarcely touched by organization, and striking geographical differences in the strength of membership have been outstanding features of the labor movement. The strong unions in this country compare favorably in membership and influence with the most powerful labor organizations in other countries. In the last forty years the majority of these have grown

with the rise in employment, have been little affected by ordinary fluctuations in business conditions, and have retreated substantially only in the face of prolonged and severe depression or of more or less permanent decline in employment.

The unions of this class were, before the World War, limited to the transportation, building, printing, and coal mining industries. During the War and the first post-War prosperity unionism spread to the clothing and metal trades, but proved only temporary in the latter. In the decade 1920-30 the same four groups of unions—transportation, building, coal mining, and printing—augmented by the established clothing organizations, constituted the foundation of the American labor movement. Although the coal mining and clothing unions declined during this period they remained among the several strongest groups of organizations. The heavy losses suffered by nearly all unions in these organized industries in consequence of the recent depression and the character of the gains made in 1934 have failed to alter materially the relative position in the entire labor movement of these five groups of unions as a whole although their relations to one another have radically changed since 1932. The extent to which a few groups of unions have dominated organized labor in this country appears from the data in Table 19.

The relative importance of each group in each year, 1897-1934, is shown in the Appendix, Table II. The principles of classification observed when arranging unions in groups are in certain instances necessarily violated. The group of building organizations, for example, includes the entire membership of such unions as the Carpenters and Electrical Workers with membership in manufacturing industries and in railroad shops as well as in building. In the majority of the metal and machinery unions the bulk of

the membership is in manufacturing, while the larger metal unions, like the Machinists and Railway Carmen, are particularly strong in the rail transportation industry. The data for a more refined and more accurate distribution of membership are not available, but the groupings employed reflect accurately enough, if these discrepancies are borne in mind, the relative importance of organized labor in the major categories of industry. If anything, they tend to exaggerate somewhat union strength in manufactures and to minimize it on the railroads.

Except from 1897 to 1899, the mining, building, transportation, clothing and printing unions have constituted more than 60 per cent of the total membership, in good years and bad. In 1929 the proportion exceeded 70 per cent. Throughout most of the period the railroad group has been the largest, usually followed closely by building. By 1910 the clothing unions had passed the printing unions and have retained a superior position ever since. Because the printing unions claim jurisdiction over a small industry that has long been better organized than most, their relative status has suffered from the expansion of organization in the more populous and hitherto less thoroughly organized trades. It is, finally, noteworthy that both the building and transportation unions occupied in 1934 a relatively less prominent place than at any previous time and that the membership of these groups was not in that year much in excess of that of the mining group.

Familiar characteristics of the American political and economic situation help to explain not only the relative weakness of organized labor in this country but also its tendency to concentrate in certain categories of employment. American trade unions have long faced great difficulties in establishing themselves in competitive industries in which business can shift quickly from one part

TABLE 19

MINING, BUILDING, TRANSPORTATION, CLOTHING, PAPER
AND PRINTING UNIONS, MEMBERSHIP EXPRESSED AS
PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL MEMBERSHIP, SELECTED
YEARS, 1897-1934

UNION GROUP	1897	1900	1910	1920	1929	1933	1934
Mining, quarrying and oil	4.7	15.1	12.8	8.7	7.9	11.9	16.0
Building construction	15.1	17.6	21.4	17.6	26.7	19.6	16.7
Transportation and communication	26.0	21.8	22.5	24.9	25.9	20.5	17.9
Clothing	3.3	2.9	4.6	7.4	6.3	11.3	11.2
Paper, printing and bookbinding	8.5	5.5	4.2	3.2	4.7	5.1	4.5
Total, above groups	57.6	62.9	65.5	61.8	71.5	68.4	66.3

of the country to another. Many times in the history of labor organizations, unionization of a plant or industrial area has been speedily followed by marked shifts in the localization of industry, by the rise thereafter of unorganized localities, and by the eventual decline of the unionized ones. The whole course of unionism in the manufacturing industries confirms this observation with surprisingly few exceptions. The extent and variety of the continental area of the United States has afforded employers innumerable opportunities to achieve flexibility in costs and operating conditions by moving to new locations and there utilizing hitherto unused supplies of labor. For this reason unions of employees in industries not geographically competitive have on the whole had a larger membership and greater stability than others. They have, also, since 1897 included more than half of all the members of American unions, although the jurisdiction of the strongest does not cover the industries that in this country employ the largest number of workmen. The data with respect to these unions are presented in Table 20.

The clothing and coal mining unions have since the turn of the century been from time to time exceptions to this generalization. Although the several unions in these industries have shown much less stability than the building, transportation, and printing unions, and have on occasion been nearly wiped out, they have possessed remarkable recuperative powers and for more than two decades now they have succeeded in escaping the fate of the majority of unions in manufacturing industries. The unique position

TABLE 20

**BUILDING, TRANSPORTATION, PAPER AND PRINTING,
THEATRE AND MUSIC, TRADE, PUBLIC SERVICE, AND
OTHER SERVICE UNIONS, MEMBERSHIP EXPRESSED
AS PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL MEMBERSHIP, SELECTED
YEARS, 1897-1934**

UNION GROUP	1897	1900	1910	1920	1929	1933	1934
Building construction	15.1	17.6	21.4	17.6	26.7	19.6	16.7
Transportation and communication	26.0	21.8	22.5	24.9	25.9	20.5	17.9
Paper, printing and bookbinding	8.5	5.5	4.2	3.2	4.7	5.1	4.5
Theatre and music	1.5	1.1	2.8	2.0	3.9	4.3	3.5
Trade	0.8	2.3	0.7	0.4	0.3	0.2	0.2
Public service	2.5	1.8	2.7	3.2	7.2	10.0	8.3
Other services¹	0.8	1.3	3.1	2.2	3.2	3.0	3.6
Total, above groups	55.2	51.4	56.4	53.5	71.9	62.7	54.7

¹ Includes hotel and restaurant service, domestic and personal service, and professional service.

occupied by these organizations is in part due to such fortuitous factors as the skill and militancy of the leadership these trades and unions happened to have developed. But in the main it appears to be largely attributable to the relationship that has long prevailed between the coal mining and clothing industries and

the public and the government. In the clothing industries, conditions associated with the sweatshop have for a considerable time been a subject of public interest and concern, and the frequent revolts, organized and unorganized, against the terms of employment of clothing workers have rarely failed to enlist public sympathy and support. The weight of public opinion has frequently been an important, if not decisive, factor in effecting reforms in working conditions and in strengthening organized labor.

Somewhat the same elements have played an equally influential role in determining the status of labor organization in the coal mining industry. But added to these are the sympathy evoked by the hazards of the miner's job and the paralysis of economic life that inevitably follows an effective strike in the industry. The history of labor relations in the coal mining industry, certainly during the last forty years, has been marked by public inquiry and intervention designed to preserve the peace, to improve the standards of work, and to ensure to both employees and industry more stable and profitable conditions. The culmination of these efforts was reached in the thoroughgoing controls set up under the National Industrial Recovery Act and later under the Guffey Act, both of which, as long as they were in effect, promoted the use of collective bargaining and contributed powerfully to the revival of the United Mine Workers. Although these legal protections are now withdrawn, the United Mine Workers has agreements with employers covering well over 90 per cent of the bituminous coal workers and the position of the union is not likely to be questioned until these contracts terminate.

Measured in terms of the number of organizable employees, the unions claiming jurisdiction over workingmen in manufacturing have consistently remained the weakest segment of American or-

ganized labor. Omitting the groups with the special characteristics already discussed, i.e., clothing and printing, the rest of the unions in manufacturing constitute, as appears from Table 21, a surprisingly small proportion of the total. They have, furthermore, continually declined in relative importance since 1897, except for the expansion of the metals, machinery and shipbuilding group during the War, and have included since 1920 less than 15 per cent of the membership of all unions. In 1920 and thereafter the percentages exaggerate the membership of this class of unions since the group of metal trades organizations includes several unions—the Machinists, Blacksmiths, Boilermakers, Railway Carmen—many of whose members should properly be classified with the membership of railway unions. It is probably one of the most significant facts concerning union membership in the United States that unions in manufacturing industries should represent so slight a fraction of total membership. While the condition of unions of manufacturing employees is in large measure the result of the powerful forces of geographical competition within this range of industries, special circumstances account for the decline of two groups. In the food, liquor and tobacco group the Federal prohibition law all but destroyed the Brewery Workers Union which has since repeal experienced substantial recovery; and among the glass unions the universal replacement of men by machines has reduced the membership to its present exceedingly low level.

The largest and stablest groups of unions in the American labor movement have until quite recently been composed of craft unions. The relation of craft to industrial unionism in the American labor movement can hardly be determined in a purely statistical manner. The definition of either type of organization is beset

TABLE 21

METAL, TEXTILE, LEATHER AND SHOE, LUMBER, CHEMICAL, CLAY, GLASS AND STONE, AND FOOD, LIQUOR AND TOBACCO UNIONS, MEMBERSHIP EXPRESSED AS PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL MEMBERSHIP, SELECTED YEARS, 1897-1934

UNION GROUP	1897	1900	1910	1920	1929	1933	1934
Metals, machinery and shipbuilding	11.2	9.3	9.2	17.0	6.1	6.1	6.1
Textiles	1.8	0.9	1.0	3.0	1.0	0.5	1.1
Leather and shoes	3.4	1.1	2.2	2.2	1.4	2.6	3.2
Lumber and woodworking	1.2	2.9	1.3	0.5	0.4	0.3	0.3
Chemicals, clay, glass and stone	5.2	3.5	2.8	1.0	1.1	0.9	1.3
Food, liquor and tobacco	10.2	8.0	5.7	3.6	1.9	1.9	2.3
Total, above groups	33.0	25.7	22.2	27.3	11.9	12.2	14.3

with difficulties. Not all industrial unions are equally industrial. The task of organizing and managing an industrial union in coal mining, where the number of separate crafts is limited, is infinitely simpler than in the iron and steel industry where there are highly refined divisions of labor, innumerable subdivisions of crafts, and at the same time sharp differentiation between skilled labor and the semi-skilled and unskilled. For this reason the established craft unions are likely to offer more vigorous opposition to the creation of industrial unions in most manufacturing industries than they did in either coal mining or clothing. Even the rehabilitated Brewery Workers Union, which is one of the oldest industrial unions in the country, was forced recently by the revival of the brewery business to face jurisdictional conflicts with several craft unions.

Whatever the relative merits of these two forms of organization and the outcome of the struggle between them, the membership of craft unions has constituted over many years more than

three-quarters of the total membership of American trade unions. Rough approximations of the actual percentages follow.¹ It should

1914	1920	1929	1933	1934
75	78	83	73	67

be said in explanation of these figures that the drop in 1934 reflects not alone the growth of the industrial unions of miners, and of clothing and shoe workers, but also the failure of the two large groups of craft unions, building and transportation, to participate in the general increase in membership of that year. The coal and clothing unions have reached their maximum potential membership or are close to it. The transportation and building unions, on the other hand, are almost certain to grow again with the expansion of employment in these industries. Unless, therefore, industrial unionism succeeds in penetrating new fields, it is probable that the ratio of industrial to craft membership will before long revert to the levels prevailing prior to 1934.

The condition of the unions comprising the American labor movement, the foregoing discussion should make clear, has been variously influenced by their structure, the economic characteristics of the trades and industries in which they seek members, the attitude of the public and the government towards them, political and social developments, and a multitude of separate and independent factors peculiar often to single organizations. Throughout their history, consequently, groups of unions and individual unions within the groups have pursued highly diverse courses.

¹ The industrial unions whose membership has been subtracted from the total include all mining, clothing and shoe unions, the United Textile Workers, the Amalgamated Textile Workers, the Associated Silk Workers, the Brewery Workers, the Marine and Shipbuilding Workers, the Iron and Steel Workers and the Electrical Industry Employees Union.

Apart from their relations to one another and to organized labor as a whole, some organizations have expanded alike through prosperity and depression, and their relapses have been infrequent and almost imperceptible; others have successively made heavy gains and suffered severe losses but have always retained the nucleus of organization; while still others have failed, even under the most favorable circumstances, to construct the foundations of permanent unionism.

The group of unions least sensitive to the vicissitudes of business has been that of government employees. The unions of employees in public service have steadily increased their membership through prosperity and depression. In 1922 their combined loss was only about 1,000 members, and this was more than made up the following year. These organizations continued to grow after 1923, suffering their next decline only in 1933 when membership dropped nominally. In 1934 the membership of the public service unions was nearly twice that of 1920. The annual membership of the group since 1914 is shown in Table 22 and in Chart 1.

The unions comprising this group are in the main organizations of Federal employees and, of these, the most important and largest are the unions of various classes of postal employees. The membership of the group as presented in Table 22 probably understates both the total membership of public service unions and the amount of its increase in recent years, since many organizations of state and municipal employees for which reliable data are not available are excluded.² The membership of all unions in this group has benefited from the relative immunity of public

² Leonard D. White, *Trends in Public Administration*, Ch. XXI, Recent Social Trends Monograph (McGraw-Hill, 1933).

TABLE 22**UNIONS WITH RELATIVELY STABLE MEMBERSHIP, 1914-1934
PUBLIC SERVICE, PAPER AND PRINTING**

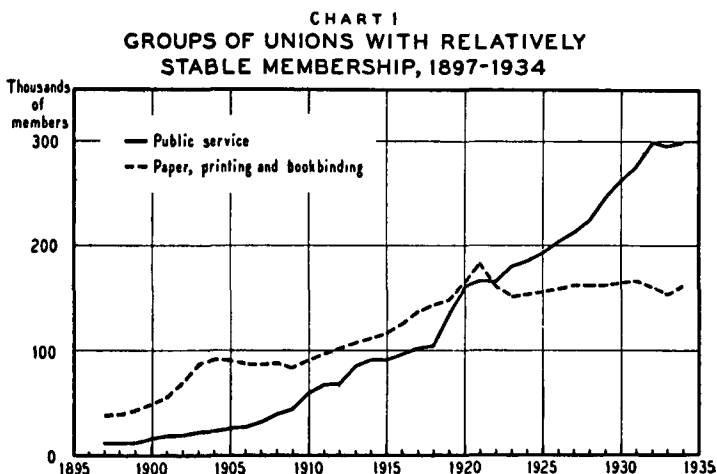
YEAR	PUBLIC SERVICE	PAPER, PRINTING AND BOOKBINDING
1914	91,400	111,300
1915	90,500	115,600
1916	96,300	126,100
1917	102,400	137,200
1918	105,200	144,400
1919	137,200	148,000
1920	161,400	164,000
1921	171,800	181,600
1922	170,700	160,500
1923	179,800	150,900
1924	185,000	153,500
1925	192,900	155,700
1926	204,100	157,700
1927	212,500	161,700
1928	224,100	161,900
1929	246,600	162,500
1930	264,100	165,200
1931	275,600	165,500
1932	299,500	160,100
1933	296,300	153,100
1934	298,900	161,700

service to unfavorable business conditions in the last several decades and from the development of a more benevolent policy towards the organization of civil servants by the officials of central and local governments.

While no other group of labor organizations in this country has pursued so steady a course as the public service unions, the several organizations of printing employees—the Typographical, Photo Engravers and Printing Pressmens Unions—with jurisdiction over an industry that is in part, at least, reasonably stable in

output and regular in employment have come close to meeting this record. The course of membership of the paper, printing and bookbinding unions is also presented in Table 22 and Chart 1.

In common with all labor organizations the printing and paper unions expanded at an unusual rate during the War years. The membership of this class of union reached its peak in 1921 and



declined in 1922 only about 16 per cent. The advance was resumed in 1924 and continued until 1931. By that year these unions had as many members as in 1920 although they were still below their peak of 1921. Their losses during the recent depression were, in comparison with other organizations, slight; and their recovery in 1934 brought them again almost to the level of 1920. Within this group the stablest organizations have been the unions of skilled printing craftsmen; the unions of paper makers have been much more sensitive to changing conditions of business. Since about 1920 the printing unions have had the bulk of their members in newspaper printing offices and have failed to regain

control over employees in the more competitive book and job printing industry. The printing unions proper shared little in the advance in membership from 1933 to 1934; the gain of nearly 9,000 members by the group of paper, printing and bookbinding unions was due almost entirely to the increases in membership of the Paper Makers and Pulp and Paper Mill Workers Unions.

Unions among the skilled employees in the building and rail transportation industries were until this latest depression not only the largest but also among the most stable of American unions. The two groups together have long accounted for a very large proportion of the membership of the entire movement. Even in 1934, after they had suffered severe reverses, their combined membership was 1,249,800, or more than one-third of the membership of all unions. Both groups have since the middle 'nineties been dominated by strictly craft organizations, such as the Locomotive Engineers in transportation and the Bricklayers and Masons in building, which have always constituted an overwhelming majority of their membership. Both also, are composed principally of unions with jurisdiction over the type of industry that is least exposed to the influence on unionism of the geographical competition of industry.

By 1914 the unions in these groups already had more than 1,000,000 members, and by 1920 the number had increased to 2,144,000. Although both groups lost members as a result of the depression of 1921 they still had 1,696,800 members in 1923, and by 1929 their combined membership had risen to 1,811,200. After 1929, they began to lose members heavily until by 1933 they had lost 618,900. Thus while total union membership declined 15 per cent, the group of building construction unions lost 37 per cent and the unions in transportation and communication 32

per cent of their membership. In the face, moreover, of a general recovery of unionism from 1933 to 1934 these two groups together acquired less than 60,000 members. Their annual membership since 1914 is given in Table 23.

The experience of these organizations since the War reflects the influence on union growth of powerful, underlying economic forces. In building, the boom in all sections of the American construction industry resulted in a continuous rise up to 1929 in the membership of the building trades unions above the already relatively high levels of 1923. On the railroads employment declined even during the prosperous 1920's and the membership of the strong railroad unions remained stationary until 1929. Both industries were unusually hard hit by the depression and in neither has the recovery of business since 1933 produced a considerable rise in employment. There is accordingly a close correspondence, as appears from Table 23 and Chart 2, between the membership of the building and railroad unions and the course of building and railroad employment. Between the condition of these unions and of others that have failed to grow since 1933, there is, however, a fundamental distinction: the inability of the railroad and building unions to raise their membership in the last several years is due not to the weakening of unionism in these industries but to the persistence in them of an extraordinarily high rate of unemployment.

Unlike labor organizations in the printing, transportation and building industries and in public service, unions in the mining, clothing and shoe industries, although often strong, have been consistently unstable and their membership has frequently fluctuated within wide limits. These organizations declined over the whole period of the 'twenties and have recorded the most

TABLE 23

BUILDING AND TRANSPORTATION, UNION MEMBERSHIP AND
EMPLOYMENT OF WAGE EARNERS, 1914-1934

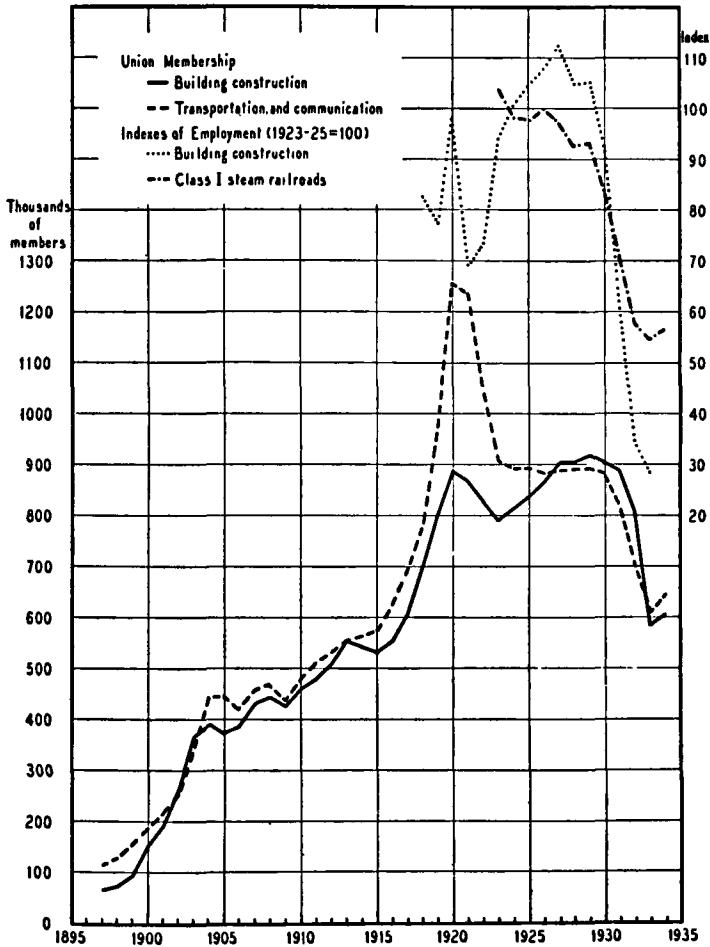
YEAR	UNION MEMBERSHIP		INDEX OF EMPLOYMENT (1923-25 = 100)	
	Building construction	Transportation and communication	Building construction ¹	Class I steam railroads ²
1914	542,000	561,700	...	...
1915	532,700	576,000	...	...
1916	552,900	623,300	...	...
1917	606,500	695,400	...	...
1918	700,600	777,300	82.8	...
1919	801,800	958,800	77.4	...
1920	887,900	1,256,100	98.1	...
1921	869,100	1,239,900	68.6	...
1922	826,300	1,039,000	73.7	...
1923	789,500	907,300	94.1	104.0
1924	814,100	893,200	101.0	98.2
1925	837,000	893,000	104.9	97.8
1926	866,600	884,200	107.9	99.8
1927	902,700	888,700	112.7	97.3
1928	905,000	890,500	105.0	92.7
1929	919,000	892,200	105.1	93.1
1930	904,100	882,400	92.0	83.3
1931	889,500	815,800	59.4	70.6
1932	805,600	698,700	34.8	57.8
1933	582,700	609,300	28.7	54.4
1934	604,600	645,200	...	56.5

¹ Computed from data on the number of wage earners employed in building construction in Ohio, U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Bulletin No. 613*.

² *Monthly Labor Review*, U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics.

substantial gains since 1933. All are industrial unions and all exist in industries subject to successive and radical changes in the localization of industry. The group of mining unions, 90 per cent of whose membership is in the United Mine Workers, has lost and gained members with the flow of depression and prosperity

CHART 2
UNION MEMBERSHIP AND EMPLOYMENT, 1897-1934



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in the industry and with the movement of the coal business from one producing area to another. The fluctuations in the membership of this group are shown in Table 24 and Chart 4.

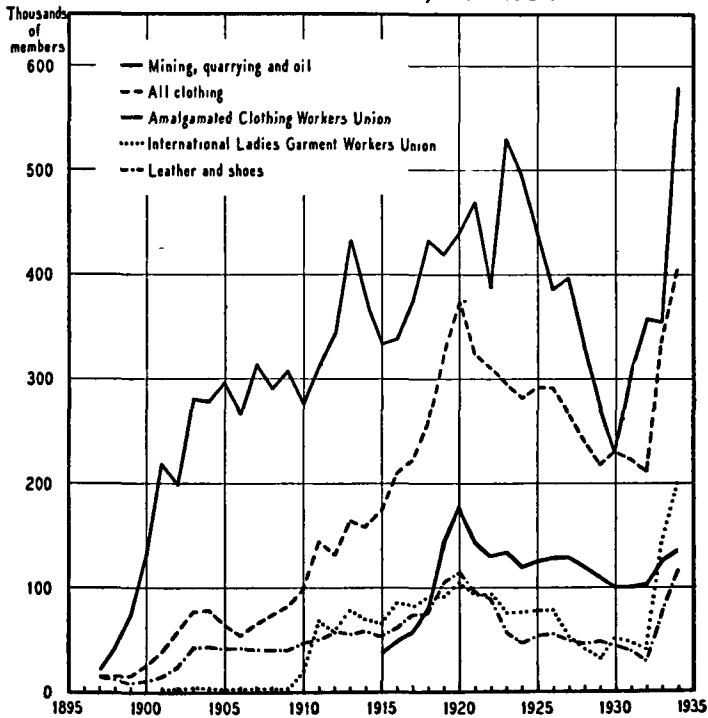
The relation of unionism to the bituminous coal industry is typical of the experience of American unions with the vicissitudes of competitive business. On frequent occasions since 1900 the

TABLE 24
UNIONS WITH RELATIVELY UNSTABLE MEMBERSHIP,
1914-1934
MINING, CLOTHING, LEATHER AND SHOES

YEAR	MINING, QUARRYING AND OIL UNIONS	ALL CLOTHING UNIONS	AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS	INTER- NATIONAL	
				LADIES GARMENT WORKERS	LEATHER AND SHOE UNIONS
1914	380,200	157,800	.....	69,900	58,000
1915	332,200	173,700	38,000	65,300	52,800
1916	337,600	209,600	48,000	85,100	60,800
1917	373,400	222,400	57,000	82,300	72,800
1918	433,200	257,600	81,000	89,500	74,900
1919	419,100	323,500	144,000	90,500	103,500
1920	438,600	374,500	177,000	105,400	112,900
1921	469,700	323,000	143,000	94,100	96,200
1922	386,600	310,000	130,000	93,900	90,200
1923	529,600	295,200	134,000	75,700	55,900
1924	493,200	281,500	120,000	76,000	46,600
1925	439,400	291,800	125,000	77,300	54,200
1926	385,600	291,600	128,000	78,100	54,900
1927	396,700	266,600	129,000	53,300	49,000
1928	333,400	238,700	120,000	40,000	45,200
1929	270,800	218,100	110,000	32,300	46,600
1930	229,800	229,900	100,000	50,800	44,300
1931	309,200	223,900	100,000	47,500	38,500
1932	356,800	211,000	102,000	40,000	28,700
1933	354,600	336,100	125,000	145,800	76,000
1934	579,100	404,700	135,000	200,000	117,200

coal miners union succeeded in establishing itself in unorganized coal fields and in consummating union agreements with the coal operators. But under the stress of unfavorable economic condi-

CHART 3
GROUPS OF UNIONS WITH RELATIVELY
UNSTABLE MEMBERSHIP, 1897-1934



tions the business moved to areas free to change the rate of wages and standards of working conditions, and the unionized sections either repudiated their union contracts or lost a considerable share of their business. Thus,

“the union made very substantial gains during the World War, only to

lose them during the post-War depression. In 1919, a year when the union was fast approaching the height of its power, it was estimated that approximately 72 per cent of the total supply of bituminous coal was produced under union contracts. Six years later, at the close of 1925, the proportion of the unionized operations had dropped to 40 per cent. In the latter year, the non-union mines accounted for at least 93 per cent of the coal produced in West Virginia, 98 per cent in Kentucky, and 90 per cent in Tennessee. The union's ineffectiveness south of the Ohio River has resulted in a further reduction of organized strength throughout the old established union areas. In the spring of 1927 the compact in the Central Competitive Field and wage contracts in many of the outlying districts were discontinued. Pending a general settlement, local agreements were negotiated between limited numbers of operators in certain areas."³

These measures failed to stem the tide of union decline and disorganization. By 1930 the union had only 221,700 members. Since a large proportion of these were anthracite miners, the United Mine Workers was all but wiped out in the soft coal industry. The spectacular recovery since 1930 is in part a reaction against the low state into which working conditions in this industry had fallen. But it is to a much greater degree the effect of the measures of control over prices and output involved in the code of fair competition of the National Recovery Administration and the provisions of the Guffey Act, which have for a time, at any rate, converted a competitive industry into a regulated one and subjected collective bargaining to governmental control.

Much the same factors explain the history of the clothing unions. Since 1910 the two largest organizations in this industry—the International Ladies Garment Workers and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers—have under militant leadership launched vigorous and often successful organization campaigns against un-

³ Waldo E. Fisher and Anne Bezanson, *Wage-Rates and Working Time in the Bituminous Coal Industry, 1912-1922* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1932), p. 26.

organized firms and districts. From time to time both unions have had the major sections of the men's and women's clothing industries under contract. Under the pressure of competitive conditions new centers of business have rapidly developed, the old, established districts have languished, and the unions have lost much of their membership and control. This was the history of these two organizations after 1920. The Amalgamated lost more than 70,000 members from 1920 to 1930 and the localization of the men's clothing industry was radically changed as employers or the business shifted from union to non-union areas. In the women's clothing industry the combination of non-union competition and an internal conflict between left- and right-wing factions in the union brought the membership of the Ladies Garment Workers in 1929 down to 32,300. As in the United Mine Workers, the turn in membership of these unions preceded the recovery of employment and was due to organizing activities of extraordinary vigor and skill. Movements in the membership of the clothing unions are shown in Table 24 and Chart 3.

The striking feature of the changes in membership within the clothing workers group in the last few years is the steep ascent of the International Ladies Garment Workers. In 1934 it had the largest membership in its history and claimed almost twice as many members as in 1920. This unusual gain arose mainly from the extension of organization into the women's dress industry which had hitherto been hardly organized at all. In this industry, as in less degree in the men's clothing industry, the operations of the National Recovery Administration were the prime factors in effecting unionization. The terms of the codes covering the several parts of the women's clothing industry, the effectiveness of the NRA label, and joint action between the union and a

majority of employers directed towards the regulation of competitive trade practices resulted in a degree of organization that neither business prosperity nor union activity had before been able to accomplish.

The leather and shoe unions have pursued much the same course as the clothing and mining unions. According to the data in Table 24 the membership of this group began to recover in 1933. In 1934 it had more members than in 1920. The increase took place almost entirely in the membership of the shoe unions, since organizations of leather workers are few and small. In the boot and shoe industry national unions independent of the American Federation of Labor and scattered independent local unions have played an important part since the War. During the depression an independent organization sponsored by the Communists collected a substantial number of members in Brooklyn and New York City. In the interest of unity several of the independent unions with membership largely in Massachusetts and the communist unions in New York amalgamated into a new organization known as the United Shoe and Leather Workers, which in 1934 claimed a membership of 53,500. At the same time the old Boot and Shoe Workers Union, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, reported a substantial increase in membership. The membership of other new independent unions, organized in 1933 and 1934, together with the increases claimed by these two larger organizations, account for the rise from 1932 to 1934 of close to 90,000 in the group of shoe and leather unions.

Of the remaining groups of organizations, the textile and metal and machinery unions are perhaps the most striking examples of the instability of important American unions and of their inability to keep a foothold in geographically competitive industry.

In contrast with the organizations already considered these groups of unions have, except during the several years of War and post-War boom, always included but a small fraction of the organizable employees in the industries subject to their jurisdiction. The textile unions, which lay claim to industries employing perhaps 1,000,000 workers, have never, except during the brief periods of widespread strikes, had more than 150,000 members; and this number, which was the claimed membership of all textile unions in 1920, was probably a considerable overestimate. The number of organized employees decreased steadily after 1920 and fell in 1933 to 16,100—a very low figure indeed in terms of the number of employees in the cotton, silk, wool, and rayon textile industries of this country. Membership for each year, 1914–34, is recorded in Table 25 and Chart 4.

Except during several years around 1920, when an independent national union—the Amalgamated Textile Workers—grew by leaps and bounds and then dissolved in consequence of the depression of 1921, the United Textile Workers has been the largest and most important union in the textile group. The others are small and isolated craft unions, many of which have either been absorbed into the United Textile Workers or have declined with the obsolescence of their crafts. In spite of numerous, spirited efforts to unionize the industry under its jurisdiction, the United Textile Workers has failed to establish a continuing organization. A serious obstacle in its path has been the severe competition for markets among the various textile fabrics and a great movement of the cotton textile industry from the partly organized North to the wholly unorganized South. Between 1921 and 1933 the number of wage earners in the cotton textile mills of New England

TABLE 25**UNIONS WITH SMALL PROPORTION OF POTENTIAL
MEMBERSHIP, 1914-1934****TEXTILES AND METALS**

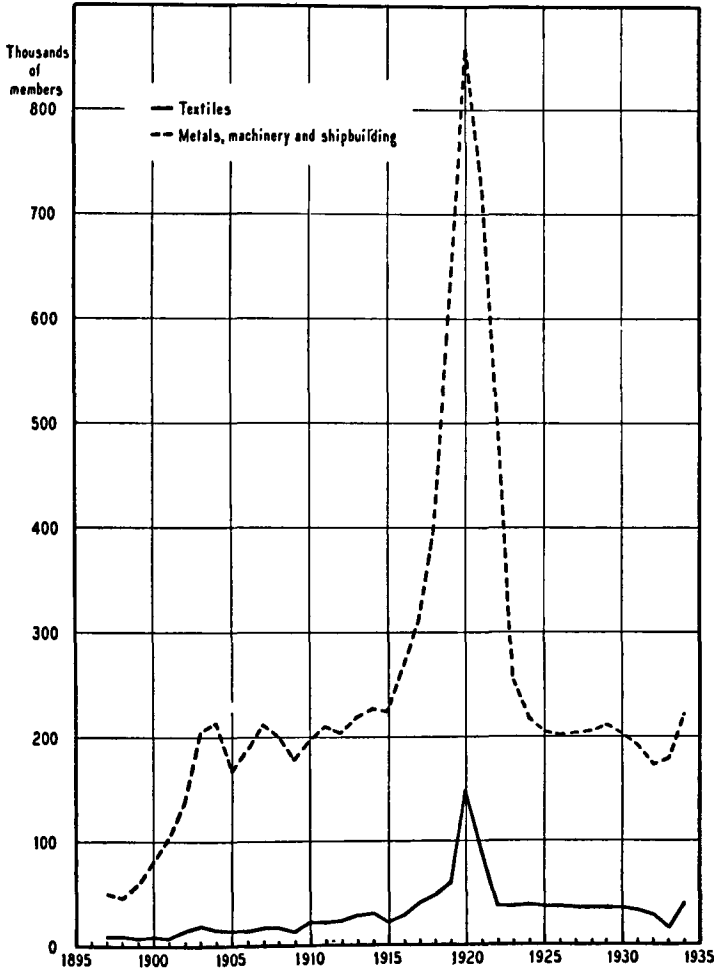
YEAR	TEXTILES	METALS, MACHINERY AND SHIPBUILDING
1914	29,900	225,900
1915	22,400	224,200
1916	28,900	267,100
1917	40,600	309,700
1918	49,400	396,200
1919	59,800	617,500
1920	149,100	858,800
1921	88,200	728,300
1922	36,900	505,800
1923	37,300	257,100
1924	37,600	218,300
1925	36,500	204,800
1926	35,500	201,800
1927	35,200	203,700
1928	35,300	204,900
1929	35,300	211,400
1930	35,300	202,800
1931	34,100	190,600
1932	28,600	173,300
1933	16,100	179,600
1934	39,800	221,800

declined from 186,000 to 91,000, in the South their number increased from 179,000 to 257,000.⁴

Since 1929 the United Textile Workers have made desperate efforts to organize the southern industry and have several times directed organizing campaigns against large textile areas in both the South and North. These activities culminated in the general

⁴ *Report on the Cotton Textile Industry, Senate Doc. No. 126, 74th Cong., 1st Sess., p. 52.*

CHART 4
GROUPS OF UNIONS WITH SMALL PROPORTION
OF POTENTIAL MEMBERSHIP, 1897-1934



strike in the autumn of 1934 during the course of which many mills over the country were shut down and a substantial number of new members joined the union. For the fiscal year ending August 31, 1934 the reported dues-paying membership of the textile unions was 39,800. While this is more than double the membership of the preceding year, it is still small. There is reason to believe, however, that this figure minimizes the present strength of the United Textile Workers. This organization, in addition to being a national union, is also a species of federation and as such is the parent body of two unions—the American Federation of Silk Workers and the American Federation of Hosiery Workers—whose membership is included in this study with that of the United Textile Workers. The silk and hosiery workers claimed in 1934 approximately 10,000 and 45,000 members respectively. Allowing for some exaggeration in these claims it is not improbable that the membership of 79,200 reported by the United Textile Workers for the fiscal year ending August 31, 1935⁵ comes close to reflecting its present strength.

The group of metal, machinery and shipbuilding unions is the most heterogeneous of all. In 1934 it included fifteen separate craft organizations and three industrial unions claiming jurisdiction in nearly all manufacturing industries, on the railroads, in mining, and in many service occupations. In view of the range of its jurisdiction its membership is exceedingly slight. By 1920, under the favorable influence of the expansion of war industries and a friendly public policy towards collective bargaining, the membership of the group rose to 858,800 and it became the third largest group in the American labor movement, with only 30,000

⁵ *Report of the A. F. of L. Executive Council to the 55th Annual Convention, October 7, 1935, p. 11.*

fewer members than the building trades unions. In the next four years practically all the gain was lost and the group faced a decline in membership that brought it in 1932 well below 200,000. While it gained members in 1933 and 1934, the total membership of the group in 1934 was less than in 1914. Annual membership is shown in Table 25 and Chart 4.

The future position of all these groups of unions is dependent upon the success of current organizing activities in the mass production manufacturing industries of the country and upon the satisfactory composition of jurisdictional disputes between the old national craft organizations and the young 'local federal labor unions' and the new national unions growing out of them. The drive for membership that began in the summer of 1933 has had as its objective the unionization of the hitherto unorganized large manufacturing industries—steel, automobiles, rubber, aluminum, cement and the like. In the prosecution of these campaigns, the directly affiliated 'local federal labor unions' have so far proved the favorite organizing instrument of the American Federation of Labor. With the multiplication in the number of these organizations and the exertion of increasing pressure by them for independent existence and broad jurisdictional rights, the conflict between craft and industrial unions has been brought to a head, and to the extent to which the dispute remains unsettled the chances for the establishment of continuing organization in this class of industry are jeopardized.

CHAPTER VIII

Extent of Organization

FIGURES of union membership as an index of the strength of organized labor suffer, it has already been suggested, from familiar limitations of accuracy. Standing alone they fall short of depicting the true position of trade unionism through their failure also to reflect changes in the size of the working population and in its composition. For this reason it has been found enlightening to compare the actual with the potential membership of labor organizations and thereby to derive as precise measures as possible of the extent to which the employees in all occupations together and in many of them separately have from time to time belonged to the unions of this country.

For such comparisons the most comprehensive sources of information on the size and character of the American working population are the decennial censuses of occupations taken by the Federal government. The data contained in these censuses are the most complete available of the number of persons attached to the various occupations to which they look for jobs and a living. The material is presented in such detail that it can without undue difficulty be recast into many new and informing classifications. But the census of occupations has for this purpose defects that impair its value and require that it be supplemented and amended by other bodies of information.

The census, first of all, is taken only once in ten years and

then during a limited period, usually less than a month. An account of developments within the long intervals between censuses can be supplied only through estimates involving indeterminate and often substantial margins of error. Second, the census records those attached to occupations but not necessarily at the time employed in them. Under conditions of prosperity and full employment, the difference between the number attached and employed may be slight, but under conditions of depression and unemployment the size of the employed population will obviously depart widely from that of the attached. Third, the raw data of the census are collected by thousands of field agents, or enumerators, through personal interviews. Since the definition and classification of occupations and industries raise problems that baffle even experts in this field, it is to be expected that census returns should present unusual difficulties of classification and interpretation. Consequently, efforts to classify the working population of the United States into social-economic groups, wherein the employed are distinguished from their employers, self-employed from employees, salaried employees from wage earners and the like, must involve a large element of conjecture.

A summary of the results of a reclassification of the census data is given in Table 26 (the details on which this summary is based appear in the Appendix, Table III). While these figures rest on the inspection and comparison of hundreds of occupations, they can in the nature of the case lay no claim to absolute accuracy. Among all the groups there is considerable and unavoidable overlapping owing to the impossibility of identifying and segregating many occupations and types of work. The group of 'employees' unquestionably includes a substantial number of business men, self-employed, and highly-paid managerial and

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supervisory officials. The changes in the relative position of each group between 1910 and 1930 may be purely fortuitous consequences of changes in definition, in methods of enumeration, and in custom. At best the figures constitute a rough estimate of the size of social-economic groups in the American occupied population in the census years, 1910, 1920, and 1930. As they stand they appear to indicate that the number of 'manual' and 'white-collar' workers in the United States in 1930 was thirty-three million. Other and perhaps more refined distributions of the census data are possible, but it is doubtful that they would produce results differing greatly from those recorded in Table 26. A careful analysis of these same statistics of occupations for 1930, made by a member of the staff of the Census Bureau, confirms the impression that the estimate of thirty-three million does not overstate the size of the group of wage earners and salaried workers in the last census year. A summary of this analysis¹ based in part on classification by skill and in part on other criteria, appears in the accompanying tabulation.

	NUMBER IN 1930
Clerks and kindred workers	7,949,455
Skilled workers and foremen	6,282,687
Semi-skilled workers	7,977,572
Unskilled workers	14,008,869
Total workers	36,218,583
Professional persons	2,945,797
Proprietors, officials and managers	9,665,540
Grand total	48,829,920

¹ Alba M. Edwards, *A Social Economic Grouping of the Gainful Workers of the United States*, *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, December 1933, p. 383.

EXTENT OF ORGANIZATION

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TABLE 26

WORKING POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES, 1910, 1920, AND 1930¹

	1910	1920	1930
Professional workers, ² total	1,613,755	2,000,840	2,855,973
Proprietors, managers and officials, independent, salaried and commissioned workers, total	9,334,821	10,121,888	11,096,269
Proprietors	8,093,399	8,372,820	8,598,594
Managers and officials	380,696	609,853	748,597
Other proprietors, managers and officials	240,018	260,728	370,112
Independent, salaried and commissioned workers	620,708	878,487	1,378,966
Employees, ³ total	23,809,904	27,359,660	33,217,886
Agriculture and forestry	3,100,672	2,628,269	2,971,167
Mining and quarrying	939,935	1,055,898	953,427
Manufacturing and mechanical industries, including construction, total	10,229,364	12,162,179	13,540,817
Trades and occupations attached to more than one industry	4,756,144	5,433,714	6,083,981
Operatives and laborers attached to specified industries	5,473,220	6,728,465	7,456,836
Transportation and communication, total	2,254,204	2,705,906	3,368,162
Transportation	2,002,269	2,316,920	2,843,788
Communication	232,788	355,165	452,500
Other transportation and communication	19,147	33,821	71,874
Public service, ⁴ total	421,136	704,962	822,293
Clerical and commercial service, total	3,386,226	4,936,385	6,759,332
Other service industries:			
Recreation and amusement	9,114	11,024	32,903
Professional service	39,584	88,209	223,565
Domestic and personal service	3,429,669	3,066,828	4,546,220
Grand total	34,758,480	39,482,388	47,170,128

¹ Based on the 15th Census of the U. S., 1930, Population, Vol. V, *General Report on Occupations*. The grand total for 1930 differs from the grand total in Dr. Edwards' tabulation because it does not include unpaid family workers on farms. These amounted to 3,310,534 in 1910, 1,850,119 in 1920, and 1,659,792 in 1930.

² Includes an indeterminate number of professional workers employed by others.

³ Includes an indeterminate and probably large number of proprietors, managers, officials, independent, salaried and commissioned workers.

⁴ Includes only those occupations in public service which are not classified elsewhere.

Dr. Edwards estimates the total number of workers in 1930 at 36,218,583. In Table 26 the estimated total number of employees is 33,217,816. The lower estimate used in this study is obtained by excluding from the category of employees many supervisory and self-employed persons and unpaid family workers on farms who are included in Dr. Edwards' category of workers. Which of these two methods of classification and estimate is superior, it is impossible to determine.

How valid the use of any of the several possible estimates of the number of organizable employees is must remain a matter of opinion. It is clear that the criteria by which such estimates are obtained vary with the changing doctrine and practice of the organized labor movement. The traditional view, for instance, that agricultural laborers are not appropriate material for union organization is hardly tenable in light of the organizing activities of the I.W.W. in this field and the existence at this time of many local unions of agricultural workers, some affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and others independent of it. In recent years, likewise, a considerable number of union charters have been granted to clerks and sales-people in offices and stores. Persons engaged in service occupations, including several of the professional services, have also become subject to organization, and unions have been formed among them. Foremen and other supervisory employees, hitherto eligible to union membership in only a few organizations, have since 1933 been more generally solicited and are being admitted into an increasing number of unions. Of all the great categories of employment certain groups in personal and domestic service alone have remained relatively immune to pressure and unsusceptible to organization.

A broad comparison of the number of union members² with the estimated number of organizable employees in the census years 1910, 1920, and 1930 shows that the overwhelming majority of American employees was in these years unorganized. According to the data in Table 27, only 10 per cent were organized in 1910 and 1930, even after some 3,000,000 agricultural laborers had been deducted each year from the total. In 1920, the year of maximum union membership, the percentage of organization was twice that of 1910 or 1930, but 80 per cent of all non-agricultural employees remained unorganized. The increase of 1,000,000 union members from 1910 to 1930 just about kept pace with the increase in the number of employees, and as a result the relative amount of organization was the same in both years. Among the numerous groups that make up the total of more than 30,000,000 non-agricultural employees there are necessarily some whose inclusion is open to question. The most important is the group of domestic servants which aggregated 1,121,785 persons in 1910, 872,471 in 1920, and 1,433,741 in 1930. But even if, by making the most liberal deductions for domestic servants and other debatable categories, the number of non-agricultural employees in 1930 is reduced to 25,000,000, the organized in that year would still constitute only 12 per cent, and the unorganized 88 per cent, of the total.

That the foregoing summary comparisons represent an incomplete and, in a sense, misleading picture of the state of unionism in this country should be clear to anyone familiar with the character of American organized labor. The concentration

² Since most American national unions have local unions in Canada, it is necessary in order to make comparisons with the working population to deduct Canadian membership from the total. Canadian and American membership in 1930 is given in the Appendix, Table IV.

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TABLE 27

PERCENTAGE OF TRADE UNION ORGANIZATION AMONG
EMPLOYEES IN THE UNITED STATES, 1910, 1920, AND 1930

	1910	1920	1930
Trade union membership ¹	2,052,402 ²	4,795,100 ²	3,073,200
Total number of employees	23,809,904	27,359,660	33,217,886
Percentage of employees organized	8.6	17.5	9.3
Total number of non-agri- cultural employees	20,709,232	24,731,391	30,246,719
Percentage of non-agricul- tural employees organ- ized	9.9	19.4	10.2

¹ Represents membership in the United States, obtained by deducting Canadian from total membership. Because of difficulties in classification these figures do not include membership in the actors, draftsmen, musicians, teachers, and postal supervisors unions. The combined membership of these organizations was 49,100 in 1910, 86,100 in 1920, and 116,300 in 1930.

² Leo Wolman, *The Growth of American Trade Unions, 1880-1923*, p. 85.

of union membership in limited groups of industries and occupations has been noted in preceding chapters and is confirmed by comparing the membership of groups of unions with the working population in major divisions of industry. The resulting measures of the extent of organization by industry are given in Table 28.

In each census year coal mining and transportation have, in this classification of industries, been the most highly organized. In all industries, except 'other mining' and street railways, the extent of organization was at its peak in 1920; in most industries organization had by 1930 dropped to practically the level of 1910. On both the steam railroad and street railway systems the degree of unionization in 1930 substantially exceeded that of 1910, but it must be remembered that in these industries the number em-

ployed had in this period of twenty years actually declined, while the total number of non-agricultural employees had increased more than nine and one-half million. In 1930 the populous manufacturing and mechanical industries, employing more than thirteen million persons, were nearly nine-tenths unorganized. Even in 1920 they had been little more than one-fifth organized. The service occupations, covering altogether about fourteen million employees in 1930, were even less unionized, the ratio of organization falling below 5 per cent in each census year. The low state of trade union organization among the twenty-seven million employees attached to the manufacturing and mechanical industries and to service occupations accounts for the low percentage of labor organization in the total wage earning and salaried population of the United States.

Figures for the important and highly unionized construction industry are not separately presented in Table 28 because neither the census data nor the statistics of membership lend themselves to satisfactory classification. The segregation and grouping of specific occupations in this industrial category are subject to so wide a margin of error that it was found necessary to regard the manufacturing, mechanical and construction industries as the constituents of a single major division of industry. In computing the percentage of organization for this group, the membership of the building trades unions has, accordingly, been added to the membership of unions composed of strictly manufacturing employees. Even then the resultant percentages are not free from error, for a fair number of unions, notably the Electrical Workers, Carpenters, and Teamsters, extend their jurisdiction over a wide range of industries, and there is no way, short of arbitrary decision, of distributing their membership among these separate

118 **EBB AND FLOW IN TRADE UNIONISM****TABLE 28****PRINCIPAL DIVISIONS OF INDUSTRY, PERCENTAGE OF
TRADE UNION ORGANIZATION AMONG EMPLOYEES,
1910, 1920, AND 1930 ¹**

DIVISION OF INDUSTRY	1910	1920	1930
Mining, quarrying, crude petroleum and gas production, total	27.8	39.6	22.4
Coal mining	36.8	50.9	33.0
Other mining	14.9	13.9	3.3
Quarrying	7.8	5.8	4.4
Crude petroleum and gas production	...	24.4	1.0
Manufacturing and mechanical industries, including construction, total	11.4	22.2	12.2
Transportation and communication			
Transportation, total	19.5	39.6	22.1
Motor and wagon transportation	4.5	11.7	6.2
Steam railroads	27.6	53.2	38.6
Street railways	23.6	50.0	57.6
Water transportation	33.2	80.9	30.4
Communication, total	9.0	19.9	7.7
Service industries, total	2.0	4.9	3.2
Clerical service	1.7	8.6	5.4
Commercial service	0.8	1.0	0.3
Professional service	3.1	4.6	3.6
Domestic and personal service, recreation and amusement	2.2	4.2	3.0

¹ For the data on which this summary is based see Appendix, Table V.

jurisdictions. The net effect of accepting the limitations of the census data and the shortcomings of the figures of membership is to exaggerate the percentage of unionization in manufacturing and mechanical industries and to minimize it in the rail transportation industry. So far as the construction industry itself is con-

cerned a rough estimate of the extent of organization in 1930 would lie between 30 and 40 per cent.

Except in coal mining, construction and transportation, trade unionism within each industrial division is limited to small segments of the organizable field. Thus in the manufacturing and mechanical division, which extends over a wide range of separate and distinct industries, organized labor is strong in printing, clothing, and shoe manufactures and in several trades not peculiar to any single industry, but is weak in the others. In the service occupations—a large category of employment—where the total extent of organization is low, there is considerable concentration of union membership within restricted groups. In clerical service, union membership exists almost exclusively among post office and railway clerks; there is hardly any organization among the vast number of clerical employees in commercial offices. Organization in the professional services is concentrated in several small unions of actors, draftsmen, and teachers and one large union of musicians, the membership of which is about 90 per cent of the total membership of all professional unions. And in domestic and personal service only the barbers and hotel and restaurant employees had substantial organization before 1930. In that year the beginnings of unionization, particularly in several large cities, appeared among building service employees, such as elevator operators and janitors.

Throughout all but a few industries union members are organized in craft unions whose jurisdictions cut across industrial demarcations. In the industries in which this form of organization prevails, the highly skilled craftsmen are as a rule well organized, the semi-skilled much less so, and the unskilled hardly at all. On the railroads, where unionism is preponderantly craft and there

was in 1930 a ratio of organization of approximately 40 per cent, the semi-skilled and unskilled are less thoroughly organized than the skilled. The same condition obtains in other industries as well. A rounded view of trade union strength in this country must, therefore, take into account the extent to which the employees in leading crafts have been organized. Some light on this aspect of the question is furnished by the data in Table 29.

It is plain from the series in this table that there is a close relation between the extent of organization and skill. The greatest degree of unionization appears to exist in a few crafts in the railroad and printing industries. Union members comprise a very large percentage of the locomotive engineers, locomotive firemen, and conductors on the railroads, and the specialized electrotypers and lithographers in printing. The smaller percentages of organization among the skilled operatives in the building industry reflect the influence of other forces, although there is here also a noticeable correlation between skill and union strength which in a measure explains the difference in the extent of organization between bricklayers and carpenters. In this group of occupations, as well as among machinists, molders, blacksmiths and the like, geographical dispersion acts to reduce the total percentage of unionization, for the simple reason that scattered and isolated workingmen are usually harder to organize than concentrated groups. Many of these occupations actually include craftsmen of all grades of skill and it is probably the more skilled and experienced within each occupational group who are the most highly organized. When it is observed, also, that such occupational groups as 'teamsters' and 'carpenters' include a considerable number of self-employed persons as well as the large class of part-time employees working in the small towns and rural areas of the

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TABLE 29

SELECTED OCCUPATIONS, PERCENTAGE OF TRADE UNION ORGANIZATION AMONG EMPLOYEES, 1910, 1920, and 1930

OCCUPATION	1910 ¹	1920 ¹	1930 ²
Actors and showmen	18.8	39.4	12.9
Bakers and bakery workers	16.1	21.2	10.8
Barbers	15.2	23.3	19.0
Blacksmiths, forgemen and hammermen	6.7	17.6	3.0
Brick and stone masons and tile layers	39.1	50.0	49.4
Carpenters and joiners	20.8	40.5	32.3
Compositors, linotypers and typesetters	34.9	46.4	39.6
Coopers	17.2	22.6	6.2
Electrical workers	6.4	29.9	22.8
Electrotypers and stereotypers	88.4	... ³	97.1
Lithographers	35.6	68.1	60.9
Locomotive engineers and firemen	79.1	98.1	96.4
Longshoremen and stevedores	33.0	81.8	44.6
Machinists, millwrights and toolmakers	11.7	33.9	8.9
Mail carriers	32.2	24.8	75.3
Metal polishers and buffers	32.8	40.0	16.8
Molders, founders and casters	33.8	43.4	19.1
Painters, decorators and paperhangers	17.6	29.1	18.7
Pattern and model makers	38.0	30.3	22.5
Plasterers and cement finishers	32.0	39.2	42.7
Plumbers and gas and steam fitters	20.7	33.5	17.5
Pressmen and plate printers	62.8	... ³	87.1
Railway conductors	87.0	72.0	69.1
Stationary engineers	4.6	12.4	12.5
Stationary firemen	9.6	19.9	6.4
Teachers (school)	... ⁴	1.1	0.5
Teamsters and chauffeurs	8.8	12.3	7.7
Upholsterers	12.3	18.6	20.2
Waiters and cooks	5.8	9.3	4.5

¹ For the source of the figures for 1910 and 1920, see Leo Wolman, *op. cit.*, pp. 156-61. The data for the earlier years have been supplemented and, in a few instances, revised.

² See Appendix, Table VI, for data upon which these percentages are based.

³ In this year the number of union members reported by the union exceeded the number of employees reported by the census.

⁴ No record of a teachers union in 1910 is available.

country, the percentage of union organization for this type of occupation can hardly be expected, even under the most favorable conditions, to rise to the levels reached by locomotive engineers, railway conductors, or stereotypers and electrotypers.

Recent changes in the position of organized labor are, of course, not recorded in the percentages of organization based on the data of the decennial censuses of occupations. Since 1930 fluctuations in union membership and the existence of an abnormal volume of unemployment have radically modified the chart of union organization. By comparing union membership with actual employment in several important divisions of industry, it is fortunately possible to derive indexes of union strength in intercensal years and thereby to allow for the growth of unemployment and to illustrate the striking decline and recovery of union membership since the onset of the depression. A summary of these comparisons since 1923 is given in Table 30.

The record for manufacturing industries shows the gradual decline in union organization in the prosperous years, 1923-29, and the sharp rise between 1929 and 1933. The improvement in the later period, however, was wholly due to the enormous contraction of manufacturing employment. From 1929 to 1933 the number of wage earners in manufactures dropped from 8,811,243 to 6,055,736, or nearly 3,000,000, while union membership in this group of industries increased some 20,000, from 958,500 to 979,800. Comparable data for 1934 are not available; but preliminary estimates would appear to indicate that membership increased more rapidly than employment and that the extent of organization in manufacturing industries had perhaps risen to as much as 20 per cent.

Among the major divisions of manufactures the most notable

TABLE 30

**MANUFACTURING, COAL MINING, AND STEAM RAILROAD
TRANSPORTATION, PERCENTAGE OF TRADE UNION
ORGANIZATION AMONG EMPLOYED WAGE
EARNERS, 1923-1934¹**

YEAR	MANUFACTURING ²	COAL MINING	STEAM RAILROAD TRANSPORTATION ³
1923	12.7	57.1	44.7
1924		58.9	45.6
1925	12.4	55.4	45.2
1926		47.6	43.2
1927	12.1	49.0	43.5
1928		45.3	45.2
1929	10.9	37.4	44.6
1930		31.8	49.0
1931	14.1	48.2	51.2
1932		64.9	56.3
1933	16.2	61.5	51.0
1934		90.6	49.7

¹ For the detailed data from which this summary table is drawn see the Appendix, Tables VII, VIII, IX.

² Includes shop crafts on railroads; see the Appendix, Table IX.

³ Railroad shop craft employees are excluded.

improvement in the position of organized labor took place in 'leather and its manufactures', and in 'clothing, except boots and shoes'. Union membership in both these groups had anticipated by one year the general advance in membership that is so striking a feature of 1934. In consequence, as is shown in Table 31, the percentage of union organization increased in the leather group from 14.3 in 1929 to 26.3 in 1933, and in clothing from 35.5 to 69.1. These two groups together increased their membership from 1929 to 1933 by 150,000. It is noteworthy that the percentage of unionism in the clothing group is probably at its peak for all time and that organized labor is stronger there than in any other manufacturing industry.

TABLE 31

MAJOR DIVISIONS OF MANUFACTURING, PERCENTAGE OF
TRADE UNION ORGANIZATION AMONG EMPLOYED WAGE
EARNERS, 1923-1933¹

DIVISION OF MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY	1923	1925	1927	1929	1931	1933
Chemicals and allied products	0.1	... ²	... ²	... ²	... ²	... ²
Clay, glass and stone products	14.3	12.6	12.9	13.2	17.9	18.8
Clothing, except boots and shoes	54.6	55.8	47.1	35.5	44.2	69.1
Food and kindred products	7.0	7.4	7.3	6.3	7.1	6.3
Forest products	8.9	9.1	10.0	9.9	15.8	12.2
Iron and steel, machinery, trans- portation equipment and rail- road repair shops	10.8	10.2	10.1	9.4	12.8	13.9
Leather and its manufactures	15.7	16.7	15.1	14.3	13.6	26.3
Musical instruments	1.6	1.4	1.7	2.7	4.0	4.9
Nonferrous metals and their products	6.8	4.4	4.4	3.8	5.8	3.2
Paper and printing	26.7	26.8	27.1	25.2	29.6	30.8
Textile mill products	3.1	3.3	3.2	3.3	3.9	1.7
Tobacco manufactures	19.0	18.6	15.2	14.6	13.1	16.7
Miscellaneous	8.6	7.9	8.3	8.6	11.5	12.9

¹ See Appendix, Table VII, for the comparisons on which these percentages are based.

² Less than one-tenth of one per cent.

In coal mining, organization has pursued much the same course as in manufacturing, but the range of fluctuation has been much greater. From 1923 to 1930 unionization suffered a severe decline of almost one-half, but since 1930 the advance in organization has exceeded that in any other industrial group. If it were possible to separate union membership in the anthracite from that in the bituminous division of the coal industry and to compute the percentage of organization in each, the decline of unionism in the bituminous industry alone from 1923 to 1930 and its expansion thereafter would be seen to be even more striking. The

membership of the United Mine Workers is, in relation to the number at this time employed in the industry, the greatest in the history of the union.

More stable labor organization on the railroads is reflected in the narrow range of variation in the degree of unionization over this whole period. The decline in membership has in large measure been due to the contraction in railroad employment and not to loss of control by the unions; membership has declined at about the same rate as employment and the percentage of organization has been maintained through the years of the depression. In the absence of any substantial recovery in railroad employment during 1934, the membership of the railroad unions and, hence, the percentage of railroad workers organized have not changed.

These various estimates of the extent of labor organization fail to present a complete picture of the status of American industrial relations, since organizations of employees in this country are not limited to trade unions. Throughout American industry systems of collective bargaining under employee-representation plans are quite common and in many parts of industry cover more employees than the trade unions. It has already been noted that in the railroad industry forms of organization called company unions or employee-representation plans have shared with the standard railroad unions the function of representing employees in their relations with management. Under the present railway labor law many of these organizations have been converted into independent unions which compete with the standard railroad unions for the right to represent railroad employees in collective bargaining. Since most of these railroad unions are new and not firmly established their number and membership are not known.

The company unions are membership organizations. The employee-representation plans do not require members and merely furnish the structure for collective bargaining. The differences between them are described as follows by one of the leading students of these types of organization.²

“A company union presupposes organization, officers, memberships, insignia, everything that in a sense any regular trade union would have. It is simply a local union confined to membership in one plant or company, and more or less dominated or controlled by the company management. . . . A representation plan in its simplest form has no organization, no ritual, no machinery, no officers, no bylaws, no constitution—except four or five brief items as to how elections and hearings are to be conducted. . . .”

Company unions, consequently, are analogous to trade unions in that they require membership. Representation plans, on the other hand, furnish the employees of a plant, company, or industry with a framework for representation. They are the means through which all employees, whether members of unions or not, may elect representatives to deal for them with their employers. In view of these distinctions it is not possible to compare union membership with the membership of these other forms of organization. But it is possible to estimate with reasonable accuracy the number of employees working under arrangements between unions and employers and those under representation plans of all kinds. Estimates so made will not disclose relative membership and, hence, percentages of organization, but they will afford a fair gauge of the prevalence of different types of industrial relations.

² C. R. Dooley, quoted in *Types of Employer-Employee Dealing*, *Monthly Labor Review*, December 1935 (U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics), p. 1442.

A comprehensive survey of types of industrial relations was undertaken by the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the United States Department of Labor in April 1935.⁴ This inquiry distinguishes three types of dealings—with trade unions, with company unions, and with individual employees. The company union in the Bureau study is understood to mean “an organization formed among workers of a particular company or plant for the consideration of labor conditions” and presumably includes non-membership as well as membership organizations or arrangements. Replies received by the Bureau of Labor Statistics from employers in manufacturing, services, public utilities, mining, retail trade, and wholesale trade covered close to 2,000,000 employees. The findings are summarized in Table 32, which shows the percentage of employees in specified groups of industries working under each type of industrial relations.

If these results are used as a measure of union membership, they clearly overestimate it. This may be due to the shortcomings of the samples available to the Bureau of Labor Statistics. But it is in large measure an indication that many workers are employed subject to the terms of union agreements but are not members of unions. Taken at their face value, the data in Table 32 confirm the conclusions reached earlier in this chapter. The industries covered are hardly more than 25 per cent union; manufacturing is less than 20 per cent. In the services and in retail and wholesale trade, individual bargaining is the dominant type of relationship. *Mining is the most heavily union.*

The high percentage of union organization in public utilities—manufactured gas, electric light and power, and electric railroad

⁴ *Monthly Labor Review*, December 1935, pp. 1441–66.

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TABLE 32

DISTRIBUTION OF WORKERS BY INDUSTRY AND TYPE OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS, APRIL 1935¹

	PERCENTAGE OF WORKERS IN ESTABLISHMENTS DEALING With some or all workers through trade unions					
	Indi- vidually	Total	Esti- mated per- centage cov- ered by trade unions	Esti- mated per- centage not cov- ered by trade unions	Through company unions	Through union and trade union
All industries covered	42.5	30.2	26.1	4.1	19.9	7.4
All manufacturing industries	42.5	24.1	19.5	4.6	24.9	8.5
Durable goods	39.8	16.8	12.2	4.6	34.0	9.4
Iron and steel	29.1	13.6	10.6	3.0	49.3	8.0
Machinery	39.6	10.8	7.0	3.8	39.6	10.0
Transportation equipment	20.7	19.9	16.9	3.0	39.7	19.7
Nonferrous metals	58.2	14.8	11.8	3.0	23.0	4.0
Lumber and allied products	74.9	11.3	8.8	2.5	12.1	1.7
Stone, clay and glass products	22.7	63.5	42.4	21.1	5.9	7.9
Nondurable goods	45.5	30.8	26.1	4.7	16.0	7.7
Textiles	60.7	30.8	28.1	2.7	6.3	2.2
Fabrics (except hats)	68.1	22.7	19.6	3.1	6.7	2.5
Wearing apparel (except millinery)	37.5	55.9	54.6	1.3	5.4	1.2
Leather	36.9	45.4	35.8	9.6	17.7	...
Food	45.3	35.7	28.6	7.1	8.0	11.0
Cigars	74.0	26.0	25.0	1.0	...	...
Paper and printing	37.8	44.8	33.4	11.4	16.8	0.6
Chemicals	25.4	14.0	13.0	1.0	54.9	5.7
Rubber products (except boots and shoes)	12.5	8.8	7.2	1.6	13.1	65.6
Miscellaneous non- durable goods	28.7	71.3	71.3	...	...	...
Miscellaneous manufactures	22.3	9.6	7.7	1.9	59.0	9.1
Service	86.0	11.6	6.4	5.2	2.3	0.1
Public utilities	27.4	50.6	47.7	2.9	15.2	6.8
Mining	9.9	87.2	86.6	0.6	2.4	0.5
Retail trade	73.0	11.4	0.9	10.5	5.8	9.8
Wholesale trade	94.6	5.0	3.5	1.5	0.4	...

¹ Adapted from Table 2 (pp. 1450-1), *Monthly Labor Review*, December 1935; for explanatory notes and discussion, see the article in that issue, pp. 1441-66.

and motor bus industries—is due to the exclusion of the telegraph and telephone industry, almost entirely non-union, from the group and by the excessive weight given to the electric railroad and motor bus industries. Manufactured gas is 12.7 per cent and electric light and power 14 per cent union. In the telegraph and telephone industry 78 per cent of the employees were under company union arrangements, 16 per cent were under both trade union and company union systems of industrial relations, 5 per cent dealt individually with management.

Relationships prevailing in the railroad industry were surveyed in the following manner (p. 1464):

“A separate study of employer-employee relations on Class I railroads was carried out with the cooperation of the National Mediation Board. The Board made available for this purpose its files of agreements maintained in compliance with the provision in the Railway Labor Act of 1934 that each railroad engaged in interstate transportation must file with the Board copies of each agreement with every group of employees with whom it deals collectively. The file thus provided an almost complete picture of employer-employee relations on 149 Class I railroads as of July 1, 1935. The number of workers covered by the various agreements was estimated by the Bureau from the itemized monthly compensation reports made by all Class I railroads to the Interstate Commerce Commission. April 1935 employment figures were used to make the results comparable with other parts of the study.”

The results of the analysis of these railroad agreements are shown in Table 33.

Railroad employees are thus covered by three types of arrangement. They work under agreements with unions or with system associations, or they bargain as individuals with the railroad management and hence do not come under any collective contract. System associations are “non-trade-union organizations functioning on the railroads within the requirements set by the Railway

TABLE 33

DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYEES ON CLASS I RAILROADS, BY CRAFT AND TYPE OF
INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS, APRIL 1935 ¹

CRAFT OR CLASS	TOTAL NUMBER OF WORKERS ²	ESTIMATED NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF WORKERS COVERED BY AGREEMENTS WITH				ESTIMATED NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF WORKERS NOT COVERED BY AGREEMENTS ³	
		Trade union		System association		Number	Percentage of total
		Number	Percentage of total	Number	Percentage of total		
All crafts or classes	909,249	646,169	71.1	218,885	24.1	44,195	4.8
Engine and train service	158,716	156,514	98.6	1,286	.8	916	.6
Engineers	39,917	39,083	97.9	620	1.6	214	.5
Firemen	45,773	45,097	98.5	344	.8	332	.7
Road conductors	22,468	22,231	98.9	84	.4	153	.7
Brakemen, flagmen, and baggagemen	50,558	50,103	99.1	238	.5	217	.4
Yard service employees	54,730	51,826	94.7	665	1.2	2,239	4.1
Clerical and station employees	180,817	125,796	69.6	49,811	27.5	5,210	2.9
Telegraphers	43,892	37,447	85.3	5,687	13.0	758	1.7
Signalmen	11,620	11,152	96.0	198	1.7	270	2.3
Train dispatchers	3,321	1,966	59.2	378	11.4	977	29.4
Maintenance of way	192,482	143,421	74.5	42,153	21.9	6,908	3.6
Shop crafts	244,999	115,015	47.0	114,240	46.6	15,744	6.4
Machinists	37,728	18,186	48.2	19,168	50.8	374	1.0
Boilermakers	10,321	5,591	54.2	4,568	44.2	162	1.6
Blacksmiths	4,637	2,196	47.3	2,363	51.0	78	1.7
Sheet metal workers	7,843	4,321	55.1	3,445	43.9*	77	1.0
Electrical workers ³	10,887	4,735	43.5	5,988	55.0	164	1.5
Carmen	62,964	33,812	53.7	28,355	45.0	797	1.3
Firemen and oilers	47,420	17,058	36.0	17,030	35.9	13,332	28.1
Helpers ⁴	63,199	29,116	46.1	33,323	52.7	760	1.2
Dining car service	9,481	2,736	28.9	2,969	31.3	3,776	39.8
Miscellaneous ⁵	9,191	296	3.2	1,498	16.3	7,397	80.5

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Labor Act" (p. 1465) and as such are similar to company unions and employee-representation plans in other industries. In terms of this classification the majority of railroad employees are covered by union agreements. Thus, of 909,249 employees, 646,169, or 71.1 per cent, were working under trade union agreements, 218,885, or 24.1 per cent, under agreements with system associations, and 44,195, or 4.8 per cent, dealt with their employers as individuals. Of the various classes of railroad employees, almost all the train service employees were under trade union agreements; employees in railroad shops were about equally distributed under agreements with trade unions and with system associations. These figures do not, of course, mean that 71.1 per cent of railroad employees were in April 1935 members of trade unions. For in this, as in other industries, the number covered by union agree-

Footnotes to Table 33:

¹ Adapted from table appearing in the *Monthly Labor Review*, December 1935, p. 1466.

² The reporting number under the new Interstate Commerce Commission classification were allocated among the various crafts or classes in accordance with the general pattern set by the trade union agreements. As a result of variations in the classifications covered in some agreements, the total for each craft or class may not tally exactly with the I.C.C. total. Railroad labor agreements, particularly those covering clerks, provide for many exceptions. In a few cases they cover only part of a group of workers who are included in a single figure in the employment report. It was not, therefore, possible to determine the exact coverage of each agreement. The figures are, however, considered to approximate the general situation. They probably overstate somewhat the extent of collective dealing as opposed to individual dealing.

³ Including linemen and groundmen. In 2 cases shop workers were covered by a system association, linemen and groundmen by a trade union; in 1 case the reverse situation existed. Excluding linemen and groundmen, the percentages of electrical workers covered by the different methods of dealing were: 46.7 per cent trade union, 51.9 per cent system association, and 1.4 per cent individual.

⁴ There are no separate agreements for helpers, but they follow the agreements of the crafts concerned. The number of helpers was distributed in proportion to the method of dealing with other shop crafts (except firemen and oilers) on the road. The figure is therefore only an approximation.

⁵ Includes miscellaneous trade workers (23), gang foremen and gang leaders (skilled labor) (53), molders (62), train attendants (101), and laundry workers (104).

ments may substantially exceed the number belonging to trade unions.

Another study ⁵ of the distribution of types of industrial relations, covering only manufacturing and mining, was made by the National Industrial Conference Board as of November 1933. This second survey covered roughly 1,000,000 more employees than that undertaken by the Bureau of Labor Statistics in 1935 and reaches conclusions much less favorable to trade unions. For example, only 7.1 per cent of employees in manufacturing industries were found to be working under union arrangements. For coal mining the two estimates are not far apart (Table 34).

Owing to wide differences in the methods of conducting these studies the estimates should not be compared too closely, but careful examination of both makes it apparent that the most accurate estimates of the extent of union organization are those based on comparisons of union membership with the employed population.

From a similar study made by the Conference Board in May 1934 it is clear that the trade union and employee-representation types of industrial relations had both spread between the end of 1933 and the middle of 1934. The percentage of wage earners dealing individually with their employers declined from 46.1 to 40.0; the percentage dealing through employee-representation increased from 44.9 to 49.6; and the percentage dealing through trade unions rose from 9.0 to 10.4.⁶

Although plans of employee-representation have long existed in American industry, many more arrangements for effecting them were made after the passage of the National Industrial Recovery

⁵ *Individual and Collective Bargaining Under the N.I.R.A.* (1933).

⁶ *Individual and Collective Bargaining in May 1934* (1934), p. 10.

TABLE 34

DISTRIBUTION OF WAGE EARNERS UNDER CERTAIN FORMS OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS, NOVEMBER 1933 ¹

INDUSTRY	PERCENTAGE OF WAGE EARNERS UNDER RELATIONS OF		
	Individual bargaining	Employee-representation	Union
Manufacturing, total	47.4	45.5	7.1
Chemicals	61.8	37.3	0.9
Clothing	34.8	15.1	50.1
Food products	61.1	33.4	5.4
Leather and its products	62.7	30.6	6.7
Metal working	33.3	63.8	2.8
Paper and its products	55.4	39.0	5.6
Printing and publishing	52.4	25.9	21.7
Rubber products	17.8	79.6	2.6
Stone, clay and glass products	65.3	15.6	19.1
Textiles	67.2	14.6	18.2
Wood and its products	72.3	22.9	4.9
Miscellaneous manufacturing	73.1	21.1	5.7
Extraction and refining, total	30.1	41.0	28.8
Coal mining	3.2	7.0	89.8
Metal mining	26.6	64.0	9.4
Petroleum	43.3	55.5	1.2
Grand total	45.7	45.0	9.3

¹ National Industrial Conference Board, *Individual and Collective Bargaining under the N.I.R.A.*, p. 22.

Act. It has been estimated that of the employees dealing through plans of employee-representation in November 1933 only 31.4 per cent had been employed under similar arrangements before the N.I.R.A. Of the employees working under union agreements in 1933, only 44.4 per cent had so worked before the N.I.R.A.[†]

[†] *Individual and Collective Bargaining under the N.I.R.A.*, p. 24.

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Since the passage of the Recovery Act the number of employees covered by various arrangements for collective bargaining has increased notably. Union membership has also increased. Plans of representation, largely suggested by the employers, have competed with the unions for control of the instruments of collective bargaining and in some industries have grown faster than the unions. The area of individual bargaining has meanwhile steadily shrunk.

CHAPTER IX

Affiliated and Independent Unions

IN THE conduct of their internal affairs and in their relations with one another, unions are continually faced with political problems typical of popular democratic movements. Initiating and guiding the public opinion of their members and adjusting inevitable internal conflicts of interest are among the normal activities of all labor organizations. To achieve harmonious relations among the numerous unions that comprise an organized labor movement political policies must be formulated and arrangements made. In the pursuit of such activities frequent and sharp differences of opinion arising from divergent views as to policy, structure and tactics, and from the clash of personalities, are to be expected.

Differences of this kind have, in the history of organized labor in the United States, vitally affected the composition of the labor movement and prevailing relations among its constituent elements. The American Federation of Labor itself originated in a conflict with a rival organization—the Knights of Labor, the dominant factor in the labor movement of this country during the decade 1880–90. And since the establishment of the Federation some ten years before the turn of the century, changing conceptions of the functions of unions and developments in the organization of industry have given rise to successive conflicts which

have resulted in either threatened or actual revisions in the structure of the organized labor movement.

American labor unions consist of two classes of organization—those affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and those independent of it. Of the 141 national unions in existence in the United States in 1934, 109 were affiliated with the Federation. Since 1890, both the number and relationship of these two classes of organization have from time to time radically changed in response to various internal and external factors. The most striking change has been the increase in the membership of affiliated unions. In 1897 the independent unions had nearly 40 per cent of the total membership of the movement. But the Federation has gradually absorbed many of the independent unions and in 1934 the membership of the latter had declined to only 16 per cent of the total. Continual efforts of the Federation to achieve greater unity in the movement have brought many large organizations within the fold. Thus, to mention only several of the more important unions, the Stone Cutters became affiliated in 1907, the Railway Carmen in 1910, the Western Federation of Miners in 1911, the Bricklayers at the end of 1916, the Letter Carriers in 1917, and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers in 1933. The railroad brotherhoods remain the most important group of independent unions. In 1934, when the aggregate membership of all independent unions was 578,600, the smallest since 1911, roughly one-half of the total was that of the railroad unions. The number of members in affiliated and independent unions, 1897-1934, is shown in Table 35 and Chart 5.

Unions independent of the American Federation of Labor are of two types—the traditionally separatist railroad unions which, though independent, are on friendly terms with Federation

unions, and organizations that challenge the jurisdiction of affiliated unions and become therefore involved in conflict with them and with the Federation. These conflicts have in the main arisen out of factionalism within unions. But upon different occasions outside groups, dissatisfied with the management and accomplishments of particular union administrations, have attempted to set up rival independent unions. In troubled times when all unions find it difficult to preserve their power and maintain labor standards in industry, the weakest become vulnerable to attack, and independent unions may be organized either as a result of a split in an established union or by the creation of a new organization. Contrariwise, during periods of union expansion, like the War era or the period of the NRA, the rush to unionize unorganized industries may produce several new unions in the same field which compete for jurisdiction and membership.

Among contemporary independent unions the several unions in the shoe industry were organized in protest against the alleged ineffectiveness of the oldest union of shoe workers, the Boot and Shoe Workers Union, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. The combined membership of the independent unions is at present larger than that of the Boot and Shoe Workers. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers, which was started in 1914, was composed of organized clothing workers who for similar reasons seceded from the United Garment Workers, an A. F. of L. affiliate, and formed an independent union. The jurisdictional dispute between this union and its parent organization lasted nearly twenty years and was settled only in 1933 by the adjustment of conflicting jurisdictional claims and the admission of the Amalgamated into the Federation.

In the mining industry there was no independent unionism after

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TABLE 35

UNIONS AFFILIATED WITH THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND
INDEPENDENT UNIONS, AVERAGE ANNUAL MEMBERSHIP, 1897-1934 ¹

YEAR	AFFILIATED UNIONS		INDEPENDENT UNIONS ²	
	Membership	Percentage of total	Membership	Percentage of total
1897	272,100	60.9	174,900	39.1
1898	311,500	62.2	189,200	37.8
1899	409,800	67.1	201,200	32.9
1900	625,200	72.0	243,300	28.0
1901	854,300	76.0	270,400	24.0
1902	1,064,800	77.4	311,100	22.6
1903	1,555,800	81.3	358,100	18.7
1904	1,681,800	81.1	390,900	18.9
1905	1,597,900	79.0	424,400	21.0
1906	1,469,100	77.0	438,200	23.0
1907	1,542,300	74.1	538,100	25.9
1908	1,625,300	76.3	505,300	23.7
1909	1,523,900	76.0	481,700	24.0
1910	1,586,600	74.1	553,900	25.9
1911	1,787,200	72.9	556,200	23.7
1912	1,817,600	74.1	634,800	25.9
1913	2,050,900	75.5	665,400	24.5
1914	2,061,100	76.7	626,000	23.3
1915	1,968,300	76.2	614,300	23.8
1916	2,123,700	76.6	649,000	23.4
1917	2,456,900	80.3	604,500	19.7
1918	2,825,200	81.5	642,100	18.5
1919	3,338,900	80.9	786,300	19.1
1920	4,093,000	81.1	954,800	18.9
1921	3,966,600	83.0	814,700	17.0
1922	3,273,400	81.3	754,000	18.7
1923	2,918,900	80.6	703,100	19.4
1924	2,853,000	80.7	683,100	19.3
1925	2,830,800	80.4	688,600	19.6
1926	2,714,800	77.5	787,600	22.5

¹ The membership of affiliated and independent unions by groups is given in the Appendix, Table X.

² Does not include the membership of unions affiliated with the Trade Union Unity League.

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TABLE 35—*Continued*

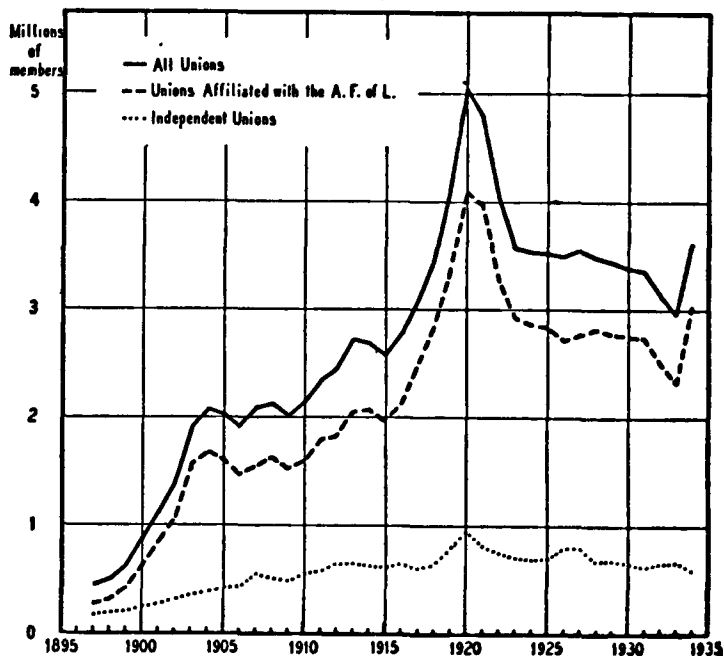
UNIONS AFFILIATED WITH THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND
INDEPENDENT UNIONS, AVERAGE ANNUAL MEMBERSHIP, 1897-1934¹

YEAR	AFFILIATED UNIONS		INDEPENDENT UNIONS ²	
	Membership	Percentage of total	Membership	Percentage of total
1927	2,759,200	77.8	787,300	22.2
1928	2,808,600	80.7	671,200	19.3
1929	2,769,700	80.5	672,900	19.5
1930	2,745,300	80.9	647,500	19.1
1931	2,743,000	81.7	615,100	18.3
1932	2,497,000	79.4	647,300	20.6
1933	2,317,500	78.0	655,500	22.0
1934	3,030,000	84.0	578,600	16.0

the absorption of the Western Federation of Miners by the American Federation of Labor in 1911 until the post-War decline of the United Mine Workers. The weakness of this union in the soft coal industry after 1927 resulted in extensive organizing activities by a communist union of coal miners and also in the establishment of an independent union—the Progressive Miners of America—in the Illinois coal fields. This union, claiming 35,000 members, still exists. In the anthracite coal industry continued business depression and the shut-down of many mines after 1929 led to the organization of an independent union called the United Anthracite Workers which was dissolved in October 1935. The members of this union were almost exclusively unemployed anthracite miners.

The anticipated spread of unionism in the totally unorganized automobile industry, following the passage of the National Industrial Recovery Act, gave birth to several new labor organizations in 1933 and 1934. The more important of these were the Mechanics Educational Society, the Associated Automobile Workers, and the Automobile Industrial Workers Association, all

CHART 5
 AFFILIATED AND INDEPENDENT UNIONS,
 MEMBERSHIP, 1897-1934



of which challenged the jurisdiction of the newly organized United Automobile Workers National Union, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. Somewhat the same conditions explain the rise of several independent local unions of public utility employees now competing for membership with the Electrical Workers Union and other affiliated organizations. The independent union of shipbuilding workers—the Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers of America—owes its origin to the alleged failure of the national craft unions to organize the employees of this industry. The National Federation of Federal Employees withdrew in 1932 from the American Federation of Labor because

of a dispute over policy. Shortly thereafter a new union, the American Federation of Government Employees, was chartered by the American Federation of Labor and the two organizations now compete for members among government employees.

A novel combination of circumstances accounts for the recent rise in the number of independent railway unions. Organized labor has long been more firmly established on the railroads than in most other American industries. While the train-service employees have been the most thoroughly organized, an effective filip was given to organization among the other classes of employees by the labor policies of the government during the period of war control. The relinquishment of governmental control not only removed valuable support but soon encouraged some railroad companies to replace the standard railroad unions with company unions and various plans of employee-representation. An Act of Congress, amending the Railway Labor Act of May 20, 1926, was approved on June 21, 1934.¹ The provisions of this Act forbidding the railroad companies "to use the funds of the carrier in maintaining or assisting or contributing to any labor organization . . ." (Sec. 2, par. 4) radically transformed the status of company unions and similar associations, and initiated a movement to convert them into independent unions competing for membership with the established railroad labor organizations.

Neither the number nor the strength of these new railroad unions is known since many of them are in process of formation. But certifications of representation (see Ch. VI) issued currently by the National Mediation Board disclose the names of numerous new organizations of railway employees, organized presumably to satisfy the requirements of the law. The most important of these

¹ Public No. 257, 69th Cong., H.R. 9463, and Public No. 442, 73d Cong., H.R. 9861.

new national unions appears to be the Brotherhood of Railroad Shopcrafts of America. But there are other organizations, such as the Pullman Porters and Maids Protective Association, the National Association of Brakeman-Porters, and the Protective Order of Railroad Trainmen, which seem from their designations to be national in character.² In addition, a substantial number of local organizations limited to particular railroad systems and localities—such as the Clerical and Station Forces Association of the Chicago Union Station Company,³ the Maintenance of Way Foremen's Association, Union Pacific System,⁴ the Kansas City Terminal Mechanical and Car Department Employees Association,⁵ and the Nashville, Chattanooga and St. Louis Railway Clerks Association⁶—are being formed throughout the rail transportation industry.

Types of independent labor organization that differ in essential characteristics from those hitherto described have from time to time appeared in the American labor movement. These organizations have not restricted their efforts to organizing single industries and trades, but have undertaken to establish their jurisdiction over all industry and have challenged the supremacy of all existing unions. In their policy and philosophy they have pursued what are generally regarded as more radical objectives by espousing independent political action in the form of a labor party, by urging greater militancy in the activities of organized labor, by adopting the industrial form of organization and, perhaps most important of all, by advocating drastic change in the economic organization of American society. In the last forty years

² National Mediation Board, Cases Nos. R-130, R-129, and R-64.

³ *Ibid.*, Case No. R-106.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Cases Nos. R-88, R-89, R-110, R-126, and R-127.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Case No. R-144.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Case No. R-62.

the more important of these independent labor movements have been the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance founded by Daniel DeLeon in 1895, the Industrial Workers of the World organized in 1905 and a second organization by the same name founded in 1911, and, since the Russian Bolshevik Revolution, the successive labor movements sponsored by the American communist party.

All these independent movements have been short lived and small in membership, although their influence has often been considerable. The Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance failed from the outset to make substantial inroads among the trade unions and was little more than the personal organ of its founder. The two organizations of the I.W.W. had at their peak in 1912 a combined membership of hardly 30,000. The communist unions have, likewise, been small and impermanent. The Trade Union Unity League, organized in 1929, was composed of unions outside the American Federation of Labor and mainly under communist leadership; but among their members were working men of all shades of political and economic opinion.

Since 1920 the communist party has attempted either to set up independent unions wherever existing unions were relatively weak and the soil of organization appeared fertile or to work within the Federation unions with a view to shaping their policies and winning their control. On September 1, 1933, according to the data included in Table 36, the unions of the Trade Union Unity League claimed 74,200 members in a variety of industries. The largest and stablest was the Fur Workers Union, a section of the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union. In 1934 the party abandoned the policy of organizing independent unions and directed existing unions to dissolve and their members to join the A. F. of L. or other unions which had been growing during the

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TABLE 36
UNIONS AFFILIATED WITH THE TRADE UNION UNITY LEAGUE,
MEMBERSHIP, 1929-1935 ¹

	1929	1930	1931	SEPTEMBER 1933 ²	MARCH 1935 ³
National Miners Union ⁴	7,100	4,000	1,850	5,000	.....¹¹
National Textile Workers Union ⁵	4,000	1,400	1,850	5,000	.....¹¹
Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union ⁶	7,000	5,000	7,500	20,000	20,000 ¹²
Marine Workers Industrial Union	5,000	.....¹⁰	2,500	.....¹¹
Auto Workers Union	100	175	1,500	.....¹¹
Shoe and Leather Workers Industrial Union	2,500	450	7,000	.....¹¹
Food Workers Industrial Union	800	1,900	5,000	12,000 ¹²
National Building Trades Committee, Building Maintenance Union ⁷	1,000	.....¹⁰	2,500	.....¹¹
National Lumber Workers Union	600	.....¹⁰	500	.....¹¹
Cannery and Agricultural Workers Industrial Union	800	2,500	3,500
Metal Workers Industrial Union	600	600	8,000	10,000
Railroad Brotherhoods Unity Com- mittee ⁸	2,000	300	.....¹⁰	1,500
Furniture Workers Industrial Union	4,000	5,000
Office Workers Union	1,000	2,500
Packinghouse Workers Industrial Union	2,500	.....¹¹
Tobacco Workers Industrial Union (New York)	1,200	1,000
Laundry Workers Industrial Union (New York)	500	.....¹¹
Fishermen and Cannery Workers Industrial Union	500	1,000
Miscellaneous ⁹	5,000	5,000
Total	18,100	23,000	15,425	74,200	61,500

¹ The data in this table were compiled by Robert W. Dunn of the Labor Research Association under date of March 28, 1935; they are, according to Mr. Dunn, incomplete because estimates of membership were for some years not available.

² As of September 1, 1933. The League estimates that its membership grew to 94,000 as a result of the strikes conducted during September 1933.

³ The Trade Union Unity League went out of existence in March 1935. The March 1935 column therefore covers not Trade Union Unity League unions but independent unions that had been previously affiliated with the League.

⁴ The National Miners Union was formed in September 1928 as a result of the secession movement from the United Mine Workers of America following the strike of 1927-28.

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period of the NRA. For this reason the membership of unions affiliated with the Trade Union Unity League declined in 1935. Thus communist activity in trade unions has for the present at any rate changed its form.

In the last few years the American labor movement and particularly the American Federation of Labor appeared to be achieving greater unity in their internal affairs. The membership of independent unions was reduced more than 100,000 in 1933 and a long and bitter dispute was settled by the affiliation of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers with the A. F. of L. The change in communist policy further reduced the number of independent organizations and contributed to internal harmony. The largest block of unaffiliated unions, composed of the railroad brotherhoods, continued its cordial relations with the many Federation unions in the railroad industry. The struggle between two groups of building employees unions for control of the Building Trades

Footnotes to Table 36 continued:

⁵ The National Textile Workers Union was formed in 1928.

⁶ The Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union was formed in January 1929. The Fur Workers Union was a section of the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union.

⁷ Does not include opposition groups within the A. F. of L.

⁸ Formerly Railroad Workers Industrial League. The present group is not working for a separate union, but for unity of existing railroad unions and for rank and file control.

⁹ Includes Jewelry Workers, Rubber Workers, Barbers, Paper Box Makers, and other small industrial unions and leagues.

¹⁰ Membership data not available.

¹¹ In conformity with the new policy, the members of these unions have joined existing A. F. of L. or unaffiliated unions in their fields.

¹² This number was considerably reduced later in 1935 when the fur workers merged with the International Fur Workers, the A. F. of L. union. At its peak, this group had 35,000 members. The number was reduced to 20,000 when 15,000 joined the International Ladies Garment Workers and other Federation unions. With the absorption of the fur workers into the Federation union, the membership of this group of needle trades unions has declined to probably less than 10,000.

¹³ The Hotel and Restaurant Section of the Amalgamated Food Workers, an unaffiliated union founded in 1921, merged with the Food Workers Industrial Union in February 1935.

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Department of the American Federation of Labor was brought to a peaceful settlement. But at the convention of the Federation in October 1935, the conflict over union structure broke out anew and quickly engendered such bitterness among both the advocates of industrial and craft unionism as to create the most serious threat of disruption that the American labor movement has faced since 1885.

CHAPTER X

The Next Years

IN THE two years following June 16, 1933, when the National Industrial Recovery Act was signed and the Recovery Administration set up, labor unions gained 900,000 members. The increase was much greater in the first than in the second year. During 1933-34, 635,000 members were added. During 1934-35,¹ for

¹ This increase is considerably less than the increase of 437,300 dues-paying members from 1934 to 1935 as reported by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor (*Report to 55th Annual Convention, October 1935, p. 7*). The difference is to be explained by the lag between the increase in the membership upon which dues are paid to the A. F. of L. by certain unions and the increase in the actual membership of these unions, by virtue of which most of the increase in affiliated membership from 1934 to 1935, reported by the Federation, is given in the tables of this study as occurring between 1933 and 1934. For example, the United Mine Workers paid dues to the A. F. of L. on the basis of a constant membership between 1933 and 1934 whereas the actual membership given in this study (see Appendix, Table I) increased nearly 200,000. In 1935 the United Mine Workers paid dues to the A. F. of L. on the basis of an increase in membership of 100,000 whereas the actual membership increased only 16,400. Lags of this kind account for the difference of only 15,000 between the membership of affiliated unions as reported by the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. for the year 1935 and the actual membership for 1934 as reported in this study. A tabulation comparing the reported and the actual total membership of affiliated unions for the years 1932-35 is presented below. The actual membership of affiliated and independent unions in 1934 and 1935, by groups, is given in the Appendix, Table XI.

ACTUAL AND REPORTED MEMBERSHIP OF AFFILIATED UNIONS

YEAR	ACTUAL	CHANGE FROM PRECEDING YEAR	REPORTED	CHANGE FROM PRECEDING YEAR
1932	2,497,000	.....	2,532,300	.....
1933	2,317,500	-179,500	2,126,800	-405,500
1934	3,030,000	+712,500	2,608,000	+481,200
1935	3,317,100	+287,100	3,045,300	+437,300

which preliminary figures are available, unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor gained only 287,000, independent unions lost 7,000, making a net gain for all unions of 280,000 members.

Whether this decided slackening in the rate of increase is only a pause in the advance or foreshadows an early termination of the present upward trend depends mainly on the ability of the labor movement to establish itself in the traditionally unorganized industries. Considerable as the gain of nearly 1,000,000 members in two years is, it is restricted largely to industries, such as coal and clothing in which unionism has for a long period of time been accepted in substantial parts of the industry by both employers and working men. Meanwhile the non-union manufacturing industries of steel, automobiles, rubber and textiles, the public utilities other than railroads, the distributive trades and the services remain, with relatively minor exceptions, almost entirely unorganized. So far as these industries are concerned some observers believe that New Deal policies have reversed traditional trends and laid the foundation for successful labor organization. Though much in recent events would support the view that governmental policy may play a determining role in industrial relations, the history of organized labor in the United States suggests that the fortunes of the labor movement during the next years will continue to reflect, in addition to developments in governmental labor and economic policy, the attitude of employers, the state of mind of employees, the condition of business, and the internal relations of the labor movement. Any one of these elements of the situation may on occasion prove to be the most im-

portant, but reasonable expectations as to the future of trade unionism must rest on an appraisal of all.

1. Labor Policy of the Government

The recent labor policy of the Federal government has already passed through several phases. In the first phase, lasting for the duration of the NRA, trade unionism received a powerful impetus from the application of Section 7 (a) of the Recovery Act and the participation by many union officials in the Recovery Administration.

The Act and the machinery of administration were suspended soon after the decision of the United States Supreme Court on May 27, 1935. By the end of the year most of the skeleton administration, retained in anticipation of possible new legislation and occupied with assessing the value and meaning of the old, had gone. Efforts to establish voluntary codes of fair competition, among other purposes for the regulation of working conditions, proved unsuccessful. While organized labor and some officials in the administration appeared eager to revive the NRA, there was little evidence that immediate steps were contemplated. The distaste for monopolistic practices which experience with the NRA aroused in Congress and the growing opposition of business to the operations of the Recovery Act made the enactment of similar legislation in the near future seem improbable.

Organized labor, however, continued its pressure for new legislation. Much as the unions had criticized the shortcomings of the NRA, they strongly approved the regulation of both industrial practices and labor relations contemplated by the Recovery Act. Particularly in industries in which unions believed they had suffered from the effects of unregulated competition and the di-

version of business and plant from organized to unorganized localities were they insistent on the restoration of governmental control. They believed that organized labor was making its greatest gains in such industries as coal and railroads where governmental intervention has been most far-reaching and where regulatory measures have gone far beyond the mere guarantee of the right to organize and to bargain collectively.

Under the influence of these examples of the apparent benefits of state control, the labor movement has had a radical change of heart. It has cast aside traditional opposition to legislation in its desire to win the support of the government. At first averse to fixing minimum wages in the NRA codes of fair competition, organized labor in the later stages of the Recovery Administration fought unremittingly to incorporate complete wage scales in them. It has gone far since June 1933 in its views as to the proper limits of state action. And it has been exerting powerful pressure on the executive and legislative branches of the government not only to strengthen the legal position of trade unions, but also to provide those measures of control over industry which, in its judgment, will afford it effective protection against the harmful consequences of competitive business practice.

The first effects of these activities of the labor movement were the enactment of one law for the regulation of the bituminous coal industry and another for the control of industrial relations throughout American industry. The Bituminous Coal Conservation (Guffey-Snyder) Act,² approved by the President on August 30, 1935, set up a bituminous coal code, provided for the fixing of minimum and maximum prices, authorized the establishment

² Public No. 402, 74th Congress, H.R. 9100.

of marketing agencies, and imposed control over labor relations considerably more thorough-going and drastic than the provisions of Section 7(a) of the National Industrial Recovery Act. The following excerpts from the statement of policy of the Coal Conservation Act describe its general purposes:

"It is . . . recognized . . . that all production of bituminous coal and distribution by the producers thereof bear upon and directly affect its interstate commerce and render regulation of all such production and distribution imperative . . . ; that the excessive facilities for the production of bituminous coal and the overexpansion of the industry have led to practices and methods of production, distribution and marketing . . . that waste such coal resources of the Nation, disorganize the interstate commerce in such coal and portend the destruction of the industry itself . . . that control of such production and regulation of the prices realized by the producers thereof are necessary to promote its interstate commerce . . . and protect the national public interest thereof; . . . and that the right of mine workers to organize and collectively bargain for wages, hours of labor, and conditions of employment, should be guaranteed in order to prevent constant wage cutting and the establishment of disparate labor costs detrimental to fair competition in the interstate marketing of bituminous coal, and in order to avoid those obstructions to its interstate commerce that recur in the industrial disputes over labor relations at the mines."

The specific provisions of this Act, following the principles enunciated in its statement of policy, were aimed at practices that many unions have long held responsible for their weakness and instability. Price-fixing was designed to protect the prevailing national structure of wage rates and thus to limit, if not to prevent, the movement of business from high to low wage areas under the stress of unfavorable competitive conditions. Organized marketing, it was hoped, would contribute to the same end. Measures essentially directed at restricting the output of an industry were designed to reduce 'excessive facilities' of production

and to remove or temper the incentives to price- and wage-cutting. The terms of the Act dealing with labor relations (Part III) asserted the right of employees to "peaceable assemblage for the discussion of the principles of collective bargaining", to "select their own checkweighmen to inspect the weighing or measuring of coal", and to refuse "as a condition of employment to live in company homes or to trade at the store of an employer". The Bituminous Coal Labor Board, created by the Act, was empowered "to determine whether or not an organization of employees has been promoted or is controlled or dominated by an employer in its organization, management, policy, or election of representatives; and for the purpose of determining who are the freely chosen representatives of the employees the Board may order and under its supervision may conduct an election of employees for that purpose."

The most comprehensive substitute for the labor clauses of the National Industrial Recovery Act is the National Labor Relations Act, approved by the President, July 5, 1935. This law does not undertake to regulate wages, hours and working conditions. It is a purely labor relations measure. As such it goes far beyond Section 7(a) of the NRA, whose place it takes in the labor law of the country. Like Section 7(a) its purpose is to further collective bargaining through independent organizations of employees and to discourage employers from interfering with the exercise by employees of their right to organize, to bargain through their freely chosen representatives, and to join or refrain from joining any labor organization. Drafted after the government had had some experience with the difficulties of applying Section 7(a), the National Labor Relations Act differs from its predecessor in enlarging and strengthening the provisions of the law and in the

wide powers of enforcement it bestows on the National Labor Relations Board. In its course through Congress the bill aroused the almost unanimous opposition of employers. Unsuccessful efforts were made to amend the bill by defining and prohibiting unfair practices of trade unions. Its adoption left employers resentful and recalcitrant.

In its first eight months of operation ending May 30, 1936, the National Labor Relations Board and its twenty-one regional offices received charges of unfair labor practices, or petitions for elections to determine employee representation, in 982 cases, involving 204,107 workers.³ Complaints presented to the Board have continued to multiply with great rapidity and the Board appealed to Congress for an additional appropriation required by the expansion of its activities. The larger employers have challenged the authority of the Board and have refused to submit to its decisions. The Board has consequently become involved in extensive litigation in all parts of the country. In several instances the lower Federal courts have issued injunctions restraining the Board from proceeding with its inquiries and findings. In the majority of cases they have refused to issue injunctions, pending decisions of the higher courts. The constitutionality of the Act and the powers of the Board will in all probability be determined by the Supreme Court within the year. Meanwhile the general defiance of the law has seriously impaired the effectiveness of the Labor Relations Board. In the circumstances its contribution to the growth of unionism has not been considerable.

The Bituminous Coal Act contained provisions which, if enforced, would have inevitably resulted in strengthening the posi-

³ *Cases Handled by N.L.R.B. for May and Cumulative to Date* (mimeographed release), June 19, 1936.

tion of the United Mine Workers. The following provisions of the Bituminous Coal Conservation Act (Part III, sec. g), while aimed at standardizing wages and hours within competitive areas, would have had the additional effect of extending union membership throughout the areas to which they applied.

“Whenever the maximum daily and weekly hours of labor are agreed upon in any contract or contracts negotiated between the producers of more than two-thirds of the annual national tonnage production for the preceding calendar year and the representatives of more than one-half the mine workers employed, such maximum hours of labor shall be accepted by all the code members. The wage agreement or agreements negotiated by collective bargaining in any district or group of two or more districts, between representatives of producers of more than two-thirds of the annual tonnage production of such district or each of such districts in a contracting group during the preceding calendar year, and representatives of the majority of the mine workers therein, shall be filed with the Labor Board and shall be accepted as the minimum wages for the various classifications of labor by the code members operating in such district or group of districts.”

In the National Labor Relations Act, the so-called ‘majority rule’ clause (Sec. 9a) and the authority vested in the National Labor Relations Board to fix the unit of employee-representation (Sec. 9b) may in practice result in requiring members of minority groups to join organizations of the majority:

“Representatives designated or selected for the purposes of collective bargaining by the majority of the employees in a unit appropriate for such purposes shall be the exclusive representatives of all the employees in such unit for the purposes of collective bargaining in respect to rates of pay, wages, hours of employment, or other conditions of employment: *Provided*, That any individual employee or a group of employees shall have the right to present grievances to their employer.

The Board shall decide in each case whether, in order to insure to employees the full benefit of their right to self-organization and to collective bargaining, . . . the unit appropriate for the purposes of collec-

tive bargaining shall be the employer unit, craft unit, plant unit, or subdivision thereof."

Experience with these laws has been brief, but they have on the whole won the unqualified support of most unions. The spectacular rehabilitation of the United Mine Workers under the influence of the NRA and the Bituminous Coal Conservation Act and the increase in the membership of the railroad unions resulting from the application of the amended Railway Labor Act have strengthened the faith of many leaders of organized labor in the efficacy of governmental intervention. Moved by the same considerations the textile unions urged Congress to pass the National Textile Act, a bill aimed at the regulation of wages and other working conditions, unfair competitive practices, and the methods of industrial relations in the cotton, rayon, silk and wool divisions of the textile industry.⁴

With these aims of organized labor, the Federal administration appears to be sympathetic. The Walsh-Healey Act, passed by the last session of the 74th Congress and approved by the President, establishes the regulation of wages and labor conditions in the manufacture of products sold to departments of the Federal government. Immediately after the adverse decision of the United States Supreme Court, May 18, 1936, on the constitutionality of the Bituminous Coal Conservation Act, an amended bill, limited to provisions for price-fixing and the regulation of output, was introduced in the Congress, apparently with the support of the Administration. A filibuster led by the junior Senator from West Virginia prevented the bill from being brought to a vote before the adjournment of Congress; but there is every indication that

⁴H.R. 11770, 74th Congress, 2nd Session.

a similar measure will be introduced in the first session of the next Congress early in 1937.

2. Attitude of Employers

The dominant opinion of American employers has rarely been sympathetic with organized labor. Owners and managers of industry have long opposed what they regard as the burdens and inflexibilities of union agreements. They prize highly the benefits of freedom of management and they reject union rules which, in their judgment, tend to retard advances in technology and in methods of factory management to which they ascribe the rising productivity of labor and industry and the high levels of American wages. Both during the World War and under the NRA employers generally viewed with alarm the close relations being forged between government and organized labor, and no small part of the revulsion against war control over industry and against the NRA in 1934 was due to the prevalence of this state of mind.

In the history of industrial relations employers' opposition to unionism has assumed a variety of forms. Particularly before the War, campaigns for unionization often developed into fierce contests for supremacy marked by extensive violence and riots. Whatever the merits of the dispute, the outcome was determined by the strength of the contestants. Intimidation and coercion were widely used on both sides and the power of employers in these struggles was not infrequently enhanced by the use of elaborate and expensive systems of company guards and by control of local public authorities. The deep antagonisms which long prevailed in our labor relations account for such periodic eruptions as the Homestead and Pullman strikes and explain the violence that has

characterized strikes and lockouts in this country for so many years.

While these methods still persist, they have come to be replaced in many industries by more direct, peaceful and constructive measures designed to win the loyalty of employees and to keep them indifferent to labor organization. The widespread development of company welfare plans, generally adopted not much before 1920, is evidence of the radical alteration in the labor policy of industry. Group life insurance, amounting in 1912 to only 13 million dollars, is now well in excess of 10 billion and is being extensively purchased by employers. Thrift and stock-purchase plans were widely introduced during this period.

These devices of 'welfare capitalism' have multiplied swiftly in number and variety. No adequate description of them exists in the available literature. The standards of personnel management in American industry have been vastly improved during the last twenty years. Methods of hiring and firing and handling shop grievances have been transformed with the introduction of standard procedures and the transfer of authority from foremen to employment and personnel managers. A recent survey⁵ of the industrial relations of 2,452 companies shows that companies employing 1,457,000 employees furnish some form of dismissal compensation; those employing 1,530,000, group health and accident insurance; 2,727,000, group life insurance; 2,628,000, loans to employees; and 1,589,517, relief funds.

At the same time there has been a considerable development in new forms of employee-representation. Labor conditions dur-

⁵ National Industrial Conference Board, *What Employers are Doing for Employees*, Report No. 221, 1936. This report is the most comprehensive account available of the numerous welfare activities of American employers.

ing the World War and the activities of governmental labor boards became powerful stimuli to the spread of collective bargaining. An increasing number of companies then began their experiments with company or plant systems of representation. The number of employees working under arrangements of this kind increased from 400,000 in 1919 to 1,300,000 in 1926.* With the persistence of prosperity and the decline in strikes during the 1920's, the interest of employers in the promotion of employee-representation seemed to lag and the number of plans declined. But the aggressive organizing campaigns by union labor associated with the NRA shortly produced a new crop of representation plans. The number of plans and of employees under their jurisdiction multiplied with such rapidity that their present coverage may well exceed that of the trade unions.

The welfare activities of industry and company and plant forms of representation have, it is generally conceded, served as effective barriers against the advance of organized labor. While the indifference to unionism during the 1920's reflected in part the prosperity of the period, improvements in labor policy were by no means an inconsiderable factor in the situation. The vast expansion in employee-representation plans since the summer of 1933 has added to the disputes in industrial relations, for the new plans set up by the employers have been vigorously attacked by the trade unions as lacking the essential qualities of genuine instruments of collective bargaining. Whatever the force of these charges, many of the plans but recently initiated have already been revised to meet criticism, since new works councils like new unions are often, in their early stages, inactive and impotent. In

* *Recent Social Trends* (McGraw-Hill, 1933), II, 845.

industries dominated by large factories and central ownership efforts have been made to strengthen the works councils both by amending their rules and regulations and by raising the standards of factory management.

The future of employee-representation plans and company unions, like that of trade unions, is at present more uncertain than ever. In several industries the trade unions have succeeded in capturing employee-representatives and their constituents in individual shops and plants. But the larger plans of employee-representation still remain intact. A decisive test of the relative stability of these alternative methods of industrial relations is now being made in the iron and steel industry where the organization drive by the Committee for Industrial Organization is in essence an assault on the employee-representation plans in operation in that industry. Whatever happens there is bound to have swift repercussions in American industry generally.

3. Attitude of Employees

What the true attitude of employees towards organization has been and what changes, if any, it has recently undergone are questions as hard to answer as they are crucial. The limited extent of American trade unionism is attributed by some to the coercive pressure of employers and by others to the characteristic independence of workmen in this country and their unwillingness to submit to the regulations and disciplines of the trade union. To prove either view is obviously impossible. Various clues to labor's opinion, such as the results of elections held to choose employee representatives or the trends in strikes, fall short of affording convincing and acceptable evidence. Except in the railroad and automobile industries the testimony of the elections

conducted by the labor boards in the last several years has been inconclusive, if for no other reason than that these polls have covered so small a fraction of the employees eligible to vote. Beyond this, differences in the conditions preceding and surrounding the elections and in their administration limit their value as indexes of labor's sentiments. If the prevalence of unrest be a measure of workmen's dissatisfaction with existing conditions and the intensity of their desire for unionization, the record of strikes and lockouts since 1930 fails to disclose a mounting tide of discontent of unusual proportions. Although the number of labor disputes has been increasing, there were fewer in 1935 than during any year of the World War and not many more than in the recovery of 1922.⁷

The number of cases currently submitted to the National Labor Relations Board can hardly be regarded as evidence of the existence of widespread labor unrest. In the latest summary of its operations,⁸ the Board reported that in the eight months ending May 30, 1936, it had acted in 982 cases involving 204,107 workers. Since employees are customarily moved to demand wage increases and other concessions during business recovery, the number of disputes evoked in the last few years by the substantial revival in business does not appear unusually great. Moreover, since many of the disputes brought before the Board arise in the course of organizing campaigns and are presented by union organizers engaged in efforts to increase union membership, even these figures are subject to discount as a measure of the dissatisfaction of labor.

Much the same conclusion may be deduced from the experience of union organizers and officers with new members. While sub-

⁷ *Monthly Labor Review*, U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics.

⁸ Mimeographed release, June 19, 1936.

stantial numbers flock into the union in the early, vigorous stages of organizing campaigns, great difficulty is encountered in keeping them in the ranks of the union. After they have paid the small initiation fee and perhaps several months dues, they stop making payments and thereby surrender their membership. For this reason many American unions look with favor on the check-off, whereby dues are collected from union members by the employer and are paid by him to the union.

The absence of deeply-rooted class antagonisms would appear to account now as in the past for the transitory character of much of American union membership and for the failure of the labor movement to respond to powerful incentives and support. Describing the development of the policies of the American Federation of Labor, an acute and informed historian of the American labor movement writes: °

“The overshadowing problem of the American labor movement has always been the problem of staying organized. No other labor movement has ever had to contend with the fragility so characteristic of American labor organizations. In the main this fragility of the organization has come from the lack of class cohesiveness in American labor. The American unions, after a decade of the weakening competition with the Knights of Labor, have seen the need of ruthless suppression of ‘dual’ unions and of ‘outlaw’ strikes. It would seem as though, through this practice, they have tried to make up for a lack of spontaneous class solidarity, upon which European unions could reckon with certainty . . .

Gompers and his associates were under no delusion as to the true psychology of American working men, particularly as regards the practicable limits of their solidarity. They knew that where wage-earners were held together by the feeling that their jobs came out of a common job reservoir, as did those in the same or closely related crafts, their

° Professor Selig Perlman in Perlman and Taft, *History of Labor in the United States, 1896-1932* (Macmillan, 1935), pp. 7, 8.

fighting solidarity left nothing to be desired. They also knew, however, that they had to go slow in pressing on to greater solidarity. Where conditions made cooperation between different craft groups urgent, it was best obtained through free cooperation, each union reserving the right to decide for itself in every situation whether to cooperate or not . . . Solidarity of the skilled with the unskilled was not precluded, but it was never assumed as a matter of fact or of moral duty. Rather it was assumed that a labor group that needed outside aid to give it the original impulse to assert its independence was something of a questionable addition to the family of organized labor.

Solidarity, as understood by this group, was thus a solidarity with a quickly diminishing potency as one passed from the craft group—which looks upon the jobs in the craft as its common property for which it is ready to fight long and bitterly—to the widening concentric circles of the related crafts, the industry, the American Federation of Labor, and the world labor movement.”

4. Business Conditions

Among the forces affecting the attitude of employees and the condition of organized labor is the state of business and employment. In the United States, as in other countries, periods of good business and expanding employment have been considered favorable to the spread of trade unionism. In prosperity strikes stand a greater chance of success. Strikers are harder to replace, and employers, facing the loss of business and profits, are more inclined to yield to demands for better conditions and union recognition. During the prosperity of the 1920's this rule failed to work. Strikes were less frequently called and the membership of unions, except in the building and railroad industries, steadily declined. The very prosperity of the period and the generally high standards of wages and employment acted, apparently, in most classes of industry to retard rather than to accelerate the pace of union growth.

Similar conditions appear to affect the labor situation during

the present business recovery. Wage rates have already been substantially increased and the average rates in most of the principal categories of industries are now above 1929. After five lean years of short employment and meager earnings, the average workman is reluctant to risk his job at the prevailing high rates of wages by joining in strikes for union recognition. Hours of labor, while greater in some instances than under the NRA, are less than ever before. Manifold types of collective dealings between employers and employees have been widely installed in industry, and are actively and, in many places, effectively competing with the trade union. Unemployment meanwhile continues abnormally large and there are few indications that it will be considerably reduced for some years to come. Relatively good conditions of labor for the employed and the potential competition of a standing army of unemployed, sometimes estimated to exceed 10 million, are elements of the present situation not calculated to encourage industrial conflict over the issues of union membership and recognition.

A continued and prolonged improvement in business and employment will doubtless result in further increases in union membership, particularly in those industries and trades in which organized labor is traditionally strong and union growth depends less upon proselytizing than upon the return of the unemployed members to their jobs. Notably in the building and railroad industries, where the shrinkage in employment since 1929 has been unusual and the recovery in employment has been so far not considerable, a substantial rise in payrolls may easily within several years add more than 500,000 to the present union membership. But this situation is exceptional.

5. Internal Relations of the Labor Movement

Except for spontaneous uprisings of workmen, which have been rare in occurrence and limited in extent, the spread of unionism is the result of deliberate and planned organizing campaigns. These efforts are initiated and managed by the established labor movement. The greater the skill, vigor, and resources of the movement, the more effective its campaigns are likely to be. Since the labor movement of the United States is composed largely of many separate unions, loosely associated for common purposes in the American Federation of Labor, their combined effectiveness in organizing as in other activities depends on the unity and harmony with which they pursue their objectives.

In the history of American organized labor internal dissension over competing philosophies, strategy, tactics and structure has often developed into serious conflict and disruption which have, temporarily at least, weakened the labor movement and limited the area of its effectiveness. The successive struggles between the American Federation of Labor and the Knights of Labor, the I.W.W. and the communist unions have all had this effect. Although the Federation and its constituent unions have survived these conflicts, the achievement of victory and peace has usually been costly. Jurisdictional disputes among several unions, of the type common to the building trades unions, have, likewise, from time to time threatened the power of these organizations.

The conflict now raging within the American Federation of Labor over the issue of union structure is the latest serious division in the ranks of the labor movement. The parties to the dispute are the leaders of the powerful groups of craft and industrial unions within the Federation. The issue that divides them is in

part the belief of the supporters of industrial unionism that literal adherence to the jurisdictional claims of craft unions has impaired the effectiveness of organizing pressure and prevented the establishment of new unions in mass production industries, and in part the ambition of individual union leaders to achieve power and supremacy in the movement. The issue was brought to a head when the advocates of industrial unionism supported the claim of recently organized unions in the automobile, rubber, and radio industries, and of an older union in the oil industry, to full jurisdiction over all employees working in these industries, whether or not any of them are now under the jurisdiction of existing craft unions.

The split between the advocates of industrial and craft unionism, started at the A. F. of L. convention in October 1935, has already gone far. The Committee for Industrial Organization, headed by John L. Lewis and formed to marshal the forces of industrial unionism, has carried on its independent activities in defiance of the Federation. At its meeting in January 1936 the A. F. of L. Executive Council noted that the Committee constituted "a challenge to the supremacy of the American Federation of Labor" and proposed that "it be immediately dissolved".¹⁰ The United Mine Workers, meeting several weeks later, unanimously endorsed the position of their president, John L. Lewis, and the purposes of the Committee and authorized their officers to withhold the payment of dues to the Federation.¹¹

The Committee has refused to dissolve. Meanwhile it has engaged in an extraordinarily aggressive campaign to gain adherents from among the unions of the country. By July 1936 five unions

¹⁰ American Federation of Labor, *Weekly News Service*, February 8, 1936.

¹¹ *New York Times*, January 31, 1936.

—the flat glass, steel, automobile, rubber, and electrical and radio workers unions—had joined the original eight members of the C.I.O. The contest for control of the campaign to unionize the iron and steel industry was won by the Committee, and the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers became an affiliated organization. Efforts of a committee, appointed by the A.F. of L. Executive Council, to seek a peaceful settlement of the controversy appear to have come to naught. The public commitments of the spokesmen for both parties have been so firm and uncompromising as to make the retreat of either appear improbable.

On the merits of the controversy there is sharp difference of opinion not only among union members but also among students of organized labor. Conceding the real dangers of internal dissension, many students, nevertheless, see in the proposed changes in union structure a fundamental and essential reform which will pave the way for union organization in the great non-union industries and will in the long run invigorate and strengthen the labor movement, however great the immediate cost of internal conflict may be. The craft unionists appeal to the history of unions in this country for evidence of the superior effectiveness of organization among workmen who follow a common and skilled occupation. On the basis of their experience with American unionism following the decline of the Knights of Labor in 1890 and the short-lived expansion of organization during the World War, they attribute to craft unions intrinsic unity and stability which, in their observation, the industrial unions lack.

The changing relation of government to organized labor promises to be one of the most influential factors in the contemporary

labor situation. The measures considered and adopted since June 1933 and the policy of the government are intended not only to clarify and strengthen the legal status of trade unions but also to make unions instruments for the regulation of many competitive business practices. The pursuit and enforcement of these policies may be expected to stimulate the growth of unionism in this country and in time to cause radical changes in the rights and responsibilities of organized labor and in its relation to the State.

In a sense these tentative steps in the United States were anticipated by developments in other countries beginning shortly after the World War. During the War organized labor made unprecedented gains in membership, almost universally. By 1920 world-membership appeared to be more than double that of 1914. In the United States the number of union members increased from 2,687,100 in 1914 to 5,047,800 in 1920; in Great Britain from 4,143,000 to 8,347,000; in Canada from 134,300 to 373,800; and in Germany from 2,166,000 to more than 9,000,000. Far-reaching political changes after the war were attended by unusual divergencies in the course of trade unionism in different countries. Russian unions, small and unimportant before the war, multiplied in number and membership after the revolution until they were in 1935 the largest of all, claiming more than 18,000,000 members.* After the revolution in Germany and the coming into power of the Social-Democratic party, the membership of the German unions rose to new levels and remained at three to four times its pre-War size until the unions were destroyed in 1932 by

* *Director's Note:* Russian unions are not trade unions in the accepted sense. Membership therein is compulsory. On the other hand, the unions have become organs of the government, their officers are appointed by the powers that be and are not responsible to the rank and file. Strikes are not tolerated, being regarded as counter-revolutionary or treason to the State.—N. I. Stone

the National-Socialist Government and replaced by the 'Labor Front', the Nazi 'classless union' of employers and employees.¹² In Italy, likewise, post-War membership exceeded pre-War. Under Fascism and the assertion of governmental control over unions, membership, as officially reported, rose further and stood at 4,698,000 in 1934, or five times the membership of 1914.¹³

In contrast with this, union membership in England, France and the United States is now only moderately larger than it was before the War. Although the English membership was in 1914 by far the largest in the world, in 1934 it was 4,567,000, or not much more than one-fourth the membership of the Russian unions. In spite of the substantial rise in employment in England union membership in 1934 was no more than 10 per cent above 1914. French data are incomplete but indicate no radical changes in the position of organized labor in France. Of the labor movements in England, France and the United States, the American unions show the greatest advance over their pre-War condition, claiming approximately 1,000,000, or 37 per cent, more members in 1934 than in 1914.

As these figures indicate, the labor movements in various countries have in their post-War phase followed separate paths. In several countries membership in unions is for all practical purposes compulsory and unions have become instruments of government. Their activities and policies are the subject of public control. Collective bargaining for wages and working conditions, the most important function of the traditional union, is largely subordinated to the policies and decisions of the State.

¹² Michael T. Florinsky, *Fascism and National Socialism* (Macmillan, 1936), p. 105.

¹³ The membership of unions in foreign countries, 1914, 1920-34, is given in the Appendix, Table XII.

Labor disputes, when they are not suppressed, are in the main settled by compulsory arbitration. Consequently membership, limited only by the terms of governmental edicts, is well-nigh universal.

In other countries unions continue to be voluntary associations of workingmen. Membership fluctuates with changes in business conditions and the hold unions have upon their members; collective bargaining for wages and working conditions remains the prime function of organized labor; union membership represents a fraction, of greater or less magnitude, of all organizable employees.

While American unions have changed their attitude towards the regulation of industry by government and have come increasingly to depend on governmental support, they retain the essential features of free and uncontrolled unionism. In recently enacted laws they have succeeded in preserving the right to strike and in preventing the incorporation of provisions that would expose their operations to more thoroughgoing regulation than now exists. But the unfolding of present policies of industrial regulation and collective bargaining may well expose unions in this country, as it has in others, to governmental regulation of their policies and acts.

APPENDIX

EBB AND FLOW IN TRADE UNIONISM

TABLE I
MEMBERSHIP OF AMERICAN TRADE UNIONS, 1897*-1934

	1900	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1913	1913	1914	1915	1916
MINING, QUARRYING AND OIL																	
Coal Hoisting Engineers	7a	10a	8a	9a	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mine Managers and Assistants	...	...	4a	4a	4a	4a	4a	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mine Workers, United	1155a	1900a	1753a	2472a	2510a	2650a	2307a	2607a	2520a	2652a	2314a	2563a	2093a	3777a	3390a	3116a	3180
Mineral Mine Workers	5a	4a	3a	7a	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Miners, Western Federation of	140	177	196	283	241	263	286	442	305	353	371	502a	497a	495a	369a	167a	161
Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers	4a	5a	3a	4a	4a	4a	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Progressive Miners of America	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Quarry Workers	...	...	...	12a	26a	36a	38a	41a	45a	45a	50a	35a	40a	40a	40a	36a	31
Slate Workers	...	...	...	8a	8a	9a	18a	30a	27a	21a	14a	7a	4a	3a	3a	3a	...
TOTAL, Mining, Quarrying and Oil	1311	2176	1967	2799	2793	2966	2653	3120	2897	3071	2749	3107	3429	4313	3803	3323	337
BUILDING CONSTRUCTION																	
Asbestos Workers	...	...	...	...	7a	3a	5a	5a	8a	6a	5a	8a	8a	8a	10a	10a	11
Bricklayers and Masons	334	346	439	462	563	548	538	641	629	607	618	758	811	844	825	759	731
Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers	...	60a	110c	160a	115a	102a	98a	116a	104a	96a	109a	122a	109a	122a	132a	123a	141
Building Employees	...	...	...	...	8a	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Building Laborers	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Carpenters, Amalgamated	20a	26a	32a	45a	50a	48a	43a	58a	81a	73a	71a	78a	91b	d	...	...	...
Carpenters and Joiners, Unstod	684a	871a	1225a	1672a	1612a	1612a	1702a	1743a	1785a	1896a	2007a	1941a	1955a	2188a	2122a	1940a	2121
Cement Workers	...	...	...	55a	44a	36a	42a	58a	73a	90a	90a	90a	90a	90a	73a	16a	...
Compressed Air and Foundation Workers	...	...	...	...	12a	12a	13a	13a	13a	8a	6a	6a	6a	8a	10a	12a	14
Electrical Workers (A. F. of L.)	48a	73a	115a	183a	210a	210a	210a	302a	321a	138a	160a	189a	196a	227a	308a	362a	361
Electrical Workers	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	220b	230b	...	...	...
Elevator Constructors	...	9	12	21a	22a	22a	22a	23a	25a	20a	21a	21a	23a	26a	27a	27a	21
Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers	...	...	...	82a	120a	56a	92a	102a	92a	77a	114a	127a	125a	221a	256a	319a	324
Lathers, Wood, Wire and Metal	6a	14a	23a	33a	39a	36a	44a	55a	54a	51a	58a	58a	59a	65a	67a	60a	61

APPENDIX TABLE I

Unless otherwise indicated the data contained in this table were obtained from the reports of the American Federation of Labor. *Figures in italics* were obtained from the proceedings of the union or by correspondence with the central offices of the union (00's omitted).

1917	1918	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934
...
...
179a	167a	178a	211a	162a	46a	90a	85a	80a	60a	50a	45a	40a	40a	40a	21a	13a	116a
3520a	4134a	3938a	3936a	4257a	3729a	5157a	4796a	4272a	3759a	3877a	3249a	2622a	2217a	3013a	3167a	2978a	4908a
...
...
...	...	45a	209a	248a	61a	25a	22a	12a	7a	10a	10a	16a	11a	9a	4a	184a	397a
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	350	350	350
35a	31a	30a	30a	30a	30a	24a	29a	30a	30a	30a	30a	30a	30a	30a	26a	21a	20a
...
3734	4332	4191	4386	4697	3866	5296	4932	4394	3856	3967	3334	2708	2298	3092	3568	3546	5791
...
10a	16a	18a	22a	26a	20a	20a	22a	24a	25a	26a	27a	29a	33a	41a	20a	20a	25a
785a	716a	652a	736a	819a	852a	700a	700a	700a	700a	837a	900a	900a	900a	900a	567a	458a	458a
160	186a	241a	277a	224a	151a	146a	177a	163a	191a	213a	207a	204a	209a	175a	120a	100a	160a
...
...
...
2472a	3217a	3460a	3719a	3550a	3231a	3150a	3155a	3170a	3197a	3220a	3220a	3220a	3032a	3020a	2900a	2058a	2000a
...
16a	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
415a	544a	1312a	1392a	1420a	1420a	1420a	1420a	1420a	1420a	1420a	1420a	1420a	1420a	1420a	1399a	941a	1315a
...
29a	29a	30a	31a	38a	38a	52a	81a	81a	95a	102a	102a	102a	102a	102a	102a	102a	102a
324a	367a	400a	420a	460a	460a	475a	490a	615a	665a	770a	753a	917a	960a	980a	900a	521a	442a
60a	60a	60a	59a	80a	80a	80a	101a	112a	127a	131a	127a	125a	125a	100a	82a	81a	81a

EBB AND FLOW IN TRADE UNIONISM

TABLE I—Continued

	1900	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914	1915	1916	
Marble, Slate and Stone Workers																		
...	...	5a	12a	6a	19a	17a	20a	22a	24a	27a	28a	28a	30a	41a	16a	6		
Painters, Decorators and Paper Hangers																		
...	280a	280a	348a	536a	607a	542a	555a	624a	648a	596a	635a	676a	665a	709a	744a	753a	782	
Plasterers and Cement Finishers, Operative																		
...	63	83c	105	114c	124	134c	145	167	159	145a	152a	147a	157a	173a	180a	183a	184	
Plumbers and Steam Fitters																		
...	45a	87a	128a	152a	165a	150a	150a	160a	180a	184a	200a	200a	260a	290a	297a	410a	450	
Roofers, Composition																		
...	...	...	...	...	5	7	10	10a	10a	10a	11a	15a	15a	16a	16a	12a	12
Roofers, Slate and Tile																		
...	...	...	5a	7a	6a	5a	6a	6a	5a	5a	5a	5a	5a	6a	6a	6a	6
Sheet Metal Workers																		
...	29a	45a	66a	126a	153a	130a	129a	153a	161a	160a	162a	172a	166a	169a	178a	178a	175	
Steam and Hot Water Fitters																		
...	18a	15a	15a	20	30	40	54a	55a	56a	56a	56a	56a	...	...	...	...	...
Tile Layers																		
...	4a	7a	11a	14a	17a	14a	19a	21a	19a	17a	19a	21a	24a	27a	30a	30a	28a	
TOTAL, Building Construction																		
...	1531	1916	2634	3692	3916	3727	3893	4332	4446	4259	4590	4788	5091	5533	5420	5327	5524	
METALS, MACHINERY AND SHIPBUILDING																		
Automobile, Aircraft and Vehicle Workers																		
...	130	172
Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers																		
...	15a	35a	43a	70a	105a	100a	82a	93a	100a	100a	100a	100a	93a	90a	96a	85a	97a	
Boilermakers, Iron Shipbuilders and Helpers																		
...	48a	54a	72a	149a	180a	138a	135a	185a	130a	133a	161a	199a	167a	162a	167a	173a	182a	
Carriage and Wagon Makers																		
...	13a	25a	31a	49a	55a	32a	31a	31a	15a	15a	11a	20a	27a	29a	35a	38a	40a	
Car Workers																		
...	...	10a	24a	128a	102a	50a	49a	50a	44a	50a	50a	46a	74	105b	110b	...	...
Chainmakers																		
...	2a	4a	6a	6a	6a	6a	6a	6a	6a	3a	2a	...	...	...	...	...	...
Chandelier Workers																		
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3b	4b	...	...
Coremakers																		
...	12a	12a	12a	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Cutting Die Makers																		
...	...	...	...	...	...	3a	3a	3a	3a	3a	3a	3a	3a	3a	3a	3a	2a
Diamond Workers																		
...	
Draftsmen																		
...	
Engineers, Amalgamated																		
...	18a	18a	19a	29	29	29	31	34	28	31	38	38	34b	38	27b	34	32	
Electrical Industry Employees																		
...	
Foundry Employees																		
...	...	...	...	10a	10a	10a	10a	7a	5a	7a	5a	5a	5a	5a	6a	6a	8a
Furnace Workers																		
...	...	14a	9a	15a	15a	15a	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Gold Beaters																		
...	4	4	3a	3a	3a	3a	3a	5a	5a	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Iron, Steel and Tin Workers																		
...	140a	139a	145a	152a	143a	109a	114a	102a	76a	63a	82a	63a	55a	63a	65a	65a	67a	

APPENDIX TABLE I

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TABLE I—Continued

1917	1918	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934
10a	10a	10a	12a	12a	17a	23a	30a	32a	42a	49a	56a	64a	77a	77a	77a	62a	55a
852a	845a	827a	1031a	1133a	978a	928a	1033a	1076a	1114a	1129a	1103a	1081a	1062a	964a	796a	593a	578a
190a	190a	190a	194a	239a	246a	271a	300a	300a	352a	390a	395a	388a	381a	376a	353a	226a	180a
520a	600a	600a	750a	420a	490a	350a	350a	392a	450a	450a	450a	450a	450a	450a	450a	450a	450a
12a	12a	10a	18a	28a	30a	30a	32a	35a	38a	40a	40a	40a	40a	40a	40a	40a	40a
6a	6a	6a	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
176a	183a	202a	218a	242a	250a	250a	250a	250a	250a	250a	250a	250a	250a	250a	250a	175a	160a
...
28a	25a	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
6065	7006	8018	8879	8691	8263	7895	8141	8370	8666	9027	9050	9190	9041	8895	8056	5827	6046
195	232	381	454	d	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
120a	183a	283a	483a	500a	367a	50a	50a	50a	50a	50a	50a	50a	50a	50a	50a	50a	50a
312a	555a	849a	1030a	845a	417a	194a	175a	171a	145a	148a	171a	172a	193a	170a	150a	142a	143a
42a	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...
...
...
...
2a	2a	2a	2a	3a	3a	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
4a	4a	5a	6a	6a	5a	5a	4a	4a	4a	4a	4a	4a	4a	3a	3a	3a	2a
...	...	18a	35a	22a	10a	6a	6a	6a	7a	16a	19a	15a	12a	17a	10a	7a	10a
30	28	26	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	35
13a	33a	54a	91a	52a	40a	40a	36a	35a	35a	35a	35a	35a	28a	10a	7a	5a	20a
...
...
110a	161a	197a	315a	254a	159a	117a	111a	114a	100a	99a	90a	89a	79a	58a	50a	46a	55a

EBB AND FLOW IN TRADE UNIONISM

TABLE I—Continued

	1900	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914	1915	1916
Jewelry Workers																	
9a	9a	10a	24a	24a	7a	4a	6a	4a	3a	4a	3a	2a	...	...	...	...	53a
Machinists	225a	325a	355a	488a	557a	485a	500a	560a	621a	684a	569a	671a	598a	710a	754a	719a	1009a
Marine and Shipbuilding Workers	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Master Mechanics of Navy Yards	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Metal Engravers	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Metal Mechanics	22a	45a	61a	113a	70a	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Metal Polishers	50a	56a	84a	128a	128a	103a	109a	100a	100a	100a	100a	100a	100a	100a	106a	110a	111a
Metal Workers Brotherhood	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	9	13	14	14	15	17	...	...
Metal Workers, United	10a	21a	43a	87a	96a	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Molders	150a	150a	259a	300a	300a	300a	450a	500a	500a	500a	500a	500a	500a	500a	500a	500a	500a
Pattern Makers	22a	23a	23a	29a	37a	36a	40a	50a	55a	50a	52a	56a	60a	65a	67a	65a	65a
Pocket Knife Grinders	...	...	...	...	...	2a	3a	3a	3a	3a	3a	3a	3a	3a	3a	3a	2a
Railway Carmen	30c	49	121c	193	177c	160	243c	326	251c	175	228a	269a	287a	280a	287a	391a	368a
Sawsmiths	...	...	3a	3a	3a	3a	3a	3a	3a	3a	3a	1a	1a	1a	1a	1a	1a
Shipwrights, Joiners and Caulkers	...	...	...	26a	34a	24a	20a	19a	16a	16a	9a	9b	...	...	...	...	...
Stove Mounters	9a	13a	16a	16a	17a	15a	15a	15a	14a	10a	9a	11a	11a	11a	11a	11a	12a
Table Knife Grinders	2a	2a	2a	3a	3a	3a	3a	3a	2a	2a	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Tack Makers	...	...	...	1a	2a	2a	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Tin Plate Workers	21a	20a	21a	18a	16a	14a	14a	14a	14a	15a	8a	3a	3a	...	...	...	...
Tube Workers	...	...	5a	15a	15a	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Watch Case Engravers	5a	5a	4a	4a	3a	3a	2a	2a	2a	2a	2a	2a	...	...	...	...	...
Watch Case Makers	...	3a	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Wire Weavers	2a	2a	2a	3a	3a	3a	3a	3a	3a	3a	4a	4a	3a	3a	3a	3a	3a
TOTAL, Metals, Machinery and Shipbuilding	809	1038	1373	2052	2133	1655	1878	2123	2001	1778	1963	2103	2043	2199	2289	2243	2671

TEXTILES

Cloth Weavers	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	50	50	50b	60b	50b	...	...
Elastic Goring Weavers	3a	2a	2a	1a	1a	1a	1a	1a	1a	1a	1a	1a	1a	1a	1a	1a	1a
Lace Operatives	4a	4a	5a	5a	6a	7a	8a	8a	8a	8a	8a	9a	10a	11a	12a	12a	11a

APPENDIX TABLE I

TABLE I—Continued

1917	1918	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934
43a	48a	51a	81a	70	70	22a	12a	8a	7a	6a	9a	8a	8a	8a	8a	8a	49a
1125a	1436a	2546a	3308a	2736a	1809a	764a	717a	714a	714a	723a	745a	770a	780a	776a	707a	750a	900a
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	12	75
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1a	1a
...	...	...	...	...	1a	1a	1a	1a	1a	1a	1a	1a	4a	5a	5a	5a	3a
...
120a	135a	130a	125a	95a	90a	67a	60a	60a	60a	60a	60a	60a	60a	58a	23a	14a	35a
...	...	...	150	...	...	60	d	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...
500a	500a	516a	573a	585a	265a	375a	372a	314a	305a	291a	268a	265a	222a	184a	154a	174a	202a
70a	88a	90a	90a	90a	80a	80a	70a	70a	70a	70a	70a	70a	70a	70a	70a	70a	70a
...
390a	534a	1004a	1821a	2000a	1717a	767a	549a	481a	500a	514a	507a	557a	504a	485a	485a	500a	550a
1a	1a	1a	1a	1a	1a	1a	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...
17a	19a	19a	19a	20a	20a	18a	16a	16a	16a	16a	16a	14a	10a	8a	7a	6a	15a
...
...
...
...
...
...
3a	3a	3a	4a	4a	4a	4a	4a	4a	4a	4a	4a	4a	4a	4a	4a	3a	3a
3097	3962	6175	8588	7283	5058	2571	2183	2048	2018	2037	2049	2114	2028	1906	1733	1796	2218
...
1a	1a	1a	1a	1a	1a	1a	1a	1a	1a	1a	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
12a	12a	9a	9a	16	16	17	15	15	12	12	13	13	13	11	11	11	11

EBB AND FLOW IN TRADE UNIONISM

TABLE I—Continued

	1900	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914	1915	1916
Loomfixers	15	10	8	7	7	7	8	8	8	9	9	13	16	17	16	...	...
Machine Textile Printers	...	...	...	4a	4a	4a	4a	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	...	...
Mule Spinners	24a	27a	26a	25a	25a	22a	22a	22a	22a	22a	22a	22a	22a	22a	22a	22a	22a
Silk Workers, Associated	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Textile Workers, Amalgamated	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Textile Workers, United	34a	27a	106a	150a	105a	100a	100a	114a	129a	100a	100a	100a	109a	162a	180a	189a	255a
Wool Sorters and Graders	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	16b	14b	14a	14a	14b	...	...
TOTAL, Textiles	80	70	147	192	148	141	143	157	172	144	210	213	226	291	299	324	389
LEATHER AND SHOES																	
Boot and Shoe Cutters	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	22	15	15	7	7	...	...
Boot and Shoe Workers	47a	88a	146a	297a	320a	320a	321a	320a	320a	320a	325a	327a	333a	343a	341a	356a	390a
Fancy Leather Goods Workers	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Leather Workers, Amalgamated	...	3a	22a	36a	25a	10a	10a	10a	8a	8a	8a	6a	6a	...	...	...	...
Leather Workers on Horse Goods	21a	32a	42a	48a	46a	40a	40a	40a	40a	40a	37a	26a	20a	19a	18a	18a	18a
Leather Workers of America, United	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Leather Workers International, United	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Shoe and Allied Craftsmen, Brotherhood of	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Shoe Workers, American	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Shoe Workers, National	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Shoe Workers Protective	25	25	25	25	25	25	25	25	25	25	25	25	25	25	25	25	40
Shoe Workers, United	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	45b	89b	152b	144	140b	120	150
Shoe and Leather Workers, United	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Travelers Goods and Leather Novelty Workers	3a	3a	5a	16a	15a	13a	9a	7a	5a	5a	6a	8a	9a	9a	9a	9a	18a
TOTAL, Leather and Shoes	96	151	240	422	431	408	405	402	398	398	468	496	560	547	580	528	608
CLOTHING																	
Cloth Hat, Cap, and Millinery Workers	...	...	20a	25a	29a	26a	21a	23a	13a	15a	21a	22a	28a	38a	36a	30a	63a
Clothing Workers, Amalgamated	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	300	400
Fur Workers, International Association of	...	...	...	...	3a	4a	4a	4a	4a	2a	2a	...	...	...	...	...	...

APPENDIX TABLE I

TABLE I—Continued

1917	1918	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	
64a	60a	57a	74a	107a	83a	70a	62a	50a	44a	41a	40a	40a	41a	40a	40a	23a	115a	
51a	51a	50a	59a	65a	65a	66a	70a	74a	79a	82a	85a	88a	90a	90a	89a	87a	86a	
4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	d	...	...	...	...	...	...
4a	4a	4a	4a	4a	3a	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
330a	340a	340a	350a	370a	370a	370a	387a	400a	400a	400a	400a	400a	400a	400a	400a	353a	320a	
65a	80a	84a	95a	113a	68a	46a	50a	50a	50a	50a	50a	50a	50a	50a	50a	69a	85a	
1a	1a	1a	1a	1a	1a	1a	1a	1a	1a	1a	1a	1a	1a	1a	1a	1a	1a	
...	...	1a	2a	4a	3a	2a	1a	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
13a	12a	13a	14a	15a	15a	11a	11a	11a	11a	12a	12a	12a	12a	12a	11a	10a	12a	
52a	53a	54a	59a	61a	60a	63a	65a	67a	70a	72a	73a	76a	79a	82a	82a	82a	80a	
3a	3a	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
616a	633a	647a	705a	748a	689a	681a	689a	704a	727a	748a	757a	760a	775a	778a	764a	741a	731a	
...	...	...	...	...	...	6a	6a	6a	6a	6a	6a	6a	6a	6a	5a	5a	6a
1372	1444	1480	1640	1816	1605	1509	1535	1557	1577	1617	1619	1625	1652	1655	1601	1531	1617	
28a	25a	27a	52a	54a	41a	48a	48a	50a	50a	50a	50a	50a	42a	33a	20a	1a	14a	
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	120a
98a	99a	95a	99a	97a	87a	81a	61a	53a	53a	52a	51a	52a	49a	46a	39a	36a	61a	
100a	100a	100a	100a	100a	97a	60a	60a	60a	60a	60a	60a	60a	60a	60a	60a	60a	60a	
...	
...	
...	
125a	119a	107a	105a	105a	100a	95a	86a	85a	85a	85a	85a	85a	85a	85a	62a	50a	50a	
76a	78a	74a	80a	91a	92a	91a	83a	81a	78a	72a	69a	66a	58a	54a	52a	60a	95a	
3a	4a	3a	3a	2a	2a	3a	2a	2a	2a	2a	2a	2a	2a	1a	1a	1a	1a	
41a	42a	39a	40a	44a	46a	44a	46a	47a	50a	51a	49a	49a	48a	45a	45a	53a	56a	
...	
...	12	12	12	12	12	12	12a	7a	7a	7a	7a	9a	10a

EBB AND FLOW IN TRADE UNIONISM

TABLE I—Continued

	1900	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914	1915	1916
Window Glass Cutters and Flatteners Association	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Window Glass Cutters and Flatteners Protective	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Window Glass Snappers	...	...	...	9a	11a	12a	10a	6a	10	14	18b	15a	12b	17b	22b	...	...
Window Glass Workers, National	...	...	...	...	...	58	57a	66a	67a	69a	70b	62b	60b	40b	39b	20	41
TOTAL, Chemicals, Clay, Glass and Stone	301	332	391	462	486	513	551	552	552	574	601	594	598	568	570	531	531
FOOD, LIQUOR AND TOBACCO																	
Bakery and Confectionery Workers	45a	64a	102a	154a	162a	120a	106a	110a	105a	107a	127a	138a	146a	151a	157a	158a	171a
Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers	183a	235a	291a	300a	305a	340a	360a	400c	425a	452a	454a	533ac	625a	650ac	676a	520a	496a
Butcher Workmen	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	20	20	20	23	20b	18	17
Cigar Makers	371a	377a	412a	443a	468a	456a	454a	480a	471a	515a	514a	500a	485a	485a	485a	394a	377a
Flour and Cereal Mill Employees	...	...	...	21a	21a	9a	7a	7a	8a	8a	3a	3b	...	...	...	...	...
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen	32a	55a	84a	253a	344a	62a	50a	53a	63a	63a	54a	31a	40a	54a	62a	61a	73a
Stogie Makers	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	15	15	15	15b	14	...	...
Tobacco Workers	60a	43a	41a	52a	56a	54a	55a	51a	46a	43a	41a	40a	37a	36a	37a	39a	34a
TOTAL, Food, Liquor and Tobacco	691	774	930	1223	1356	1041	1032	1101	1118	1188	1228	1280	1368	1414	1451	1190	1173
TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATION																	
Air Line Pilots	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
American Radio Telegraphists Association	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Colored Railway Trainmen	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Commercial Telegraphers	...	...	...	10a	20a	20a	20a	35a	19a	10a	10a	10a	10a	10a	10a	10a	10a
Dining Car Conductors	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Locomotive Engineers	356	380	415	464	500	536	569	622	629	637	674	699	719	739	738	737	729
Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen	360	390	433	435	544	550	570	617	665	652	692	768	853	911	868	831	936
Longshoremen	200a	250a	347a	400a	500a	478a	340a	320a	315a	213a	208a	250a	235a	220a	250a	250a	250a
Maintenance of Way Employees	30	38c	46a	87a	123a	120a	120a	132a	135a	100a	87a	100a	91a	80a	65a	81a	89a
Marine Engineers Beneficial Association	60	69	78	87	97	95	96	101	109	109	100	100	95	92	91	91	91
Masters, Mates and Pilots	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	60	60	60c	60b	50b	45	40c
Mechanical Trackmen	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	3	...	...

EBB AND FLOW IN TRADE UNIONISM

TABLE I—Continued

	1900	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914	1915	1916
Pavers, Hammermen, Flag Layers, Bridge and Stone Curb Setters	...	...	...	...	...	10a	12a	15a	15a	15a	15a	15a	15a	15a	16a	16a	15a
Paving Cutters	...	1a	2a	9a	12a	13a	15a	18a	20a	26a	32a	32a	35a	35a	35a	35a	33a
Pilots Association, Lake	...	...	...	...	...	...	10a	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Porters, Brakemen and Switchmen	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Railroad Freight Handlers	...	...	...	48a	33a	34a	32a	63a	78a	46a	47a	40a	25a	10a	29a	...	...
Railroad Patrolmen	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Railroad Signalmen	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	12	8	10b	8b	7a	8a	9a
Railroad Station Agents	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	5	5	5	11b	35	35
Railroad Stationmen	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Railroad Station Employees	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	22	26	28b	35b	43b	134	167
Railroad Telegraphers	80a	80a	80a	95a	150a	150a	150a	150a	150a	200a	250a	250a	250a	250a	250a	250a	250a
Railroad Trammes	432	468	550	682	745	785	869	1000	1007	1027	1139	1191	1243	1338	1261	1305	1432
Railroad Yardmasters of North America	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Railway Clerks	5a	6a	13	21	29	37	51	88	91	56a	50a	50a	50a	50a	50a	50a	51a
Railway Clerks, International Association of	...	...	...	13a	6a	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Railway Conductors	246	259	279	313	334	357	384	414	424	438	460	474	479	492	491	485	481
Railway Employees of North America	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Railway Express Messengers	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2a	1a	...	...	...
Railway Expressmen	...	...	...	14a	3a	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Seamen	42a	82a	99a	139a	201a	195a	194a	248a	255a	168a	160a	160a	160a	160a	160a	160a	217a
Sleeping Car Conductors	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Steam Shovel and Dredge Men	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	13	14	16	18	18	27a	20a
Street and Electric Railway Employees	35a	43a	98a	256a	300a	300a	300a	320a	320a	333a	367a	393a	402a	457a	545a	509a	646a
Switchmen	...	...	...	...	...	...	81a	92a	93a	80a	80a	87a	87a	96a	98a	90a	93a
Teamsters	47a	94a	138a	320a	840a	783a	402a	366a	377a	320a	358a	382a	415a	469a	511a	516a	590a
Train Dispatchers	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Tunnel and Subway Constructors	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	13a	17a	18a	19a	17a	15a	27a
Utility Employees	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
TOTAL, Transportation and Communication	1893	2160	2578	3393	4437	4463	4215	4601	4702	4380	4805	5131	5303	5573	5617	5760	6233

APPENDIX TABLE I

TABLE I—Continued

1917	1918	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934
15a	17a	18a	19a	20a	20a	20a	20a	20a	20a	20a	20a	20a	20a	20a	20a	20a	20a
32a	32a	26a	26a	24a	24a	24a	24a	24a	24a	24a	24a	24a	24a	24a	22a	22a	22a
...
...	...	...	...	...	...	8	10	14	18	16	17	17	10	7	4	4	4
...
...	...	...	26a	16a	9a	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
8a	9a	62a	123a	113a	105a	76a	74a	83a	90a	93a	93a	113	105	90	68	68	70
40	45	50	88	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	61	45	33	21c	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
222	294	327	352	300	270	38	38	37	37	37	37	36	35	21	19	15	11
272a	377a	446a	780a	720a	670a	500a	433a	392a	350a	350a	350a	390a	410a	410a	370a	350a	350a
1591	1814	1969	1846	1772	1698	1698	1789	1778	1792	1823	1843	1839	1797	1705	1397	1121	1140
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	5	6	6	6	6	5	5	5	5
68a	172a	714a	1860a	1696a	1378a	961a	884a	912a	945	959	974a	969a	970a	753a	608a	600a	600a
...
487	503	524	560	580	620	587	590	586	573	550	531	517	513	479	421	375	343
...	...	...	200a	360a	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...
...
322a	371a	427a	659a	1033a	492a	179a	180a	160a	150a	150a	150a	150a	150a	150a	97a	60a	50a
...	...	...	12a	25a	26a	23a	23a	23a	23a	22a	21a	20a	19a	20a	19a	20a	20a
29a	37a	60	80	96	101	80	81	78	79	70	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
737a	786a	897a	987a	1000a	1000a	1000a	1000a	1010a	1010a	1012a	1013a	997a	972a	914a	817a	712a	700a
102a	107a	118a	140a	101a	88a	87a	93a	89a	87a	89a	91a	93a	92a	82a	72a	63a	73a
703a	729a	756a	1108a	1057a	764a	727a	750a	789a	820a	865a	894a	955a	988a	920a	820a	713a	955a
...	...	...	...	...	...	38	38	38	38	38	38	38	38	28	24	22	22
34a	24a	20a	30a	30a	30a	30a	30a	30a	37a	40a	40a	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	20c
6954	7773	9588	12561	12399	10390	9073	8932	8930	8842	8887	8905	8922	8824	8158	6987	6093	6452

APPENDIX TABLE I

TABLE I—Continued

1917	1918	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934
81a	109a	204a	385a	330a	250a	212a	208a	202a	179a	200a	226a	305a	335a	381a	570	580	539
...	23a	154a	221a	180a	161a	160a	150a	160a	160a	160a	160a	168a	180a	180a	180a	180a	197a
...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	40a	83a
328a	325a	339a	224a	354a	399a	325a	325a	325a	400a	400a	404a	450a	508a	550a	550a	550a	517a
...	...	...	...	...	...	16	22	22	32	39	46	44	46	45	45	45	45
...	...	...	...	...	...	53	54	52	61	67	55	58	58	65	65	60	64
290	240	270	290	310	350	300	310	330	340	360	370	390	410	390	425	430	450
170a	210a	230a	250a	270a	300a	280a	296a	326a	348a	350a	392a	425a	448a	480a	480a	400a	400a
134	135a	147a	148a	165a	167a	167a	179a	191a	195a	194a	197a	198a	198a	198a	207a	200a	192a
...
...	...	...	...	...	...	233	266	283	286	314	345	378	398	396	392	366	355
...	...	...	3a	16a	10a	6a	3a	3a	5a	6a	8a	8a	8a	8a	11a	12a	12a
...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	30	50
21a	10a	28a	93a	93a	70a	46a	37a	35a	35a	35a	38a	42a	52a	63a	70a	70a	85a
1024	1052	1372	1614	1718	1707	1798	1850	1929	2041	2125	2241	2466	2641	2756	2995	2963	2989
...	...	40a	90a	120a	127a	90a	108a	105a	103a	103a	121a	117a	97a	83a	45a	33a	31a
...
...
604a	650a	654a	700a	746a	750a	750a	771a	800a	800a	800a	967a	1000a	1000a	1000a	1000a	1000a	1000a
186a	186a	185a	196a	194a	195a	196a	200a	200a	220a	231a	232a	233a	240a	240a	240a	240a	240a
30a	37a	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
820	873	879	986	1060	1072	1036	1079	1105	1123	1134	1320	1350	1337	1323	1285	1273	1271
150a	150a	150a	208a	212a	167a	103a	100a	100a	100a	100a	100a	100a	100a	100a	87a	50a	58a
150	150	150	208	212	167	103	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	87	50	58

APPENDIX TABLE I

TABLE I—Continued

1917	1918	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934
...	...	...	...	120	140	70	70	70	70	75	75	75	75	55	55	50	55
646a	652a	608a	604a	572a	465a	384a	385a	385a	386a	398a	385a	378a	365a	328a	259a	266a	474a
...
646	652	608	604	692	605	454	455	455	456	473	460	453	440	383	314	316	529
398a	384a	359a	442a	470a	452a	432a	453a	480a	512a	545a	541a	522a	512a	461a	399a	320a	393a
...	...	...	...	8a	94a	78a	62a	62a	62a	62a	62a	92a	162a	180a	180a	180a	192a
46a	55a	60a	67a	70a	65a	55a	55a	55a	55a	55a	55a	55a	55a	55a	55a	50a	53a
444	439	419	509	518	611	565	570	597	629	662	658	669	729	696	634	550	638
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	50
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	60
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	110
15a	16a	16a	16a	16a	16a	16a	16a	16a	16a	16a	16a	16a	16a	16a	16a	16a	14a
7a	7a	10a	14a	12a	8a	6a	6a	5a	5a	5a	6a	5a	5a	4a	3a	2a	1a
2a	2a	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
170a	171a	205a	296a	350a	250a	125a	90a	100a	80a	90a	83a	95a	90a	91a	93a	92a	101a
...	...	...	...	...	19a	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
54a	54a	54a	54a	54a	25a	20a	20a	20a	15a	12a	9a	9a	7a	4a	2a	1a	1a
...
...
...
...
220a	230a	250a	320a	320a	320a	271a	250a	250a	275a	320a	320a	330a	340a	340a	344a	350a	350a
...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1a	6a	8a

EBB AND FLOW IN TRADE UNIONISM

TABLE I—Continued

	1900	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914	1915	1916
Directly Affiliated 'Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions'	349a	469a	678a	828a	553a	1046a	245a	289a	616a	190a	210a	286a	279a	288a	272a	238a	352a
TOTAL, Miscellaneous	425	589	842	1188	999	1875	717	734	1182	661	636	761	925	917	853	688	815
GRAND TOTAL	8685	11247	13759	19139	20727	20223	19073	20804	21306	20056	21405	23434	24524	27163	26071	25826	27727
* The unions in existence and their membership in 1897,																	
1898 and 1899 were as follows:																	
	Average Annual Membership							1897			1898			1899			
								1897			1898			1899			
								(00's omitted)									
MINING, QUARRYING AND OIL																	
Coal Hoisting Engineers	...	...	...	...	...	5a											
Mine Workers, United	97a	329a	618a														
Mineral Mine Workers	28a	7a	6a														
Miners, Western Federation of	80	100	120														
Quarrymen	4a	4a	...														
Total	209	440	749														
BUILDING CONSTRUCTION																	
Bricklayers and Masons	233	262	267														
Carpenters, Amalgamated	16a	16a	18a														
Carpenters and Joiners, United	282a	315a	500a														
Electrical Workers (A. F. of L.)	17a	20a	20a														
Painters, Decorators and Paper Hangers	50a	43a	45a														
Plasterers and Cement Finishers	20	18	40c														
Plumbers and Steam Fitters	40a	40a	40a														
Sheet Metal Workers	10	12	15a														
Steam and Hot Water Fitters	5	10	20a														
Tile Layers	...	2a	3a														
Total	673	738	968														
METALS, MACHINERY AND SHIPBUILDING																	
Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers	3a	3a	5a														
Boilermakers, Iron Shipbuilders and Helpers	11a	13a	32a														
Brass and Composition Metal Workers	7a	...	...												
Carriage and Wagon Makers	5a	5a	7a														
Coremakers	5a	7a	10a														
Engineers, Amalgamated	19	19a	18a														
Gold Beaters	5a	5a	5a														
Iron, Steel and Tin Workers	105a	105a	110a														
Mechanists	140a	100a	136a														
Metal Mechanics	6a	7a	9a														
Metal Polishers	36a	42a	48a														
Molders	120a	120a	150a														
Pattern Makers	10a	13a	15a														
Railway Carmen	13	10	11														
Stove Mounters	7a	6a	6a														
Table Knife Grinders	2a	2a	3a														
Tin Plate Workers	...	...	17a														
Wire Drawers	5a	3a	5a														
Wire Weavers	2	2	2														
Total	501	462	589														
TEXTILES																	
Elastic Goring Weavers															3a	3a	3a
Lace Operatives															2a	3a	3a
Loomfixers															25	30	20
Mule Spinners															34a	34a	21a
Textile Workers, United															27a	35a	22a
Total															81	85	69
LEATHER AND SHOES																	
Boot and Shoe Workers															125a	96a	43a
Leather Workers on Home Goods															1a	4a	10a
Shoe Workers Protective															25	25	25
Travelers Goods and Leather Novelty Workers															1	1	2
Total															152	124	80
CLOTHING																	
Garment Workers, United															40a	43a	42a
Hatters, United															56a	58a	59a
Journeyman Tailors															50a	50a	50a
Total															146	151	151
LUMBER AND WOODWORKING																	
Coopers															15a	24a	32a
Piano and Organ Workers															...	33	47
Wood Carvers															7	9a	12a
Woodworkers, Amalgamated															33a	51a	66a
Total															55	117	150
PAPER, PRINTING, AND BOOKBINDING																	
Bookbinders															36	26a	28a
Lithographers, Amalgamated															15	10c	17c
Paper Makers															1a	1a	1a
Printing Pressmen															50a	58a	72a
Steel and Copper Plate Printers															6	4a	4a
Typographical Union															281a	286a	306a
Total															379	391	428
CHEMICALS, CLAY, GLASS AND STONE																	
Brick and Clay Workers, United															8a	5a	10a
Flint Glass Workers															72a	71a	71a
Glass Bottle Blowers															40	40	42a
Glass Flatteners															...	5a	6a
Granite Cutters															45a	46a	48a
Operative Potters															5	8	13a
Potters National Union															2a	2a	...
Stone Cutters															60	65	70
Stoneware Potters															1a	1a	1a
Window Glass Cutters															...	8a	8a
Total															233	251	269

APPENDIX TABLE I

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TABLE I—Continued

	1917	1918	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	
	584a	665a	652a	868a	682a	313a	234a	228a	212a	223a	242a	253a	217a	182a	145a	114a	104a	891a	
	1052	1145	1187	1568	1434	951	672	610	603	614	685	687	672	640	600	573	571	1366	
	30614	34673	41252	50478	47813	40274	36220	35361	35194	35024	35465	34798	34426	33928	33581	31443	29730	36086	
							1897	1898	1899	a. Affiliated with the A. F. of L.									
FOOD, LIQUOR AND TOBACCO										b. From the New York State Department of Labor, Bureau of Statistics and Information, <i>Special Bulletins</i> , Nos. 48, 52 and 61.									
Bakery and Confectionery Workers							20a	21a	31a	c. Estimated.									
Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers							100a	100a	107a	d. Figures not available for later years.									
Cigar Makers							283a	287a	315a	e. From the Department of Labour of Canada, <i>Report on Labour Organisation in Canada</i> , issued annually.									
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen							11a	10a	17a	f. During the years of its suspension from the A. F. of L., the membership figures of this union were not available. The membership for the missing years was interpolated on the assumption that the fall from 1919 to 1923 was a gradual one. The actual decline from 1920 to 1921 was probably more precipitate.									
Tobacco Workers							41a	46a	41a										
Total							455	464	511										
TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATION																			
Locomotive Engineers							303	307	317										
Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen							243	270	307										
Longshoremens							50a	80a	130a										
Marine Engineers Beneficial Assoc.							39	40	49										
Railroad Telegraphers							80a										
Railroad Trainmen							254	312	372										
Railway Conductors							207	219	233										
Seamen							40a	40a	40a										
Street and Electric Railway Employees							28a	30a	30a										
Teamsters							17a										
Total							1164	1298	1575										
PUBLIC SERVICE																			
Letter Carriers, National Assoc. of							111	112c	113										
Total							111	112	113										
THEATRES AND MUSIC																			
Musicians							46a	60a	60a										
Theatrical Stage Employees							20a	23a	30a										
Total							66	83	90										
TRADE																			
American Agents International							11a	7a	9a										
Retail Clerks							27a	50a	75a										
Total							38	57	84										
HOTELS AND RESTAURANTS																			
Hotel and Restaurant Employees							15a	25a	20a										
Total							15	25	20										
DOMESTIC AND PERSONAL SERVICE																			
Barbers							22a	30a	40a										
Total							22	30	40										
MISCELLANEOUS																			
Broom and Whisk Makers							1a	1a	3a										
Firemen and Oilers							11a										
Horseshoers							20a	20a	20a										
Operating Engineers							7a	12a	18a										
Directly Affiliated "Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions"							142a	146a	163a										
Total							170	179	215										
GRAND TOTAL							4470	5007	6110										

GENERAL NOTES

Mining, Quarrying and Oil

The National Quarrymen's Union was disbanded in 1898.

The charter of the National Brotherhood of Coal Hoisting Engineers, which had been granted on October 13, 1899, was revoked on December 16, 1903.

The National Mine Managers' and Assistants' Mutual Aid Association, chartered on May 1, 1902, was suspended on February 26, 1907.

The United Mineral Mine Workers of America was absorbed by the Western Federation of Miners in May 1904. The Western Federation of Miners became affiliated with the A. F. of L. in 1911. The name of this union was changed in December 1916 to the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers. Its jurisdiction, which had been limited to metal mines of the Rocky Mountain district, was then extended to cover smelters, refineries and blast furnaces, as well as metal mines, in the United States and Canada.

An International Brotherhood of Oil and Gas Well Workers was chartered by the A. F. of L. in December 1899 and dropped in December 1905. The present union was organized from a group of independent local unions which sprang up through California and the Gulf States. It was chartered by the A. F. of L. on June 21, 1918 under the title of the Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers of America.

The American Brotherhood of Slate Workers was disbanded on May 30, 1916.

Building Construction

The Bridge, Structural, and Ornamental Iron Workers, which had been chartered by the A. F. of L. in June 1901, was

suspended in 1902 for non-payment of the per capita tax, and rechartered on October 6, 1903. It was suspended again on April 2, 1917 because of a jurisdictional dispute with the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, but was reinstated in November of that year, when it relinquished to the Carpenters its locals of pile drivers.

The charter of the International Building Employees of America, which had been granted on March 10, 1904, was revoked on September 20, 1905.

The International Association of Steam and Hot Water Fitters was suspended from the A. F. of L. in 1912 for its refusal to merge with the United Association of Plumbers and Steam Fitters.

The charter of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners was revoked on August 1, 1912 because of its refusal to merge with the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners. The union continued independently for a time, although no data on its membership during this period are available, but finally merged with the United Brotherhood in 1924.

The American Brotherhood of Cement Workers was absorbed by the Operative Plasterers' Association on September 9, 1915.

The Compressed Air and Foundation Workers Union merged with the International Hod Carriers', Building and Common Laborers' Union of America on January 1, 1918.

The International Slate and Tile Roofers' Union of America merged with the International Brotherhood of Composition Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers on September 8, 1919.

The Ceramic Mosaic and Encaustic Tile Layers' and Helpers' International Union was suspended from the A. F. of L. on September 20, 1918.

Metals, Machinery and Shipbuilding

The International Brotherhood of Brass and Composition Metal Workers was absorbed by the Metal Polishers International Union in 1897.

The Federated Association of Wire Drawers of America, which had been chartered in 1896, was disbanded in February 1899.

The Coremakers' International Union merged with the International Molders' Union on May 21, 1903.

The charter of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers was revoked by the A. F. of L. in October 1902. By 1920 this union had been completely absorbed by the International Association of Machinists.

The International Watch Case Makers' Union was chartered on April 10, 1903 and absorbed by the International Jewelry Workers' Union in September of the same year.

The International Association of Tube Workers, which had been chartered on March 17, 1902, was disbanded in 1904.

The International Union of United Metal Workers, chartered on September 24, 1900, was suspended on March 29, 1905.

The International Association of Allied Metal Mechanics was absorbed by the International Association of Machinists on May 9, 1905.

The International Association of Blast Furnace Workers and Smelters, which had been chartered in 1901, was dropped from the A. F. of L. on December 9, 1905.

The Tackmakers' International Union was dropped from the A. F. of L. on December 9, 1905.

The National Gold Beaters' Protective Union, which was first suspended from the A. F. of L. during 1900 and 1901 was later reinstated and finally suspended on June 3, 1909.

The Chainmakers' National Union surrendered its charter in March 1911.

The Shipwrights, Joiners and Caulkers National Union of America was suspended from the A. F. of L. in March 1911.

The Table Knife Grinders' National Union was suspended in August 1911.

The International Association of Car Workers, which had been chartered by the A. F. of L. in 1901, surrendered its charter on November 28, 1911 and continued independently for some years as an industrial union under the name of the American Federation of Railroad Workers. No membership data are available after 1914.

The International Association of Watchcase Engravers surrendered to the A. F. of L. in September 1912 the charter which it had received in 1900.

The International Tin Plate Workers' Protective Association was absorbed in August 1913 by the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers.

The International Jewelry Workers' Union, chartered by the A. F. of L. in 1900, was disbanded in 1913. Members of the old union formed a new International Jewelry Workers' Union along industrial lines in 1916 and affiliated with the A. F. of L. This union was suspended from September 19, 1920 to May 11, 1922 because of a jurisdictional dispute with the Metal Polishers' International Union in which it surrendered its claims.

The Pocket Knife Blade Grinders' and Finishers' National Union was suspended from the A. F. of L. on September 2, 1917. Most of the membership has been taken up by the Metal Polishers' International Union.

The Carriage and Wagon Makers' International Union, the name of which had been changed to the Carriage, Wagon and Automobile Workers in 1913, was suspended from the A. F. of L. on April 1, 1918 for its refusal to release its craft members in the automobile industry to the respective A. F. of L. craft unions. Its automobile members joined the United Automobile Aircraft and Vehicle Workers, an unaffiliated union.

The International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and Helpers absorbed the unaffiliated organization of Drop Forgers, Die Smelters and Trimming Die Makers, and changed its name to the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers on October 16, 1919.

The International Union of Cutting Die and Cutter Makers was disbanded on October 3, 1922.

The Sawsmiths' National Union was suspended on August 2, 1924. Only one small local in Indianapolis remains for which no figures are available.

Textiles

The American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers seceded from the United Textile Workers in 1915, remained independent until 1922, and then returned to the United Textile Workers although preserving much of its autonomy. No mem-

ship figures for the hosiery workers from 1915 to 1922 are available.

The Amalgamated Lace Operatives of America and the International Mule Spinners were suspended from the A. F. of L. on December 31, 1919 for their refusal to merge with the United Textile Workers. The Mule Spinners' union had by 1932 gone out of existence.

The Amalgamated Association of Elastic Goring Weavers was disbanded on February 17, 1927.

The Associated Silk Workers of America, an independent federation of craft unions operating exclusively in the silk and artificial silk industries, was absorbed by the United Textile Workers in 1932.

Leather and Shoes

The United Leather Workers of America is regarded as an international union in spite of the fact that it operates only in Massachusetts. The union was organized on September 2, 1915, but no membership data are available before 1923.

The Amalgamated Leather Workers of America was composed exclusively of tannery workers. It surrendered the charter it had received from the A. F. of L. in 1901, on September 6, 1913. Since then such organization as has existed among tannery workers outside of Massachusetts has been carried on through directly affiliated local trade unions.

The United Leather Workers International Union was formed by an amalgamation of the United Brotherhood of Leather Workers on Horse Goods and the Travelers' Goods and Leather Novelty Workers' International Union of America on July 24, 1917.

At a convention held in Boston in 1924 the Shoe Workers' Protective Union and the United Shoe Workers merged into one organization under the title of the former.

In 1924 the Fancy Leather Goods Workers were admitted to the A. F. of L. as a directly affiliated federal labor union. The name was changed to International Pocketbook Workers. In 1928 the Pocketbook Workers merged with the United Leather Workers International Union under an agreement which allows the former to retain its name and complete jurisdiction over the handbag, pocketbook and fancy leather goods trades.

The United Shoe and Leather Workers was organized in December 1933. It represents an amalgamation of the National Shoe Workers, the Salem Shoe Workers, the left-wing Shoe and Leather Workers Industrial Union and most of the Shoe Workers' Protective Union.

Clothing

The Special Order Clothing Makers' Union, which had been chartered in April 1902, was suspended in February 1903.

The International Association of Fur Workers was chartered on May 19, 1904. It surrendered its charter on March 31, 1911, however, and a new International Fur Workers' Union was created by the A. F. of L. in 1913.

A protest entered in 1916 by the United Hatters against the control of the millinery trade by the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers resulted in the expulsion of the latter organization from the A. F. of L. on April 1, 1918. The union continued successfully, however, in both the cap and millinery trades, and in 1923 the United Hatters withdrew their claim to

jurisdiction over millinery workers. The hat and cap makers were accordingly reinstated on January 12, 1925 under the new title of Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union. In 1934, this union merged with the United Hatters to form the United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union.

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America was admitted to the A. F. of L. in October 1933.

Lumber and Woodworking

The Woodsmen and Saw Mill Workers was chartered on August 2, 1905 and suspended on April 10, 1911 for non-payment of the per capita tax to the A. F. of L.

The Amalgamated Woodworkers International Union was absorbed by the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners in March 1912.

The International Union of Timber Workers, which was chartered in August 1917 and merged with the International Shingle Weavers in April 1918, was disbanded on March 22, 1923.

Paper, Printing and Bookbinding

The International Photo Engravers' Union was formed by secession from the International Typographical Union. It was chartered by the A. F. of L. on May 19, 1904.

The International Union of Paper Box, Bag and Novelty Workers was suspended in August 1907.

The International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers was organized by secession from the International Brotherhood of Paper Makers in 1902. It continued as an independent union until 1909 when a jurisdictional adjustment with the Paper Makers was made. The A. F. of L. issued a charter to the Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers in July 1909.

The Amalgamated Lithographers absorbed the Lithographic Workmen of America in 1915. In 1918, the Amalgamated Lithographers also absorbed the Lithographic Press Feeders' and Apprentices' Association which had been suspended from the A. F. of L. in March 1914.

The International Brotherhood of Tip Printers, which had been suspended in 1914 and reinstated in 1916, joined the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders on December 31, 1918.

The International Association of Siderographers was known as the Steel Plate Transferers' Association until July 20, 1922.

The Machine Printers and Color Mixers of the United States and the National Print Cutters' Association were merged on June 29, 1923 to form the United Wall Paper Crafts of North America.

The Steel and Copper Plate International Engravers League was absorbed by the International Plate Printers and Die Stampers' Union on March 25, 1925.

Chemicals, Clay, Glass and Stone

Although the Window Glass Cutters' League was organized in 1917, the Window Glass Cutters' and Flatteners' Association in 1904, and the Window Glass Cutters' and Flatteners' Protective Association in 1909, no data on their membership before 1923 are available.

The Window Glass Cutters' Union, which had been chartered

on May 24, 1898, was absorbed in 1900 by existing A. F. of L. unions in the glass industry.

Of the three unions chartered by the A. F. of L. in the pottery industry only one, the National Brotherhood of Operative Potters, remains. The Potters' National Union went out of existence in 1899 and the Stoneware Potters was suspended in 1900.

The Window Glass Flatteners' Association of North America was chartered by the A. F. of L. in April 1898 and suspended in 1901.

The American Flint Glass Workers' Union, chartered in 1887 and then known as the United Flint Glass Workers, withdrew from the A. F. of L. on January 30, 1903. It was rechartered under its present title on October 22, 1912.

The Glass House Employees' International Association surrendered, on September 6, 1907, the charter which it had received from the A. F. of L. on January 7, 1903.

The Amalgamated Window Glass Workers of America, later known as the National Window Glass Workers of America, became affiliated with the A. F. of L. on May 10, 1906 but was dropped in February 1908. A group of skilled handicraftsmen from this union formed the National Window Glass Workers and continued independently until April 1918 when they received a charter from the A. F. of L. The union disbanded in 1928.

The Window Glass Snappers' National Protective Association of America was suspended from the A. F. of L. on March 4, 1908 but continued independently for a few years.

The Amalgamated Glass Workers' International Union, composed of stained and decorative glass workers, was absorbed by the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers on October 1, 1915.

The Window Glass Cutters' League of America was chartered by the A. F. of L. on April 14, 1923. In 1930 it absorbed the Window Glass Cutters' and Flatteners' Association, a union which had been chartered in November 1925; and in December 1933 it absorbed the independent Window Glass Cutters and Flatteners' Protective Association. The League is now the only union of window glass cutters.

The Federation of Flat Glass Workers, organized in March 1934 and chartered by the A. F. of L. on August 6, 1934, embraces all workers in flat glass factories, except window glass cutters who are members of the Window Glass Cutters' League. These are now the only two unions in the flat glass industry.

Food, Liquor and Tobacco

The charter of the International Union of Flour and Cereal Mill Employees, which had been granted on October 4, 1902, was revoked on March 30, 1911.

The International Union of United Brewery, Flour, Cereal, and Soft Drink Workers, an industrial union, was suspended from the A. F. of L. in 1907 as a result of jurisdictional disputes with the unions of coopers, firemen, engineers, and teamsters. The brewery workmen were reinstated in 1908, however, with a recognized jurisdiction over "all workers employed in the brewery industry". In 1918 the Brewery Workers' Union also assumed jurisdiction over the flour and cereal milling industry, a field which had previously been held by the International Union of Flour and Cereal Mill Employees but which was left unclaimed after the collapse of that organization. The

Brewery Workers' Union was rechartered under its present title on November 29, 1918.

Transportation and Communication

Although the Colored Railway Trainmen was organized in 1912, and the Dining Car Conductors, the Porters, Brakemen, and Switchmen, and the Train Dispatchers in 1918, no membership figures for these unions are available before 1923.

The Brotherhood of Railway Expressmen of America was chartered in May 1903 and disbanded in 1904.

The Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks was chartered by the A. F. of L. on October 21, 1900, suspended in 1902, and reinstated on November 17, 1908. It was again suspended from January 25, 1926 to January 19, 1928 for its refusal to relinquish to the International Brotherhood of Teamsters its members who were employed as drivers in the railway express service.

The Lake Pilots' Protective Association of the Great Lakes was chartered by the A. F. of L. on January 17, 1906 and suspended on March 29, 1907.

The Brotherhood of Railway Express Messengers of America was chartered in June 1912 and disbanded in December 1913.

The Brotherhood of Railroad Freight Handlers was absorbed in January 1915 by the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks.

The Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredge Men, which had been chartered in January 1915, was expelled from the A. F. of L. in March 1919 for its refusal to merge with the union of steam and operating engineers. It continued independently until April 1927, when it was absorbed by the International Union of Operating Engineers, affiliated with the A. F. of L.

The Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees was suspended from the A. F. of L. from December 31, 1919 to July 1, 1922.

The Marine Engineers Beneficial Association became affiliated with the A. F. of L. in December 1917 but withdrew in February 1923 because of the stand of the Federation on ship subsidies.

The Brotherhood of Railroad Patrolmen was suspended on February 24, 1923 for non-payment of the per capita tax.

The Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen, which had been chartered by the A. F. of L. on March 11, 1914, was suspended on October 23, 1928.

The Tunnel and Subway Constructors International Union was absorbed by the International Hud-Carriers, Building, and Common Laborers' Union of America on May 7, 1929.

Public Service

Although the National Rural Letter Carriers' Association was organized in 1903, the National Association of Postal Supervisors in 1908, and the National Alliance of Postal Employees in 1913, no membership figures for these unions are available prior to 1923.

The National Alliance of Postal Employees was organized in 1913 by negro employees of the Railway Mail Service who were not eligible to membership in the Railway Mail Association. In 1923 the scope of the union was extended to include all colored workers in the United States Postal Service.

On April 25, 1917 the National Federation of Post Office Clerks, known at the time as the National Post Office Clerks,

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absorbed the Brotherhood of Railway Postal Clerks. The present title was adopted on November 7, 1919.

The National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers was chartered in 1920 after a secession movement from the independent National Rural Letter Carriers' Association which had been formed in 1903.

The National Federation of Federal Employees withdrew from the A. F. of L. in 1932 over a dispute concerning support of the federal 'classification bill'. A rival union, the American Federation of Government Employees, was chartered by the A. F. of L. in 1932.

Theatres and Music

In December 1910 the Actors' Protective Union, the name of which had been changed to the Actors' International Union in 1909, merged with the White Rats Actors' Union. The new union received a charter from the A. F. of L. as the White Rats Actors' Union of America.

On August 28, 1919 the A. F. of L. issued a charter to the

Associated Actors and Artistes of America. This organization represented an amalgamation of the independent Actors' Equity Association, which had been formed in 1912, and the White Rats Actors' Union of America.

Trade

The charter of the American Agents' International Union, which had been granted in August 1895, was revoked in 1900.

Miscellaneous

The International Union of Mattress, Spring and Bedding Workers was chartered in May 1904 and dropped in December 1905.

The Rubber Workers' Amalgamated Union of America was chartered in November 1902 and dropped in December 1905.

The Lobster Fishermen's International Protective Association was chartered in February 1907 and suspended in June 1909.

The International Brushmakers' Union, which had been chartered on April 5, 1904, was disbanded on May 22, 1918.

The International Union of Fruit and Vegetable Workers was chartered on July 1, 1921 and disbanded on July 27, 1922.

	1916	1917	1918	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934
Mining, Quarrying and Oil	12.2	12.2	12.5	10.2	8.7	9.8	9.6	14.6	14.0	12.5	11.0	11.2	9.6	7.9	6.8	9.2	11.4	11.9	16.0
Building Construction	19.9	19.8	20.2	19.4	17.6	18.2	20.5	21.8	23.0	23.8	24.7	25.4	26.0	26.7	26.7	26.5	25.6	19.6	16.7
Metals, Machinery and Shipbuilding	9.6	10.1	11.4	15.0	17.0	15.2	12.6	7.1	6.2	5.8	5.8	5.7	5.9	6.1	6.0	5.7	5.5	6.0	6.1
Textiles	1.0	1.3	1.4	1.4	3.0	1.8	0.9	1.0	1.1	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	0.9	0.5	1.1
Leather and Shoes	2.2	2.4	2.2	2.5	2.2	2.0	2.2	1.5	1.3	1.5	1.6	1.4	1.3	1.4	1.3	1.1	0.9	2.6	3.2
Clothing	7.6	7.3	7.4	7.8	7.4	6.8	7.7	8.1	8.0	8.3	8.3	7.5	6.9	6.3	6.8	6.7	6.7	11.3	11.2
Lumber and Woodworking	0.7	0.6	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.3
Paper, Printing and Bookbinding	4.6	4.5	4.2	3.6	3.2	3.8	4.0	4.2	4.3	4.4	4.5	4.6	4.6	4.7	4.9	4.9	5.1	5.1	4.5
Chemicals, Clay, Glass and Stone	1.9	1.7	1.5	1.2	1.0	1.1	1.2	1.4	1.3	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.1	1.1	1.0	1.0	0.9	0.9	1.3
Food, Liquor and Tobacco	4.2	3.9	4.0	4.1	3.6	3.1	2.5	2.1	2.1	2.1	2.1	2.0	1.9	1.9	1.8	1.8	1.8	1.9	2.3
Transportation and Communication	22.5	22.7	22.4	23.2	24.9	25.9	25.8	25.0	25.3	25.4	25.3	25.0	25.6	25.9	26.0	24.3	22.2	20.5	17.9
Public Service	3.5	3.3	3.0	3.3	3.2	3.6	4.2	5.0	5.2	5.5	5.8	6.0	6.4	7.2	7.8	8.2	9.5	10.0	8.3
Theatre and Music	3.1	2.7	2.5	2.1	2.0	2.2	2.7	2.9	3.0	3.2	3.2	3.2	3.8	3.9	3.9	3.9	4.1	4.3	3.5
Trade	0.5	0.5	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.2
Hotel and Restaurant Service	2.1	2.1	1.9	1.5	1.2	1.5	1.5	1.2	1.3	1.3	1.3	1.3	1.3	1.3	1.3	1.1	1.0	1.1	1.5
Domestic and Personal Service	1.5	1.5	1.3	1.0	1.0	1.2	1.5	1.6	1.6	1.7	1.8	1.9	1.9	1.9	2.1	2.1	2.0	1.9	1.8
Professional Service	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.3
Miscellaneous	2.9	3.4	3.3	2.9	3.1	3.0	2.4	1.9	1.7	1.7	1.8	1.9	2.0	2.0	1.9	1.8	1.8	1.9	3.8
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE III

WORKING POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES, 1910, 1920, AND 1930¹

	1910	1920	1930
I. PROFESSIONAL WORKERS²			
Professional Workers, total	2,613,755	2,000,840	2,855,973
Actors and showmen	48,393 ³	48,172	75,296
Architects	16,613	18,185	22,000
Artists, sculptors and teachers of art	34,104	35,402	57,265
Authors	4,368	6,668	12,449
Aviators	⁴	1,312	6,097
Chemists, assayers and metallurgists	16,273	32,941	47,068
Chiropractors and other healers, not elsewhere classified	6,834	14,774	29,556
Clergymen	118,018	127,270	148,848
College presidents and professors	15,668	33,407	61,905
Decorators, drapers and window dressers	5,341	8,853	20,149
Dentists	39,997	56,152	71,055
Designers, draftsmen and inventors	47,449	70,651	102,730
Editors and reporters	34,382	34,197	51,844
Lawyers, judges and justices	114,704	122,519	160,605
Musicians and teachers of music	139,310	130,265	165,228
Osteopaths	⁴	5,030	6,117
Librarians	7,423	15,297	29,613
Photographers	31,775	34,259	39,529
Physicians and surgeons	151,132 ⁴	144,977	153,803
Teachers: athletics, dancing, etc.	3,931	9,711	18,599
Teachers: school	595,306	752,055	1,044,016
Technical engineers	88,755	136,121	226,240
Trained nurses	82,327	149,128	294,109
Veterinary surgeons	11,652	13,494	11,863
II. PROPRIETORS, MANAGERS AND OFFICIALS; INDEPENDENT, SALARIED, AND COMMISSIONED WORKERS			
Proprietors, total	8,093,399	8,372,820	8,598,894
Farmers (owners and tenants)	6,132,380	6,387,360	6,012,012
Manufacturers	235,618	183,695	307,901
Building contractors and builders	174,422	90,109	167,512
Wholesale and retail dealers	-	-	-
Retail dealers ⁵	1,195,829	1,328,275	1,703,522
Wholesalers, importers and exporters	51,848	73,574	83,525
Other proprietors	-	-	-
Billiard and dance halls, etc.	16,761	24,897	29,129
Boarding and lodging houses	165,452	133,992	144,371

	1910	1920	1930
Employment offices	2,260	3,026	3,765
Extraction of minerals	14,287	17,334	15,511
Laundries	15,441	9,027	15,440
Log and timber camps	6,206	6,315	5,650
Pleasure resorts, race tracks, etc.	2,929	3,360	10,718
Restaurants and cafes	60,832	87,987	165,406
Undertakers	20,734	24,469	34,132
Managers and Officials, total	380,696	609,853	748,597
Banks, including bankers	56,059	82,375	93,356
Extraction of minerals	10,947	16,991	15,385
Insurance companies	9,501	15,060	29,308
Keepers of charitable and penal institutions	7,491	12,884	15,020
Laundries	2,602	4,665	9,105
Lodges, societies, etc.	8,215	11,736	14,515
Log and timber camps	1,725	2,095	1,249
Manufacturing	125,694	249,950	312,756
Public officials			
Abstractors, notaries and justices of the peace	7,445	10,071	11,756
City and county officials	52,254	55,597	78,395
Marshals, sheriffs and detectives	23,599	32,214	41,823
Postmasters	27,849	31,935	34,421
State and Federal officials	25,077	48,399	51,700
Radio	.....	.....	1,819
Steam railroads	19,805	32,426	34,380
Street railways	2,433	3,455	3,609
Other Proprietors, Managers and Officials,* total	240,018	260,728	370,112
Advertising agencies	†	†	10,539
Air transportation	.....	.....	1,090
Boatmen, canalmen and lockkeepers	5,304	6,319	5,643
Dyeing and cleaning establishments	‡	‡	22,116
Fishermen and oystermen	68,275	52,836	73,280
Garages	5,279	42,151	69,965
Grain elevators	5,118	8,858	9,505
Hotel keepers and managers	64,504	55,583	56,848
Stockyards	†	†	421
Telephone and telegraph	10,089	11,603	18,957
Theatres and motion pictures	11,322	18,395	21,646
Truck, transfer and cab companies	15,598	23,497	41,084
Warehouses	4,393	6,353	7,389

	1910	1920	1930
Quarries	80,840	45,162	65,288
Oil and gas wells	25,562	85,550	105,224
Salt wells and works	4,365	5,472	4,124
Manufacturing and Mechanical Industries, including Construction, total	10,229,364	12,162,179	13,540,817
Trades and occupations attached to more than one industry, total	4,756,144	5,433,714	6,088,981
Metal trades, total	1,118,688	1,631,362	1,378,048
Blacksmiths	232,988	195,255	124,373
Boilermakers	44,761	74,088	49,923
Coppersmiths	3,410	5,233	3,027
Forgemen and hammermen	7,186	26,166	23,096
Furnace and smelter men, puddlers, etc.	36,251	40,806	35,166
Gold and silversmiths, jewelers and watchmakers	32,574	39,592	38,662
Machinists	461,344	801,901	640,289
Metal filers, grinders and polishers	49,525	59,785	78,600
Metal rollers and roller hands	18,407	25,061	30,765
Millwrights	17,442	37,669	42,012
Molders, founders and casters	120,900	123,681	105,158
Pattern and model makers	23,559	27,720	29,750
Tinsmiths and sheet metal workers	56,423	69,735	80,400
Toolmakers and die setters and sinkers	9,263	55,092	78,794
Apprentices			
Blacksmiths'	2,816	2,661	682
Boilermakers'	.....	2,005	631
Gold and silversmiths', etc.	1,839	2,633	1,177
Machinists' ²³	.....	39,463	13,606
Tinsmiths' and coppersmiths'	.....	2,816	1,937
Building trades, total	1,645,905	1,803,411	2,329,661
Brick and stone masons and tile layers	169,402 ²⁴	131,264	170,903
Carpenters	817,120	887,379	929,426
Cement finishers		7,621	15,427
Electricians	120,241	212,964	280,317
Painters, glaziers and varnishers (bldg.)	273,441	248,497	430,105
Paper hangers	25,577	18,746	28,328
Plasterers	47,682	38,255	70,053
Plumbers and gas and steam fitters	148,304	206,718	237,814
Roofers and slaters	14,078	11,378	23,636
Structural iron workers (bldg.)	11,427	18,836	28,966

TABLE III—Continued

	1910	1920	1930
Apprentices			
Carpenters'	6,069	4,805	4,138
Electricians'	2,461	9,562	4,611
Plumbers'	9,903	7,386	5,937
Lumber and woodworking trades, total	130,686	127,991	156,760
Cabinet makers	41,892	45,511	57,897
Coopers	25,299	19,066	11,347
Sawyers	43,276	33,809	36,064
Upholsterers	20,221	29,605	51,452
Printing trades, total	186,541	199,220	261,904
Compositors, linotypers and typesetters	127,589	140,165	183,632
Electrotypers and stereotypers	4,368	5,494	7,824
Engravers	13,967	15,053	19,437
Lithographers	8,138	8,222	8,868
Pressmen and plate printers	20,084	18,683	31,215
Apprentices—printers' and bookbinders'	12,395	11,603	10,928
Needle trades,²⁵ total	793,867	805,668	874,792
Dressmakers and seamstresses	449,342	235,855	158,380
Milliners and millinery dealers	127,906	73,255	44,948
Tailors and tailoresses	204,608	192,232	169,283
Apprentices—dressmakers' and milliners'	12,011	4,326	2,181
Food workers, total	112,683	121,213	186,746
Bakers	89,531	97,940	140,800
Millers	23,152	23,272	15,946
Glass and stone workers, total	51,295	51,243	26,156
Glass blowers	15,564	9,144	3,260
Stone cutters	35,731	22,099	22,886
Miscellaneous, total	540,480	705,470	1,161,410
Cranemen, derrickmen, hoistmen	28	37,888	60,806
Dyers	14,650	15,109	17,719
Enamellers, lacquerers and japanners	2,999	4,137	5,758
Foremen and overseers	175,997	308,137	338,504
Loom fixers	12,254	15,961	19,215
Mechanics			
Automobile factories	.....	.....	31,330
Automobile repair shops	.....	.....	164,511

	1910	1920	1930
Railroad and car shops	.....	.....	4,215
Other industries	.....	.....	218,812
Motion picture production helpers	.....	.....	2,213
Oilers of machinery	14,013	24,612	31,210
Painters, glaziers, and varnishers (factory)	60,915	70,398	93,068
Piano and organ tuners	6,633	7,047	6,823
Shoemakers and cobblers (not in factory)	69,570	78,859	76,388
Skilled occupations not elsewhere classified	10,175	12,348	12,258
Stationary engineers	231,041	242,096	256,078
Stationary firemen	111,248	143,875	127,294
Apprentices			
Building and hand trades	6,582	5,255	8,591
Other	.....	47,885 ¹⁴	23,033
Operatives and laborers attached to specified industries, total	5,473,220	6,728,468	7,456,836
Chemical and allied industries, total	120,761	204,729	269,388
Charcoal and coke	13,080	11,106	6,370
Explosives, ammunition and fireworks	9,540	15,846	10,951
Fertilisers	10,482	14,350	19,781
Gas works	22,281	28,307	42,793
Paint and varnish	6,879	10,362	14,468
Petroleum refining	12,954	40,686	66,090
Rayon factories	.....	.....	25,902
Soap	7,876	11,003	10,088
Other chemical factories	37,669	73,069	72,942
Cigar and tobacco factories, total	168,193	180,379	124,296
Clay, glass and stone industries, total	243,517	209,978	242,007
Brick, tile and terra-cotta	66,511	58,623	72,427
Glass	91,361	73,768	68,961
Lime, cement and artificial stone	44,692	37,684	50,029
Marble and stone yards	15,454	10,630	16,065
Potteries	25,499	29,273	34,525
Clothing industries, total	396,376	422,137	504,203
Corsets	13,907	13,413	11,271
Gloves	20,209	25,114	19,624
Hats (felt)	34,779	22,167	27,596
Shirts, collars and cuffs	62,353	55,085	59,607
Suits, coats and overalls	140,962	147,856	110,567

TABLE III—Continued

	1910	1920	1930
Other clothing	124,166	158,502	275,537
Food and allied industries, total	237,658	374,615	379,302
Bakeries	13,448	28,756	40,263
Butter, cheese and condensed milk	16,414	34,031	43,140
Candy	33,921	58,865	50,022
Fish curing and packing	7,646	13,886	12,968
Flour and grain mills	13,235	26,233	22,869
Fruit and vegetable canning, etc.	9,960	23,262	38,292
Slaughter and packing houses	59,800	109,539	96,104
Sugar factories and refineries	10,626	19,539	13,076
Other food factories	22,248	34,319	42,866
Liquor and beverage industries	50,360	26,185	19,702
Iron and steel, machinery and vehicle industries, total	851,981	1,419,593	1,313,529
Agricultural implements	15,933	19,131	19,655
Automobile factories	36,874	204,505	285,674
Automobile repair shops	.....	.....	22,105
Blast furnaces, tinplate and steel rolling mills	273,665	352,457	342,390
Car and railroad shops	96,125	151,623	102,797
Ship and boat building	26,513	166,863	37,321
Wagon and carriage factories	34,730	19,247	4,185
Other factories, including iron foundries	292,779	425,057	420,725
Not specified metal industries	76,362	80,712	78,671
Leather industries, total	289,075	333,870	306,119
Harness and saddle factories	23,948	20,020	7,665
Leather belts, leather goods, etc.	13,461	20,767	18,463
Shoe factories	191,287	225,435	228,317
Tanneries	54,450	59,706	45,802
Trunk, suitcase and bag factories	5,929	7,942	5,872
Lumber and furniture industries, total	485,515	489,332	510,996
Furniture	68,258	96,989	115,037
Pianos and organs	23,612	25,173	9,841
Saw and planing mills and wooden box factories	326,202	363,003	310,727
Other woodworking	67,643	78,167	75,391
Metal industries, except iron and steel, total	114,588	189,178	124,250
Brass mills	27,770	35,967	29,463
Clock and watch factories	17,567	21,352	16,582

	1910	1920	1930
Copper factories	13,554	13,949	10,963
Gold and silver factories	7,108	8,511	7,101
Jewelry factories	11,502	16,504	14,376
Lead and zinc factories	9,860	11,391	10,130
Tinware, enamelware, etc.	18,198	36,961	43,471
Other metal factories	9,089	14,543	21,984
Paper, printing and allied industries, total	162,922	222,607	235,284
Blank books, envelopes, tags, etc.	11,589	17,149	21,053
Paper and pulp mills	67,771	106,932	115,667
Paper box factories	19,320	23,836	16,871
Printing, publishing and engraving	64,242	74,690	81,693
Textile industries, total	776,699	945,707	937,903
Cotton mills	317,953	378,769	358,020
Knitting mills	95,670	119,547	143,418
Silk mills	83,177	125,801	136,848
Textile dyeing, finishing and printing	26,329	28,341	27,184
Woolen and worsted mills	117,476	148,645	115,574
Carpet mills	41,116	27,340	33,437
Hemp, jute and linen mills	8,805	8,454	5,464
Lace and embroidery mills	16,732	20,027	11,986
Rope and cordage mills	10,314	12,722	8,390
Sail, awning and tent factories	3,629	3,826	4,996
Other and not specified mills	55,498	72,235	92,586
Miscellaneous manufacturing industries, total	471,546	936,820	1,011,956
Broom and brush factories	12,728	15,406	12,108
Button factories	12,566	14,384	8,694
Electric light and power plants	17,056	31,366	84,934
Electrical machinery and supply factories	36,111	91,630	154,212
Rubber factories	45,139	137,671	109,958
Straw factories	6,328	14,679	1,966
Turpentine farms and distilleries	35,411	26,968	38,988
Other miscellaneous manufacturing industries	103,287	206,305	195,331
Other not specified manufacturing industries	202,920	398,411	405,765
Building construction			
Laborers and helpers	48	11	419,802
Operatives	11,733	7,003	18,442

TABLE III—Continued

	1910	1920	1930
Canals, docks, and harbors			
Laborers	14,267	5,966	11,329
Roads, streets, etc., building and repairing			
Foremen and overseers	7,064	9,558	23,250
Laborers	180,468	115,836	290,354
Other occupations	5,076	4,435	8,565
Miscellaneous manufacturing and mechanical industries			
General and not specified laborers	935,781 ¹³	686,722 ¹³	695,865
Transportation and Communication, total	2,254,204	2,705,906	3,368,162
Transportation, total	2,002,269	2,316,920	2,843,788
Air transportation, total			5,196
Foremen and overseers	.....	.....	181
Laborers at airports and flying fields	.....	.....	1,600
Mechanics at airports	.....	.....	3,406
Motor and wagon transportation, total	872,524	772,766	1,404,543
Bus conductors	.....	.....	1,002
Chauffeurs, truck and tractor drivers ¹³	45,785	285,045	972,418
Draymen, teamsters and carriage drivers ¹³	443,845	420,189	111,224
Garage laborers	4,468	31,450	64,693
Garage mechanics	.....	.....	196,339
Hostlers and stablehands	63,388	18,974	6,654
Laborers in truck, transfer and cab companies	.....	.....	40,970
Teamsters and haulers in timber camps	15,038	17,106	9,243
Steam railroads, total	1,140,898	1,203,583	1,119,830
Baggagemen	12,279	11,878	9,214
Boiler washers and engine hostlers	18,489	25,305	18,300
Brakemen	92,572	114,107	83,197
Conductors	65,604	74,539	73,332
Foremen and overseers	65,240	73,044	71,910
Inspectors	27,461	42,721	39,679
Laborers, including construction	543,168	478,199	435,858
Locomotive engineers	94,279	109,899	101,261
Locomotive firemen	74,381	91,345	67,896
Mechanics	.....	.....	12,482

	1910	1920	1930
Motormen	2,487	3,560	2,754
Porters	17,298	22,513	27,648
Switchmen and flagmen	73,419	101,917	92,217
Ticket and station agents	24,138	26,585	27,160
Yardmen	9,575	7,148	7,948
Other occupations	24,424	28,621	42,619
Apprentices	.....	17	1,323
Street railways, total	155,238	173,691	151,373
Conductors	56,932	63,760	35,697
Foremen and overseers	4,673	6,248	5,827
Inspectors	2,268	3,451	3,330
Laborers, including construction	27,807	25,514	27,416
Mechanics	.....	.....	5,150
Motormen	56,218	62,959	57,969
Switchmen and flagmen	2,153	2,500	2,608
Other occupations	5,187	9,259	13,375
Water transportation, total	133,609	167,080	163,139
Captains, masters, mates and pilots	24,242	26,320	24,485
Longshoremen and stevedores	62,857	85,928	73,954
Sailors and deck hands	46,510	54,832	64,700
Communication ²¹, total	232,788	355,165	452,500
Telephone and telegraph, total	217,122	331,645	433,027
Foremen and overseers	3,843	6,822	11,172
Inspectors	2,619	2,821	4,173
Laborers	5,312	5,088	12,674
Linemen	28,350	37,917	71,625
Telegraph messengers	9,152	9,403	16,176
Telegraph operators	69,953 ²²	79,484 ²³	67,821
Telephone operators	97,893	190,160	248,884
Apprentices	.....	17	502
Express, total	15,666	23,520	19,473
Agents	5,875	5,293	4,176
Laborers	3,010	9,089	7,086
Messengers	6,781	9,138	8,211
Other transportation and communication, total	19,147	33,821	71,874

TABLE III—Continued

	1910	1920	1930
Foremen and overseers	10,437	13,483	17,532
Inspectors	689	1,240	5,538
Laborers	1,361	5,920	4,661
Pipe line laborers	2,605	7,369	13,704
Radio and wireless operators	²⁴	²⁵	4,955
Other occupations	4,055	5,809	21,158
Apprentices	.....	¹⁷	4,326
Public Service (selected occupations),²⁶ total	421,136	704,962	822,298
Firemen	35,606	50,771	73,008
Garbage men and scavengers	4,227	5,481	9,163
Guards, watchmen and doorkeepers	78,271	115,553	148,115
Mail carriers	80,678	91,451	121,335
Police men	61,980	82,120	131,687
Soldiers, sailors and marines ²⁶	77,153	225,503	132,830
Street cleaners	9,946	11,196	26,673
Other laborers	63,007	101,434	147,847
Other pursuits	10,268	21,453	41,637
Clerical and Commercial Service, total	3,326,326	4,936,385	6,759,332
Bookkeepers and cashiers	647,461	616,237	739,077
Clerks in stores	387,183	413,918	401,991
Other clerks ²⁶	720,498	1,487,905	1,997,000
Deliverymen ¹⁶	229,619	170,235	180,617
Floorwalkers and foremen in stores	17,946	20,604	32,564
Foreman in warehouses, stockyards, etc.	2,778	5,833	5,599
Inspectors, gangers and samplers	13,446	13,714	16,743
Laborers, porters and helpers in stores	102,333	125,007	208,688
Laborers in coal, lumber and stockyards, etc.	81,123	125,609	113,660
Meat cutters	15,405	22,884	45,108
Messenger, errand and office boys	108,835	113,022	90,379
Newsboys	29,708	27,961	34,993
Railway mail clerks	15,240	15,867	17,397
Salesmen and saleswomen	677,234	1,125,782	1,988,332
Stenographers and typists	316,693	615,154	811,190
Other pursuits in trade	21,520	36,453	76,141
Apprentices in wholesale and retail trade	.....	¹⁷	2,444
Other Service Industries			
Recreation and amusement, total	9,114	11,024	32,903

	1910	1920	1930
Pool room, etc. attendants			16,168
Stage hands and circus helpers	6,836	5,803	4,274
Theatre ushers	2,278	5,221	12,461
Professional service, total	39,584	88,209	223,565
Dentists', librarians' and doctors' assistants	9,487	16,038	29,622
Social, welfare and religious workers	15,970	41,078	62,531
Technicians and laboratory assistants			15,988
Miscellaneous occupations, professional	8,254	18,409	47,942
Miscellaneous occupations, semi-professional and recreational	4,720	4,257	10,521
Miscellaneous attendants and helpers	.....	4,650	50,370
Apprentices to professional persons	1,153	3,777 ^{2†}	6,591
Domestic and personal service, total	3,429,669	3,066,828	4,546,220
Barbers, hairdressers, and manicurists	195,275	216,211	374,290
Building service			
Charwomen and cleaners	34,034	36,803	61,932
Elevator tenders	25,035	40,713	67,614
Janitors and sextons	113,081	178,628	309,625
Dyeing, cleaning and pressing shop workers	14,860 ⁵	21,667 ⁶	66,002
Housekeepers and stewards	189,273	221,612	256,746
Laborers	53,480	32,893	126,963 ^{3†}
Laundry workers	112,264	120,715	220,131
Midwives and untrained nurses	133,043	156,769	157,009
Servant classes			
Bootblacks	14,020	15,175	18,784
Launderers	533,697	396,756	361,033
Porters ^{2†}	66,830	65,655	99,840
Waiters	188,293	228,985	393,288
Cooks	450,440	398,475	565,392
Servants	1,121,785	872,471	1,433,741
Other occupations	184,259	63,300	33,830

¹ Reclassified from the Fifteenth Census of the U. S.: 1930, Population, Volume V, General Report on Occupations. For a summary of this classification, see above, Table 35

² An indeterminate number of professional workers are salaried employees and not self-employed workers. These amounted to probably as many as 700,000 in 1930.

³ Aviators are included with actors and showmen in 1910.

⁴ Osteopaths are included with physicians and surgeons in 1910.

⁵ Managers and superintendents of retail stores are included.

⁶ Proprietors in these industries could not be separated from managers and officials.

⁷ Proprietors, managers and officials of advertising agencies and stockyards are included with those in miscellaneous trade pursuits in 1910 and 1920.

⁸ Proprietors, managers and officials were not classified separately from other persons attached to the dyeing and cleaning

TABLE III—Continued

industry in 1910 and 1920. The total number of persons reported in those years is included under employees in domestic and personal service.

⁹ Advertising agents and county agents and farm demonstrators are included with agents, collectors and credit men in 1910 and 1920.

¹⁰ Managers and officials of real estate companies are included with real estate agents.

¹¹ An indeterminate and probably large number of these workers are proprietors, managers, officials, independent, salaried and commissioned workers.

¹² Unpaid family workers on farms are not included. These workers do not appear anywhere in this table.

¹³ Many of the machinists' apprentices probably are machine tenders.

¹⁴ Cement finishers are included with brick and stone masons and tile layers in 1910.

¹⁵ Only those needle trades pursued outside of the factory are included.

¹⁶ In 1910, eramenen, derrickmen and hoistmen are included with the other operatives in the industries in which they worked.

¹⁷ The group of other apprentices in miscellaneous manufacturing and mechanical industries includes in 1920 the following groups of apprentices separately classified in 1930: steam railroads, telegraph and telephone, other transportation and communication, wholesale and retail trade, and apprentices to miscellaneous professional persons.

¹⁸ In 1910 and 1920 building construction laborers and helpers were not reported separately. They were included with general and not specified laborers in manufacturing and mechanical industries.

¹⁹ Neither in 1910, 1920 nor 1930 was the attempt by the Census Bureau to distinguish chauffeurs and motor truck drivers from draymen, teamsters, and carriage drivers and from deliverymen very successful. Teamsters in agriculture and the extraction of minerals are included with the other workers in those industries. Drivers for bakeries, stores, and laundries are classified as deliverymen under clerical and commercial service.

²⁰ These workers are included with draymen, teamsters, and carriage drivers in 1910 and 1920.

²¹ The postal service is not included.

²² Radio and wireless operators are included with telegraph operators in 1910 and 1920.

²³ This group does not include many public employees who are otherwise classified; postal clerks, for example, are classified as clerks, and teachers as professional workers.

²⁴ Only those soldiers, sailors, and marines resident in the continental United States at the date of enumeration are included.

²⁵ Postal and railway clerks are included in this group.

²⁶ These workers are included with servants and classified under domestic and personal service in 1910 and 1920.

²⁷ Technicians and laboratory assistants in 1910 and 1920 are distributed by the Census Bureau among three groups—operatives in miscellaneous chemical factories, miscellaneous occupations in semi-professional pursuits, and 'other clerks' in clerical and commercial service.

²⁸ This group covers laborers in professional service and in recreation and amusement as well as in domestic and personal service.

²⁹ Porters in stores and on the railroads are not included.

TABLE IV
MEMBERSHIP OF AMERICAN TRADE UNIONS,
UNITED STATES AND CANADA, 1930 ¹

NAME OF UNION	TOTAL MEMBERSHIP	CANADA	UNITED STATES
Actors and Artists	9,700	.....	9,700
Asbestos Workers	3,300	200	3,100
Bakery and Confectionery Workers	19,900	300	19,600
Barbers	51,200	1,600	49,600
Bill Posters	1,600	300	1,300
Blacksmiths	5,000	1,200	3,800
Boilermakers and Iron Shipbuilders	19,300	2,900	16,400
Bookbinders	14,000	800	13,200
Boot and Shoe Workers	32,200	1,100	31,100
Brewery Workers	15,300	800	14,500
Brick and Clay Workers	4,200	.....	4,200
Bricklayers and Masons	90,000	5,600	84,400
Bridge and Iron Workers	20,900	600	20,300
Broom Makers	500	.....	500
Building Service Employees	16,200	.....	16,200
Carpenters, United	303,200	13,900	289,300
Cigar Makers	11,600	300	11,300
Cloth Hat and Cap Makers	5,900	200	5,700
Clothing Workers, Amalgamated	100,000	7,000	93,000
Colored Railway Trammens	2,000	.....	2,000
Commercial Telegraphers	4,000	1,800	2,200
Conductors, Dining Car	800	.....	800
Conductors, Sleeping Car	1,900	.....	1,900
Coopers	700	.....	700
Diamond Workers	400	.....	400
Draftsmen	1,200	.....	1,200
Electrical Workers	142,000	4,000	138,000
Elevator Constructors	10,200	400	9,800
Engineers, Operating	34,000	1,900	32,100
Federal Employees	33,500	.....	33,500
Fire Fighters	18,000	2,500	15,500
Firemen and Oilers	9,000	900	8,100

TABLE IV—Continued

NAME OF UNION	TOTAL MEMBERSHIP	CANADA	UNITED STATES
Flint Glass Workers	4,900	100	4,800
Food Workers, Amalgamated	7,500	.....	7,500
Foundry Employees	2,800	.....	2,800
Fur Workers	7,000	2,000	5,000
Garment Workers, United	47,200	1,000	46,200
Glass Bottle Blowers	6,000	200	5,800
Glove Workers	800	.....	800
Granite Cutters	8,500	200	8,300
Hatters	11,500	.....	11,500
Hod Carriers	96,000	600	95,400
Horseshoers	700	.....	700
Hotel and Restaurant Employees	36,500	1,300	35,200
Iron, Steel and Tin Workers	7,900	200	7,700
Jewelry Workers	800	100	700
Lace Operatives	1,300	.....	1,300
Ladies Garment Workers, International	50,800	3,500	47,300
Lathers, Wood and Metal	12,500	300	12,200
Laundry Workers	5,500	.....	5,500
Leather Workers International, United	5,900	100	4,900
Leather Workers of America, United	1,000	.....	1,000
Letter Carriers, National Association of	50,800	.....	50,800
Lithographers	5,800	400	5,400
Local Trade and Federal Unions	18,200	.....	18,200
Locomotive Engineers	77,100	5,900	71,200
Locomotive Firemen	98,200	7,100	91,100
Longshoremen	34,700	1,700	33,000
Machinists	78,000	8,700	69,300
Maintenance of Way Employees	46,100	14,400	31,700
Marble, Stone and Slate Workers	7,700	100	7,600
Marine Engineers	7,600	.....	7,600
Masters, Mates and Pilots	3,900	.....	3,900
Meat Cutters	12,500	100	12,400
Metal Engravers	400	.....	400
Metal Polishers	6,000	100	5,900
Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers	4,900	.....	4,900

NAME OF UNION	TOTAL MEMBERSHIP	CANADA	UNITED STATES
Mine Workers, United	221,700	16,600	205,100
Molders	22,200	2,100	20,100
Musicians	100,000	5,600	94,400
Oil and Gas Well Workers	1,100	.....	1,100
Painters, Decorators and Paper Hangers	106,200	2,100	104,100
Paper Makers	4,100	1,800	2,300
Pattern Makers	7,000	300	6,700
Pavers	2,000	.....	2,000
Paving Cutters	2,400	200	2,200
Photo Engravers	9,000	400	8,600
Piano and Organ Workers	500	100	400
Plasterers and Cement Finishers	38,100	1,600	36,500
Plumbers and Steam Fitters	45,000	2,400	42,600
Porters, Brakemen, and Switchmen	1,000	.....	1,000
Postal Employees, National Alliance of	4,600	.....	4,600
Postal Supervisors	5,800	.....	5,800
Post Office Clerks, National Federation of	44,800	.....	44,800
Post Office Clerks, United National Association of	41,000	.....	41,000
Potters, Operative	5,800	.....	5,800
Powder Workers	200	.....	200
Printing Pressmen	40,000	4,500	35,500
Pulp and Paper Mill Workers	5,000	1,500	3,500
Quarry Workers	3,000	100	2,900
Railroad Signalmen	10,500	300	10,200
Railroad Station Employees	3,500	.....	3,500
Railroad Telegraphers	41,000	8,300	32,700
Railroad Trammens	179,700	15,000	164,700
Railroad Yardmasters	600	.....	600
Railway Carmen	50,400	14,400	36,000
Railway Clerks	97,000	4,400	92,600
Railway Conductors	51,300	3,300	48,000
Railway Mail Association	19,800	.....	19,800
Retail Clerks	10,000	300	9,700
Roofers, Composition	4,000	.....	4,000
Rural Letter Carriers Association, National	39,800	.....	39,800
Rural Letter Carriers, National Federation of	800	.....	800
Seamen	15,000	200	14,000

TABLE IV—Continued

NAME OF UNION	TOTAL MEMBERSHIP	CANADA	UNITED STATES
Silk Workers	2,000	.....	2,000
Sheet Metal Workers	25,000	1,100	23,900
Shoe Workers Protective	6,100	.....	6,100
Siderographers	100	.....	100
Spinners, Mule	2,000	.....	2,000
Steel Plate Printers	1,200	.....	1,200
Stereotypers	7,900	300	7,600
Stone Cutters	4,800	500	4,300
Stove Mouniers	1,000	.....	1,000
Street and Electric Railway Employees	97,200	10,000	87,200
Switchmen	9,200	100	9,100
Tailors, Journeymen	6,700	300	6,400
Teachers, American Federation of	5,200	.....	5,200
Teamsters and Chauffeurs	98,800	1,200	97,600
Textile Workers, United	30,000	100	29,900
Theatrical Stage Employees	24,000	800	23,200
Tobacco Workers	2,500	.....	2,500
Train Dispatchers	3,800	.....	3,800
Typographical Union	77,500	4,700	72,800
Upholsterers	10,700	300	10,400
Wall Paper Crafts	600	.....	600
Window Glass Cutters League	700	.....	700
Window Glass Cutters and Flatteners Protective Association	300	.....	300
Wire Weavers	400	.....	400
Wood Carvers	1,200	.....	1,200
Grand Total	3,392,800	203,900	3,189,900

¹ The figures of total membership in this table are taken from the Appendix, Table I. The Canadian membership is from the *Fourteenth Annual Report on Labour Organization in Canada, 1930*, published by the Department of Labour of Canada. Membership in the United States is obtained by subtracting Canadian from total membership.

TABLE V

EXTENT OF TRADE UNION ORGANIZATION AMONG EMPLOYEES IN THE PRINCIPAL
DIVISIONS OF INDUSTRY,¹ 1910, 1920, AND 1930

	1910	1920	1930
A. MINING, QUARRYING, CRUDE PETROLEUM AND GAS PRODUCTION			
Coal mining			
Number of employees	613,924	733,936	621,661
Union membership			
United Mine Workers	226,000	373,800	205,100
Total, union membership	226,000	373,800	205,100
Percentage organized	36.8	50.9	33.0
Other mining			
Number of employees	191,906	148,847	122,844
Union membership			
Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers	.....	20,700	4,000
Western Federation of Miners	28,600	.....	.....
Total, union membership	28,600	20,700	4,000
Percentage organized	14.9	13.9	3.3
Quarrying			
Number of employees	80,840	45,162	65,288
Union membership			
Quarry Workers	4,900	2,600	2,900
Slate Workers	1,400	.....	.....
Total, union membership	6,300	2,600	2,900
Percentage organized	7.8	5.8	4.4
Crude petroleum and gas production			
Number of employees	25,562	85,550	105,324
Union membership			
Oil and Gas Well Workers	.....	20,900	1,100
Total, union membership	.....	20,900	1,100
Percentage organized	.....	24.4	1.0
TOTAL, MINING, QUARRYING, AND CRUDE PETROLEUM AND GAS PRODUCTION			
Number of employees ²	939,935	1,055,898	953,427
Total, union membership	260,900	418,000	213,100
Percentage organized	27.8	39.6	22.4

TABLE V—Continued

	1910	1920	1930
B. MANUFACTURING AND MECHANICAL INDUSTRIES, INCLUDING CONSTRUCTION ^a			
Number of employees ^b	10,209,151	12,140,420	13,517,512
Union membership			
Building trades unions	459,000	848,300	871,200
Textile unions	21,000	146,600	35,200
Metal, machinery, and shipbuilding unions ^c	196,300	757,600	171,600
Leather and shoe unions	46,800	109,600	43,100
Clothing unions	97,800	357,600	215,900
Food, liquor, and tobacco unions	121,000	176,100	60,300
Lumber and woodworking unions	28,000	23,900	12,700
Paper, printing, and bookbinding unions	89,700	149,000	150,800
Chemical, clay, glass, and stone unions	60,100	51,000	34,400
Transportation unions			
Tunnel Constructors	1,300	3,000	.....
Paving Cutters	3,200	2,500	2,000
Pavers and Rammermen	1,500	1,800	2,200
Steam Shovel and Dredgemen	1,300	6,600	.....
Miscellaneous unions			
Horteshoers	7,200	5,400	700
Brushmakers	300	.....	.....
Broom Makers	600	1,400	500
Firemen and Oilers	8,100	28,600	8,100
Operating Engineers	16,000	30,000	32,100
Total, union membership	1,159,700	2,699,000	1,640,800
Percentage organized	11.4	22.2	12.2
C. TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATION			
Motor and wagon transportation			
Number of employees ^b	802,143	943,001	1,504,560
Union membership			
Teamsters and Chauffeurs	35,800	110,100	97,600
Total, union membership	35,800	110,100	97,600
Percentage organized	4.5	11.7	6.5
Steam railroads			
Number of employees	1,140,898	1,203,363	1,119,538
Union membership			
Colored Railway Trainmen	.....	.....	2,000
Dining Car Conductors	.....	.....	800
Locomotive Engineers	67,400	80,600	71,200

	1910	1920	1930
Locomotive Firemen	69,200	117,100	91,100
Maintenance of Way Employees	8,700	144,600	23,700
Porters, Brakemen and Switchmen	.....	.....	1,000
Railway Conductors	46,000	52,500	48,000
Railroad Patrolmen	.....	2,600	.....
Railroad Signalmen	1,200	12,100	10,200
Railroad Station Employees	.....	35,200	3,500
Railroad Stationmen	.....	1,600	.....
Railroad Station Agents	600	8,800	.....
Railroad Trammem	113,900	170,400	161,700
Railroad Yardmasters	.....	.....	600
Sleeping Car Conductors	.....	1,200	1,900
Switchmen	8,000	13,900	9,100
Train Dispatchers	.....	.....	3,800
Total, union membership	315,000	640,400	431,600
Percentage organized ¹	27.6	53.2	38.6
Street railways			
Number of employees	155,238	173,691	151,372
Union membership			
Street and Electric Railway Employees	36,700	86,800	87,200
Total, union membership	36,700	86,800	87,200
Percentage organized	23.6	50.0	57.6
Water transportation			
Number of employees ²	159,126	195,158	192,087
Union membership			
Longshoremen	20,800	70,300	33,000
Marine Engineers	10,000	17,000	7,600
Masters, Mates and Pilots	6,000	6,700	3,000
Seamen	16,000	63,900	14,800
Total, union membership	52,800	157,900	58,400
Percentage organized	33.2	80.9	30.4
TOTAL, TRANSPORTATION			
Number of employees ³	2,257,405	2,515,233	3,052,753
Total, union membership	440,300	995,200	674,800
Percentage organized	19.5	39.6	22.1
Communication			
Number of employees	232,788	355,165	452,500

TABLE V—Continued

	1910	1920	1930
Union membership			
Commercial Telegraphers	1,000	2,900	2,200
Railroad Telegraphers	20,000	67,800	32,700
Total, union membership	21,000	70,700	34,900
Percentage organized	9.0	19.5	7.7
D. SERVICE INDUSTRIES			
Clerical service			
Number of employees ¹⁰	1,607,927	2,848,185	3,655,043
Union membership			
Post Office Clerks, National Federation of	1,400	25,000	44,800
Post Office Clerks, United	21,000	29,000	41,000
Railway Mail Association	.....	14,800	19,800
Railway Clerks	5,000	176,000	92,600
Total, union membership	27,400	244,800	198,200
Percentage organized	1.7	8.6	5.4
Commercial service			
Number of employees ¹¹	1,548,680	1,917,965	2,924,272
Union membership			
Retail Clerks	15,000	20,400	9,700
Total, union membership	15,000	20,400	9,700
Percentage organized	1.0	1.1	0.3
Professional service			
Number of employees ¹²	1,653,339	2,689,049	3,079,538
Union membership			
Actors and Artistes	.....	9,000	9,700
Actors Protective Union	1,100	.....	.....
Draftsmen	.....	3,500	1,300
Musicians	40,000	65,000	94,400
Musical and Theatrical Union	2,000	.....	.....
Teachers, American Federation of	.....	8,600	5,200
Vaudeville Artists	.....	10,000	.....
White Rats Actors Union	8,000	.....	.....
Total, union membership	51,000	96,100	110,500
Percentage organized	3.1	4.6	3.6
Domestic and personal service, recreation and amusement			
Number of employees	1,438,783	1,077,852	4,579,123

	1910	1920	1930
Union membership			
Barbers	26,500	42,700	49,600
Building Service Employees	.....	.....	16,200
Food Workers, Amalgamated	.....	.....	7,500
Hotel and Restaurant Employees	37,000	58,300	35,200
Laundry Workers	2,900	6,000	5,500
Theatrical Stage Employees	9,100	19,100	23,200
Total, union membership	75,500	128,100	137,200
Percentage organized	2.2	4.2	3.0
TOTAL, SERVICE INDUSTRIES			
Number of employees	8,248,729	9,933,051	14,237,976
Total, union membership	169,000	489,400	455,600
Percentage organized	2.0	4.9	3.2

¹ The figures for the number of employees on which the calculations in this table are based may be found in the Appendix, Table III. Figures for union membership are from the Appendix, Table I.

² Includes inspectors, foremen, overseers, and other workers in salt wells and works.

³ The percentage of organization in each of the industrial subdivisions of this group cannot be determined because it is impossible to distribute the membership of many unions whose jurisdictional claims cover more than one industry among the appropriate industries.

⁴ Does not include stationary engineers engaged in water transportation who are classified in this table with the other employees in water transportation.

⁵ Does not include the draftsmen's union which is classified in this table with the unions in professional service.

⁶ Includes deliverymen.

⁷ This figure is a decided understatement since the highly organized shop crafts on steam railroads, railway clerks, railway mail clerks, and railroad telegraphers are not included. The two groups of railway clerks are classified under clerical service, the railroad telegraphers under communication, and the shop crafts under manufacturing and mechanical industries.

⁸ Includes boatmen, canalmen and lockkeepers, classified with 'other proprietors, managers, and officials' in the Appendix, Table III, and those stationary engineers who are engaged in water transportation. The latter amounted to 20,213 in 1910, and 23,305 in 1930. On the basis of a straight line interpolation, they are estimated at 21,759 in 1920.

⁹ Includes deliverymen, boatmen, canalmen, lockkeepers, and stationary engineers engaged in water transportation as well as those employees classified under transportation industries in the Appendix, Table III. Includes employees in air transportation in 1930, the only year for which such information is available.

¹⁰ Composed of clerks (except clerks in stores); bookkeepers and cashiers; stenographers and typists, messenger, errand and office boys and girls; and railway mail clerks.

¹¹ Composed of clerks in stores; newsboys; salespeople; laborers, porters and helpers in stores; inspectors, gaugers, and samplers; apprentices in wholesale and retail trade; floorwalkers and foremen in stores; foremen in warehouses, stockyards, etc.; laborers in coal, lumber and stockyards, etc.; and other pursuits in trade.

¹² Includes employees in professional service as well as professional workers.

TABLE VI
SELECTED OCCUPATIONS, EXTENT OF TRADE UNION ORGANIZATION, 1930¹

OCCUPATION	N U M B E R O F		PERCENTAGE OF EMPLOYEES ORGANIZED	
	EMPLOYEES ²	UNION MEMBERS		
Actors and showmen	75,296	9,700	Actors and Artists	12.9
Bakers and bakery workers ³	181,063	19,600	Bakery Workers	10.8
Barbers	261,096 ⁴	49,600	Barbers	19.0
Blacksmiths, forgemen and hammermen ⁵	148,151	4,500		3.0
		3,800	Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers	
		700	Horshoers	
Brick and stone masons and tile layers	170,903	84,400	Bricklayers and Masons	49.4
Carpenters and joiners ⁶	933,564	301,500		32.3
		289,300	Carpenters and Joiners	
		12,200	Lathers	
Compositors, linotypers and typesetters	183,632	72,800	Typographical Union	39.6
Coopers	11,347	700	Coopers	6.2
Electrical workers ⁷	605,437	138,000	Electrical Workers	22.8
Electrotypers and stereotypers	7,824	7,600	Stereotypers and Electrotypers	97.1
Lithographers	8,868	5,400	Lithographers	60.9
Locomotive engineers and firemen	168,297	162,300		96.4
		71,200	Locomotive Engineers	
		91,100	Locomotive Firemen	
Longshoremen and stevedores	73,954	33,000	Longshoremen	44.6
Machinists, millwrights and toolmakers ⁸	774,701	69,300	Machinists	8.9
Mail carriers	121,333	91,400		75.3
		58,800	National Association of Letter Carriers	
		800	National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers	
		39,800	National Association of Rural Letter Carriers	
Metal polishers and buffers	35,206	5,900	Metal Polishers	16.8
Molders, founders and casters	105,158	20,100	Molders	19.1
Painters, decorators and paperhangers ⁹	557,259	104,100	Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers	18.7
Pattern and model makers	29,750	6,700	Pattern Makers	22.5
Plasterers and cement finishers	85,480	36,500	Plasterers and Cement Finishers	42.7
Plumbers and gas and steam fitters ¹⁰	243,751	42,600	Plumbers and Steam Fitters	17.5

Pressmen and plate printers ¹¹	42,143
Railway conductors	73,332
Stationary engineers	256,078
Stationary firemen ¹²	158,504
Teachers (school)	1,044,016
Teamsters and chauffeurs ¹³	1,272,902
Upholsterers	51,452
Waiters and cooks	958,680

36,700	Printing Pressmen and Assistants	87.1
35,500	Plate Printers	
1,200		
50,700	Railway Conductors	69.1
48,000	Dining Car Conductors	
800	Sleeping Car Conductors	
1,900	Operating Engineers	12.5
32,100	Firemen and Oilers	5.1
8,100	American Federation of Teachers	0.5
5,200	Teamsters and Chauffeurs	7.7
97,600	Upholsterers	20.2
10,400		
42,700	Hotel and Restaurant Workers	4.5
35,200	Amalgamated Food Workers	
7,500		

¹ For similar data for 1910 and 1920 see Leo Wolman, *op. cit.*, pp. 156-61.

² See Appendix, Table III.

³ Includes bakers and operatives and laborers in bakeries.

⁴ Males only.

⁵ Includes blacksmiths, forgemen, hammermen and blacksmiths' apprentices.

⁶ Includes carpenters and carpenters' apprentices.

⁷ Includes electricians, electricians' apprentices, telegraph and telephone operators.

⁸ Includes machinists, millwrights, toolmakers, die setters and

sinkers and machinists' apprentices.

⁹ Includes enamelers, lacquerers and japanners, painters in buildings and factories and paperhangers.

¹⁰ Includes plumbers, gas and steam fitters and plumbers' apprentices.

¹¹ Includes pressmen, plate printers, and printers' and bookbinders' apprentices.

¹² Includes firemen and oilers of machinery.

¹³ Includes chauffeurs, truck and tractor drivers, teamsters and haulers in timber camps, draymen, teamsters, carriage drivers and deliverymen.

TABLE VII

MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES, EXTENT OF TRADE UNION ORGANIZATION, 1923-1933¹

	1923	1925	1927	1929	1931	1933
CHEMICALS AND ALLIED PRODUCTS AND PRODUCTS OF PETROLEUM AND COAL						
Number of Wage Earners	384,857	381,178	395,091	428,084	350,516	347,933
Union Membership						
Powder Workers	300	200	200	200	100	100
Total Union Membership	300	200	200	200	100	100
Percentage organized	0.1	.5	.5	.5	.3	.3
CLAY, GLASS AND STONE PRODUCTS						
Number of Wage Earners	351,692	353,036	350,017	328,417	222,856	173,000
Union Membership						
Brick and Clay Workers	4,800	5,000	5,000	5,000	3,300	100
Flint Glass Workers	7,900	5,200	5,100	5,100	4,500	3,600
Glass Bottle Blowers	5,800	5,900	5,900	5,900	5,900	5,900
Granite Cutters	9,300	8,300	8,400	8,300	8,400	5,000
Marble Workers	2,300	3,200	4,800	6,200	7,600	6,200
Operative Potters	9,000	8,100	7,200	6,600	5,400	6,000
Stone Cutters	3,900	4,200	4,600	4,600	3,900	4,700
Window Glass Cutters and Flatteners	700	1,000	600	500	300	200
Window Glass Cutters and Flatteners Protective	400	500	400	300	.....	.....
Window Glass Cutters League	5,000	2,000	2,000	.....	.....	.....
Window Glass Workers, National	1,200	1,200	1,200	700	700	900
Total Union Membership	50,300	44,600	45,200	43,200	40,000	32,600
Percentage organized	14.3	12.6	12.9	13.2	17.9	18.8
CLOTHING, EXCEPT BOOTS AND SHOES						
Number of Wage Earners	537,727	505,468	545,108	579,427	481,524	471,175
Union Membership						
Cloth Hat and Cap Workers	16,400	9,200	10,100	6,200	5,600	6,100
Clothing Workers, Amalgamated	126,300	119,400	123,000	103,000	95,000	110,500
Fur Workers	8,300	11,100	6,700	800	6,900	2,100
Garment Workers, United	46,900	46,800	45,900	46,200	45,200	38,800
Glove Workers	200	300	600	800	500	500
Hatters	11,500	11,500	11,500	11,500	9,300	7,600
Ladies Garment Workers	74,500	75,100	52,100	30,800	44,500	144,300
Tailors	9,700	2,900	6,700	6,500	5,600	6,600
Total Union Membership	293,800	282,300	254,600	205,800	212,600	325,500
Percentage organized	54.6	55.8	47.1	35.5	44.2	69.1
FOOD AND KINDRED PRODUCTS						
Number of Wage Earners	678,980	663,770	663,949	736,261	635,359	666,237

Union Membership						
Bakery Workers	22,100	21,500	21,200	20,000	19,600	15,700
Brewery Workers	15,500	15,900	15,900	14,600	14,200	15,300
Meat Cutters	9,400	11,900	11,700	11,700	11,300	11,100
Total Union Membership	47,200	49,300	48,800	46,300	45,100	42,100
Percentage organized	7.0	7.4	7.3	6.3	7.1	6.3
FOREST PRODUCTS						
Number of Wage Earners	931,816	921,266	862,667	876,383	509,665	454,171
Union Membership						
Carpenters	70,000	70,000	70,000	70,000	65,000	45,000
Coopers	1,600	1,200	1,000	800	700	700
Painters	3,700	4,300	4,500	4,300	3,800	2,300
Upholsterers	7,100	7,400	9,900	10,300	9,900	6,500
Wood Carvers	800	900	1,100	1,200	1,100	800
Total Union Membership	83,200	83,800	86,500	86,600	80,500	55,300
Percentage organized	8.9	9.1	10.0	9.9	15.8	12.2
IRON AND STEEL AND THEIR PRODUCTS, MACHINERY, TRANSPORTATION EQUIPMENT, AND RAILROAD REPAIR SHOPS						
Number of Wage Earners	2,930,125	2,727,446	2,645,505	2,953,662	1,974,580	1,641,949
Union Membership						
Blacksmiths	4,000	3,500	3,500	3,800	4,100	3,800
Boilermakers	16,900	15,100	13,000	14,100	14,500	12,200
Carpenters	23,000	23,000	23,000	23,000	20,000	15,000
Electrical Workers	64,000	64,000	64,000	64,000	64,000	48,000
Foundry Employees	3,900	3,500	3,500	3,500	1,000	500
Horseshoers	2,000	2,000	1,200	900	400	100
Iron, Steel and Tin Workers	11,300	11,200	9,800	8,900	5,800	4,600
Machinists		62,900	57,300	68,000	69,000	69,100
Marine and Shipbuilding Workers	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,200
Molders	35,300	29,700	27,200	24,400	15,400	16,000
Painters	14,800	17,200	18,000	17,300	15,200	9,400
Pattern Makers	7,600	6,500	6,500	6,700	6,700	6,700
Railway Carmen	65,800	36,500	38,400	40,200	35,200	40,300
Sawsmiths	100	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Stove Mounters	1,700	1,600	1,600	1,400	800	600
Wire Weavers	400	400	400	400	400	300
Total union membership	317,800	277,100	267,400	276,600	252,500	227,800
Percentage organized	10.8	10.2	10.1	9.4	12.8	13.9

TABLE VII—Continued

	1923	1925	1927	1929	1931	1933
LEATHER AND ITS MANUFACTURES						
Number of Wage Earners	344,545	314,025	315,991	318,415	272,757	282,000
Union Membership						
Boot and Shoe Workers	38,200	34,500	33,700	31,300	26,400	31,200
Fancy Leather Goods Workers	5,200	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
National Shoe Workers	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	22,000
Shoe Workers Protective	7,200	14,500	11,600	8,000	5,500	20,000
United Leather Workers of America	1,600	1,500	1,400	1,200	500	200
United Leather Workers International	1,900	1,900	900	4,900	4,700	800
Total Union Membership	54,100	52,400	47,600	45,400	37,100	74,200
Percentage organized	15.7	16.7	15.1	14.3	13.6	26.3
MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS, EXCEPT PHONOGRAPHS						
Number of Wage Earners	37,838	35,713	28,769	18,625	10,003	6,106
Union Membership						
Piano and Organ Workers	600	500	500	500	400	300
Total Union Membership	600	500	500	500	400	300
Percentage organized	1.6	1.4	1.7	2.7	4.0	4.9
NONFERROUS METALS AND THEIR PRODUCTS						
Number of Wage Earners	296,911	275,292	270,545	314,741	208,855	188,271
Union Membership						
Diamond Workers	500	400	400	400	300	300
Electrical Workers	5,000	5,000	5,000	5,000	5,000	3,000
Jewelry Workers	2,000	700	500	600	800	800
Metal Engravers	400	100	100	100	500	500
Metal Polishers	6,500	5,800	5,900	5,900	5,500	1,400
Metal Workers Brotherhood	6,000	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Total Union Membership	20,100	12,000	11,900	12,000	12,100	6,000
Percentage organized	6.8	4.4	4.4	3.8	5.8	3.2
PAPER, PRINTING, PUBLISHING AND ALLIED INDUSTRIES						
Number of Wage Earners	527,019	536,766	553,040	591,381	511,350	460,486
Union Membership						
Bookbinders	12,800	13,200	13,500	12,800	13,300	10,100
Friendly Society of Engravers	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	100
Lithographers	5,300	5,100	5,700	5,200	5,100	4,800
Paper Makers	5,700	3,800	2,700	1,900	2,300	2,300
Photo Engravers	6,300	7,100	7,800	8,400	8,600	8,100
Poster Artists	400	400	400	.....	.....	.....
Printing Pressmen	35,700	38,000	38,000	35,500	35,500	32,300
Pulp and Paper Mill Workers	2,800	1,000	2,900	3,000	3,400	4,900

Siderographers	100	100	100	100	100	100
Steel and Copper Plate Engravers	200	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Steel and Copper Plate Printers	1,000	1,000	1,100	1,200	1,200	1,000
Stereotypers and Electrotypers	6,000	6,400	6,900	7,300	7,900	7,900
Typographical Union	63,700	66,200	70,400	73,100	73,000	69,700
Wall Paper Crafts	600	600	600	600	600	500
Total Union Membership	140,600	144,000	150,100	149,100	151,200	142,000
Percentage organized	26.7	26.8	27.1	25.2	29.6	30.8
TEXTILE MILL PRODUCTS						
Number of Wage Earners	1,145,966	1,093,199	1,101,724	1,077,596	871,352	940,856
Union Membership						
Elastic Goring Weavers	100	100	.....	.....	.....	.....
Lace Operatives	1,700	1,500	1,200	1,300	1,100	1,100
Silk Workers	3,500	2,900	2,000	2,000	2,000	.....
Spinners, Mule	2,000	2,000	2,000	2,000	1,000	.....
Textile Workers, United	27,700	29,700	29,900	29,900	29,900	14,900
Total Union Membership	35,000	36,200	35,100	35,200	34,000	16,000
Percentage organized	3.1	3.3	3.2	3.3	3.9	1.7
TOBACCO MANUFACTURES						
Number of Wage Earners	146,337	132,132	129,299	116,119	99,769	87,325
Union Membership						
Cigar Makers	25,900	23,100	18,200	12,600	10,700	9,700
Tobacco Workers	1,900	1,500	1,500	4,300	2,400	4,900
Total Union Membership	27,800	24,600	19,700	16,900	13,100	14,600
Percentage organized	19.0	18.6	15.2	14.6	13.1	16.7
MISCELLANEOUS INDUSTRIES						
Number of Wage Earners	454,778	437,407	464,064	471,862	358,115	336,227
Union Membership						
Broom Makers	600	500	500	500	400	200
Firemen and Oilers	12,500	10,000	8,000	8,600	8,100	8,800
Operating Engineers	26,100	24,000	30,000	31,600	32,700	24,300
Total Union Membership	39,200	34,500	38,500	40,700	41,200	43,300
Percentage organized	8.6	7.9	8.3	8.6	11.5	12.9
ALL MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES						
Number of Wage Earners	8,760,591	8,376,698	8,325,769	8,811,243	6,506,701	6,055,736
Total Union Membership	1,110,000	1,041,500	1,007,300	958,500	919,900	979,800
Percentage organized	12.7	12.4	12.1	10.9	14.1	16.2

TABLE VII—Continued

³ Based on the U. S. Censuses of Manufactures, 1923-33, and the data on the membership of trade unions presented in the Appendix, Table I, from which the Canadian membership in each year has been subtracted. The designation 'manufacturing industries', and that of each subgroup, corresponds to the census classification, with the following exceptions: (1) workers engaged in the roasting and grinding of coffee and spices and in the processing or shelling of peanuts, walnuts, and other nuts have been dropped from the 'food and kindred products' group and from the total in each year in which they were reported in order to retain comparability of the six census years; (2) the motion-picture production industry has been dropped from the 'miscellaneous' group and from the total; (3) wage earners engaged in the manufacture of tobacco products, musical instruments (except phonographs), men's straw hats, dressed furs and fur goods have been deducted from the 'miscellaneous' group

as it is reported in the census but appear in other groups in this table. Workers engaged in the manufacture of miscellaneous articles from purchased fabrics have been shifted to 'miscellaneous' from the 'textile-mill products' group. Wage earners engaged in the manufacture of rubber products are also included under 'miscellaneous'. Otherwise, the 'miscellaneous' group corresponds to the census classification; (4) in separating workers engaged in the manufacture of textile products from those manufacturing clothing, the fur-felt and wool-felt hat manufacturing industries have been shifted from the former group to the latter. It should be noted, further, that 'manufacturing industries' as here constituted includes the maintenance of equipment and stores on railroads. Workers so engaged are included in the group of 'iron and steel and their products, etc.'

³ Less than one tenth of one per cent.

TABLE VIII
COAL MINING, EXTENT OF TRADE UNION ORGANIZATION, 1923-1934

YEAR	NUMBER OF WAGE EARNERS ¹	UNION MEMBERSHIP ²	PERCENTAGE ORGANIZED	YEAR	NUMBER OF WAGE EARNERS ¹	UNION MEMBERSHIP ²	PERCENTAGE ORGANIZED
1923	862,536	492,900	57.1	1929	654,494	245,100	37.4
1924	779,613	459,100	58.9	1930	644,006	205,100	31.8
1925	748,805	414,700	55.4	1931	589,644	284,200	48.2
1926	759,033	361,100	47.6	1932	527,623	342,300	64.9
1927	759,177	372,300	49.0	1933	523,336	321,800	61.5
1928	682,831	309,400	45.3	1934	567,061	513,800	90.6

¹ U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Mines, *Mineral Resources of the United States*, annually, 1923-35. See report for 1925, Part II, p. 429: "Careful study of the returns under diverse conditions indicate the figures reported do not represent the average number of men actually at work at any one moment, nor the aggregate number of men who have worked at the mine during the year, nor the precise average number of men on the payrolls, but rather the number of men commonly dependent on the mines for employment. They represent the number ordinarily reporting for work when the mine starts, plus the absentees—the men who have been work-

ing recently and will work again but who for one reason or another are not on hand that day. The totals for districts and for the United States are, therefore, a fair measure of the total number of coal-mine workers. These statistics are not accurate in all details but they are comparable from year to year and represent the most accurate returns obtainable under present conditions, both as to the records generally available in mine offices and as to the funds allotted to the Bureau of Mines for collecting data."

² Includes the membership in the United States of the United Mine Workers and the Progressive Miners of America.

TABLE IX
STEAM RAILROAD INDUSTRY, EXTENT OF TRADE UNION ORGANIZATION, 1923-1934

	1923	1924	1925	1926	1927	1928
Number of wage earners ¹	1,335,399	1,285,226	1,288,333	1,330,532	1,311,862	1,256,331
Union Membership						
Colored Railway Trainmen	2,500	3,500	3,500	3,500	2,200	1,500
Dining Car Conductors	1,100	1,000	1,000	1,100	1,100	1,000
Locomotive Engineers	81,200	81,800	81,800	81,800	80,100	76,900
Locomotive Firemen	110,200	100,200	99,500	99,400	97,700	96,600
Maintenance of Way Employees	27,700	31,700	31,200	23,100	21,400	21,000
Porters, Brakemen and Switchmen	800	1,000	1,400	1,800	1,600	1,700
Railroad Signalmen	7,400	7,200	8,000	8,800	9,100	9,100
Railroad Station Employees	3,800	3,800	3,700	3,700	3,700	3,700
Railroad Telegraphers	43,800	36,300	31,900	27,600	27,000	27,400
Railroad Trainmen	155,300	164,500	163,400	164,900	167,700	169,100
Railroad Yardmasters of N. A.	.....	.....	300	500	600	600
Railway Clerks	94,100	85,400	87,700	90,900	92,700	94,200
Railway Conductors	54,300	54,700	54,500	53,600	51,500	49,600
Sleeping Car Conductors	2,200	2,200	2,200	2,200	2,200	2,100
Switchmen	8,400	9,200	8,800	8,600	8,800	9,000
Train Dispatchers	3,800	3,800	3,800	3,800	3,800	3,800
Total union membership	596,600	586,300	582,700	575,300	571,200	567,300
Percentage organized	44.7	45.6	45.3	43.3	43.5	45.3
	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934
Number of wage earners ¹	1,265,613	1,135,993	959,495	786,178	741,620	766,274
Union Membership						
Colored Railway Trainmen	1,200	2,000	2,100	2,100	2,000	2,500
Dining Car Conductors	900	800	800	700	700	700
Locomotive Engineers	74,100	71,200	68,500	64,800	59,900	53,700
Locomotive Firemen	99,400	91,100	75,400	64,900	55,700	57,500
Maintenance of Way Employees	15,900	23,700	23,400	29,500	20,800	24,300
Porters, Brakemen and Switchmen	1,700	1,900	700	600	400	400
Railroad Signalmen	11,100	10,200	8,800	6,600	6,600	6,800
Railroad Station Employees	3,600	3,600	2,100	1,900	1,500	1,100
Railroad Telegraphers	32,000	32,700	32,900	33,000	28,000	31,000
Railroad Trainmen	168,400	164,700	167,200	129,100	99,200	104,000
Railroad Yardmasters of N. A.	600	600	500	500	500	500
Railway Clerks	92,400	92,600	71,000	57,700	54,200	54,600
Railway Conductors	48,300	48,800	45,000	39,600	35,200	32,200
Sleeping Car Conductors	2,000	1,900	2,000	1,900	2,000	2,000
Switchmen	9,200	9,100	8,100	7,200	6,300	7,200

Train Dispatchers	3,800	3,800	2,800	2,800	2,200	2,200
Total union membership	564,600	557,000	491,300	442,700	377,800	380,600
Percentage organized	44.6	49.0	51.2	56.3	51.0	49.7

¹ From the Interstate Commerce Commission, Statistics of Railways in the U. S. each year, 1923-34. The total here given excludes: Group I—Executives, Officials and Staff Assistants; Group IV—Maintenance of Equipment and Stores. The latter group is composed of the carmen and other shop crafts. Since it was impossible to separate the union members engaged in the repair and maintenance of railroad equipment from those

engaged in its manufacture, the whole group, both workers and union members, has been thrown into the industry group called 'iron and steel, machinery, transportation equipment, etc.' among the manufacturing industries and may be found there. These workers are classified by the Census of Manufactures under 'railroad repair shops'.

TABLE X
AFFILIATED AND INDEPENDENT AMERICAN TRADE UNIONS,
MEMBERSHIP BY INDUSTRIAL GROUPS, 1897*-1934
 (00's omitted)

	1900	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914	1915	1916
MINING, QUARRYING AND OIL																	
Affiliated	1171	1999	1771	2516	2552	2703	2367	2678	2592	2718	2378	3107	3429	4315	3802	3323	3376
Independent	140	177	196	283	241	263	286	442	305	353	371	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	1311	2176	1967	2799	2793	2966	2653	3120	2897	3071	2749	3107	3429	4315	3802	3323	3376
BUILDING CONSTRUCTION																	
Affiliated	1134	1478	1968	3096	3194	2998	3200	3524	3658	3652	3908	3960	3911	4375	4497	4457	4711
Independent	397	438	666	596	722	729	693	808	788	607	682	828	1180	1158	923	870	818
Total	1531	1916	2634	3692	3916	3727	3893	4332	4446	4259	4590	4788	5091	5533	5420	5327	5529
METALS, MACHINERY AND SHIPBUILDING																	
Affiliated	775	985	1252	1830	1927	1466	1599	1763	1722	1563	1909	2039	1921	2028	2101	2078	2467
Independent	34	53	121	222	206	189	274	360	279	215	54	64	122	161	158	164	204
Total	809	1038	1373	2052	2133	1655	1873	2123	2001	1778	1963	2103	2043	2189	2259	2242	2671
TEXTILES																	
Affiliated	65	60	139	185	141	134	135	145	160	131	131	132	142	196	215	224	289
Independent	15	10	8	7	7	7	8	12	12	13	79	81	84	95	84	0	0
Total	80	70	147	192	148	141	143	157	172	144	210	213	226	291	299	224	289
LEATHER AND SHOES																	
Affiliated	71	126	215	397	406	383	380	377	373	373	376	367	368	371	408	383	418
Independent	25	25	25	25	25	25	25	25	25	25	92	129	192	176	172	145	190
Total	96	151	240	422	431	408	405	402	398	398	468	496	560	547	580	528	608
CLOTHING																	
Affiliated	223	339	589	770	779	627	542	654	733	805	974	1448	1301	1633	1571	1357	1616
Independent	26	38	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	5	5	6	7	380	480
Total	249	377	589	770	779	627	542	654	733	805	978	1453	1306	1639	1578	1737	2096
LUMBER AND WOODWORKING																	
Affiliated	195	241	341	479	516	419	359	270	198	190	180	174	118	129	125	101	100
Independent	61	77	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	100	116	137	122	123	110	80
Total	256	318	341	479	516	419	359	270	198	190	280	290	255	251	248	211	180

APPENDIX TABLE X

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TABLE X
 AFFILIATED AND INDEPENDENT AMERICAN TRADE UNIONS,
 MEMBERSHIP BY INDUSTRIAL GROUPS, 1897*-1934
 (00's omitted)

1917	1918	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934
3734	4332	4191	4386	4697	3866	5296	4932	4394	3856	3967	3334	2708	2298	3092	3218	3196	5441
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	350	350	350
3734	4332	4191	4386	4697	3866	5296	4932	4394	3856	3967	3334	2708	2298	3092	3568	3546	5791
5905	7006	8018	8879	8691	8263	7895	8141	8370	8666	9027	9050	9190	9041	8895	8056	5827	6046
160	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
6065	7006	8018	8879	8691	8263	7895	8141	8370	8666	9027	9050	9190	9041	8895	8056	5827	6046
2872	3702	5768	7984	7213	4988	2511	2183	2048	2018	2037	2049	2114	2028	1906	1733	1784	2108
225	260	407	604	70	70	60	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	12	110
3097	3962	6175	8508	7283	5058	2571	2183	2048	2018	2037	2049	2114	2028	1906	1733	1796	2218
406	494	590	1050	830	301	301	301	301	301	300	300	300	300	300	275	150	387
0	0	8	441	52	68	72	75	64	54	52	53	53	53	41	11	11	11
406	494	598	1491	882	369	373	376	365	355	352	353	353	353	341	286	161	398
428	399	435	584	490	436	419	392	382	386	360	336	374	372	325	180	338	450
300	350	600	545	472	466	140	74	160	163	130	116	92	71	60	107	422	722
728	749	1035	1129	962	902	559	466	542	549	490	452	466	443	385	287	760	1172
1654	1672	1700	1869	1700	1700	1543	1536	1668	1636	1376	1187	1081	1299	1239	1090	2111	4047
570	904	1535	1876	1530	1400	1409	1379	1250	1280	1290	1200	1100	1000	1000	1020	1250	0
2224	2576	3235	3745	3230	3100	2952	2815	2918	2916	2666	2387	2181	2299	2239	2110	3361	4047
113	143	157	244	201	123	106	106	105	114	129	134	132	131	123	83	83	100
70	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
183	143	157	244	201	123	106	106	105	114	129	134	132	131	123	83	83	100

EBB AND FLOW IN TRADE UNIONISM

TABLE X—Continued

	1900	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914	1915	1916
PAPER, PRINTING AND BOOKBINDING																	
Affiliated	458	527	641	795	847	833	830	812	826	832	891	966	1016	1058	1094	1146	1253
Independent	22	26	56	80	75	75	45	45	45	0	6	6	7	8	19	10	8
Total	480	553	697	875	922	908	875	857	871	832	897	972	1023	1066	1113	1156	1261
CHEMICALS, CLAY, GLASS AND STONE																	
Affiliated	226	257	311	313	337	306	402	483	405	410	424	428	436	511	517	493	480
Independent	75	75	80	149	149	207	149	69	147	164	177	166	159	53	61	38	41
Total	301	332	391	462	486	513	551	552	552	574	601	594	595	563	578	531	521
FOOD, LIQUOR AND TOBACCO																	
Affiliated	691	774	930	1223	1356	1041	1032	701	1118	1188	1193	1242	1333	1376	1417	1172	1155
Independent	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	400	0	0	35	38	35	38	34	18	17
Total	691	774	930	1223	1356	1041	1032	1101	1118	1188	1228	1280	1368	1414	1451	1190	1172
TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATION																	
Affiliated	409	556	810	1391	2188	2103	1676	1759	1777	1517	1627	1786	1795	1873	2043	2097	2340
Independent	1484	1604	1768	2002	2249	2360	2539	2842	2925	2863	3178	3345	3508	3701	3574	3663	3893
Total	1893	2160	2578	3393	4437	4463	4215	4601	4702	4380	4805	5131	5303	5573	5617	5760	6233
PUBLIC SERVICE																	
Affiliated	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9	12	13	14	70	90	100	135	160	204
Independent	154	176	190	216	234	245	258	305	375	430	570	591	579	762	779	745	759
Total	154	176	190	216	234	245	258	314	387	443	584	661	669	862	914	905	963
THEATRES AND MUSIC																	
Affiliated	92	122	146	196	281	374	425	446	448	485	502	664	720	788	860	867	871
Independent	0	5	1	1	1	1	1	6	20	40	100	30	50	35	60	0	0
Total	92	127	147	197	282	375	426	452	468	525	602	694	770	823	920	867	871
TRADE																	
Affiliated	200	250	300	500	500	500	500	500	500	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150
Independent	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	200	250	300	500	500	500	500	500	500	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150
HOTEL AND RESTAURANT SERVICE																	
Affiliated	48	103	191	391	494	387	345	363	386	368	370	430	476	539	590	606	590
Independent	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	147	126	0	0
Total	48	103	191	391	494	387	345	363	386	368	370	430	476	686	716	606	590

APPENDIX TABLE X

TABLE X—Continued

1917	1918	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934
1364	1436	1476	1636	1812	1601	1505	1531	1553	1573	1613	1619	1625	1652	1655	1601	1531	1617
8	8	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1372	1444	1480	1640	1816	1605	1509	1535	1557	1577	1617	1619	1625	1652	1655	1601	1531	1617
471	510	482	517	531	497	472	426	398	401	396	381	374	351	331	286	270	467
46	0	0	0	0	0	23	25	27	20	18	7	5	3	3	2	2	0
517	510	482	517	531	497	495	451	425	421	414	388	379	354	334	288	272	467
1183	1373	1678	1809	1457	988	763	760	751	747	700	661	646	618	595	556	577	817
15	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1198	1373	1678	1809	1457	988	763	760	751	747	700	661	646	618	595	556	577	817
2727	3114	4549	6773	6810	5348	4422	4280	4306	3276	3363	4460	4388	4463	4062	3556	3146	3527
4227	4659	5039	5788	5589	5042	4651	4652	4624	5566	5524	4445	4534	4361	4096	3431	2947	2925
6954	7773	9588	12561	12399	10390	9073	8932	8930	8842	8887	8905	8922	8824	8158	6987	6093	6452
600	812	1102	1324	1408	1357	1196	1198	1242	1322	1345	1425	1596	1729	1860	1498	1452	1486
424	240	270	290	310	350	602	652	687	719	780	816	870	912	896	1497	1511	1503
1024	1052	1372	1614	1718	1707	1798	1850	1929	2041	2125	2241	2466	2641	2756	2995	2963	2989
820	873	879	986	1060	1072	1036	1079	1105	1123	1134	1320	1350	1337	1323	1285	1273	1271
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
820	873	879	986	1060	1072	1036	1079	1105	1123	1134	1320	1350	1337	1323	1285	1273	1271
150	150	150	208	212	167	103	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	87	50	58
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
150	150	150	208	212	167	103	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	87	50	58
646	652	608	604	572	465	384	385	385	386	398	385	378	365	328	259	266	474
0	0	0	0	120	140	70	70	70	70	75	75	75	75	55	55	50	55
646	652	608	604	692	605	454	455	455	456	473	460	453	440	383	314	316	529

EBB AND FLOW IN TRADE UNIONISM

TABLE X—Continued

	1900	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914	1915	1916
DOMESTIC AND PERSONAL SERVICE																	
Affiliated	69	137	202	288	301	273	286	272	295	290	294	311	325	344	371	382	402
Independent	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	69	137	202	288	301	273	286	272	295	290	294	311	325	344	371	382	402
PROFESSIONAL SERVICE																	
Affiliated	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Independent	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
MISCELLANEOUS																	
Affiliated	425	589	842	1188	999	1432	613	667	1050	554	545	598	645	724	715	688	815
Independent	0	0	0	0	0	143	104	67	132	107	91	163	290	193	140	0	0
Total	425	589	842	1188	999	1575	717	734	1182	661	636	761	935	917	855	688	815
TOTAL AFFILIATED																	
	6252	8543	10648	15558	16818	15979	14691	15423	16253	15239	15866	17872	18176	20509	20611	19683	21237
TOTAL INDEPENDENT																	
	2433	2704	3111	3581	3909	4244	4382	5381	5053	4817	5539	5562	6348	6654	6260	6143	6490
GRAND TOTAL																	
	8685	11247	13759	19139	20727	20223	19073	20804	21306	20056	21405	23434	24524	27163	26871	25826	27727

* The membership in affiliated and independent American trade unions, by industrial groups, in 1897, 1898 and 1899 was as follows:

	1897	1898	1899		1897	1898	1899
	(00's omitted)						
MINING, QUARRYING AND OIL							
Affiliated		129	340	629	LEATHER AND SHOES		
Independent		80	100	120	Affiliated	126	98
Total		209	440	749	Independent	26	26
BUILDING CONSTRUCTION					Total	152	124
Affiliated		405	436	661	CLOTHING		
Independent		268	302	307	Affiliated	146	151
Total		673	738	968	Independent	0	0
METALS, MACHINERY AND SHIPBUILDING					Total	146	151
Affiliated		467	450	576	LUMBER AND WOODWORKING		
Independent		34	12	13	Affiliated	48	84
Total		501	462	589	Independent	7	33
TEXTILES					Total	55	117
Affiliated		56	55	49	PAPER, PRINTING AND BOOKBINDING		
Independent		25	30	20	Affiliated	332	375
Total		81	85	69	Independent	47	16
					Total	379	391
					CHEMICALS, CLAY, GLASS AND STONE		
					Affiliated	128	138
					Independent	105	113
					Total	233	251

APPENDIX TABLE X

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TABLE X—Continued

1917	1918	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934
444	439	419	509	548	611	565	570	597	629	662	658	669	729	696	634	550	638
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
444	439	419	509	548	611	565	570	597	629	662	658	669	729	696	634	550	638
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	110
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	110
1052	1145	1187	1568	1434	951	672	610	603	614	685	687	672	640	600	573	571	1366
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1052	1145	1187	1568	1434	951	672	610	603	614	685	687	672	640	600	573	571	1366
24569	28252	33389	40930	39666	32734	29189	28530	28308	27148	27592	28086	27697	27453	27430	24970	23175	30300
6045	6421	7863	9548	8147	7540	7031	6831	6886	7876	7873	6712	6729	6475	6151	6473	6555	5786
30614	34673	41252	50478	47813	40274	36220	35361	35194	35024	35465	34798	34426	33928	33581	31443	29730	36086
						1897	1898	1899							1897	1898	1899
FOOD LIQUOR AND TOBACCO									HOTEL AND RESTAURANT SERVICE								
Affiliated						455	464	511	Affiliated						15	25	20
Independent						0	0	0	Independent						0	0	0
Total						455	464	511	Total						15	25	20
TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATION									DOMESTIC AND PERSONAL SERVICE								
Affiliated						118	150	297	Affiliated						22	30	40
Independent						1046	1148	1278	Independent						0	0	0
Total						1164	1298	1575	Total						22	30	40
PUBLIC SERVICE									PROFESSIONAL SERVICE								
Affiliated						0	0	0	Affiliated						0	0	0
Independent						111	112	113	Independent						0	0	0
Total						111	112	113	Total						0	0	0
THEATRES AND MUSIC									MISCELLANEOUS								
Affiliated						66	83	90	Affiliated						170	179	215
Independent						0	0	0	Independent						0	0	0
Total						66	83	90	Total						170	179	215
TRADE									TOTAL								
Affiliated						38	57	84	Affiliated						2721	3115	4098
Independent						0	0	0	Independent						1749	1892	2012
Total						38	57	84	GRAND TOTAL						4470	5007	6110

TABLE XI
AVERAGE MEMBERSHIP OF TRADE UNIONS AFFILIATED WITH THE AMERICAN
FEDERATION OF LABOR AND OF INDEPENDENT UNIONS, BY GROUPS
1934 AND 1935¹

GROUP OF UNIONS	MEMBERSHIP OF AFFILIATED UNIONS			MEMBERSHIP OF INDEPENDENT UNIONS		
	1934	1935	CHANGES 1934-35	1934	1935	CHANGES 1934-35
Mining, quarrying and oil	544,100	567,300	+ 23,200	35,000	35,000	000
Building construction	604,600	627,200	+ 22,600	000	000	000
Metals, machinery and shipbuilding	210,800	222,400	+ 11,600	11,000	14,200	+ 3,200
Textiles	38,700	79,200	+ 40,500	1,100	1,100	000
Leather and shoes	45,000	47,700	+ 2,700	72,200	58,800	-13,400
Clothing	404,700	427,500	+ 22,800	000	000	000
Lumber and woodworking	10,000	10,200	+ 200	000	000	000
Paper, printing and bookbinding	161,700	161,700	000	000	000	000
Chemicals, clay, glass and stone	46,700	49,700	+ 3,000	000	000	000
Food, liquor and tobacco	81,700	102,200	+ 20,500	000	000	000
Transportation and communication	352,700	426,900	+ 74,200	292,500	299,200	+ 6,700
Public service	148,600	161,700	+ 13,100	150,300	151,200	+ 900
Theatre and music	127,100	128,300	+ 1,200	000	000	000
Trade	5,800	7,200	+ 1,400	000	000	000
Hotel and restaurant service	67,400	67,900	+ 500	5,500	000 ²	- 5,500 ²
Domestic and personal service	63,800	65,000	+ 2,000	000	000	000
Professional service	900	000	000	11,000	12,000	+ 1,000
Miscellaneous	136,600	164,200	+ 27,600	000	000	000
TOTAL	3,630,000	3,317,100	+ 287,100	578,600	571,500	-7,100

¹ All figures for 1935 are preliminary.

² The Amalgamated Food Workers was dissolved in March 1935.

TABLE XII

MEMBERSHIP OF TRADE UNIONS IN SELECTED COUNTRIES, 1914, 1920-1934

COUNTRY	1914 ¹	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934
	(in thousands)															
Australia ²	523.3	684.5	703.0	703.0	699.7	729.2	795.7	851.5	911.7	911.5	901.2	855.8	769.0	740.8	739.4	....
Austria ³	147.0	965.3	1158.5	1128.1	976.1	908.2	884.7	832.5	862.2	877.9	857.4	780.4	705.3	634.7	537.2	261.1
Belgium ⁴	203.0	....	885.0	780.9	764.5	750.7	727.0	696.7	685.7	....	709.4	748.0	804.5	....	....	....
Canada ⁵	134.3	373.8	313.3	276.6	278.1	260.6	271.1	274.6	290.3	300.6	319.5	322.4	310.5	283.6	286.2	281.8
France ⁶	1026.0	1581.0	....	1768.5	1809.0	1805.0	1846.0	1181.0	....	....	....	1237.0	....	....	....	....
Germany ⁷	2166.8	9192.9	8779.0	12530.0	13309.0	5371.0	6604.4	6291.9	6960.9	7561.3	7071.0	7670.5	....	....	....	....
Great Britain ⁸	4143.0	8346.0	6631.0	5624.0	5428.0	5543.0	5505.0	5219.0	4918.0	4806.0	4857.0	4841.0	4623.0	4440.0	4387.0	4567.0
Italy ⁹	962.0	3587.0	2257.0	1455.3	1514.6	2381.0	2530.5	2411.5	....	2921.8	3093.0	3561.0	3732.9	4033.0	4475.3	4698.0
Japan ¹⁰	....	....	103.4	137.4	125.6	228.3	254.3	284.7	309.5	308.9	331.0	354.3	369.0	377.6	....	....
New Zealand ¹¹	74.0	96.4	97.7	96.8	94.4	96.8	100.5	99.6	101.1	104.0	102.6	101.5	90.5	79.3	71.9	....
Russia ¹²	....	5220.0	7913.6	4546.3	5550.9	6430.5	7847.0	8768.2	10441.0	10584.0	11220.0	12066.0	13554.0	16500.0	....	....
Spain ¹³	....	211.3	....	208.2	210.6	210.9	217.4	219.4	223.3	320.3	258.2	287.3	958.5	1041.6	....	....
United States	2687.1	5047.8	4781.3	4027.4	3622.0	3536.1	3519.4	3502.4	3546.5	3479.8	3442.6	3392.8	3358.1	3144.3	2973.0	3608.6

¹ Leo Wolman, *Growth of American Trade Unions, 1880-1923*, pp. 65, 124.

² *Official Year Book of the Commonwealth of Australia*, annually.

³ Compiled from information received from the American Consulate in Vienna.

⁴ *International Labour Review*, Vol. 16, No. 3, for 1921-25; *Reports of the Trade Union Commission of Belgium for 1926-27 and 1929*; *Yearbooks of the International Labour Office for 1930-31*.

⁵ Department of Labour of Canada, *Labour Organisation in Canada*, annually.

⁶ *Annuaire Statistique*, Vol. 48, p. 258.

⁷ *Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich*, annually, for

1920-21 and 1924-30; *Reichsarbeitsblatt*, Nichtamtl. Teil, January 1924, pp. 20-22, for 1922-23.

⁸ *Ministry of Labour Gazette*, October 1935, p. 373; includes Northern Ireland.

⁹ Compiled from data contained in a letter from the Italian Consulate in New York.

¹⁰ International Labour Office, *Studies and Reports*, Series A, No. 37, p. 116, for 1921-29; U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Monthly Labor Review*, October 1933, p. 892, for 1930-32.

¹¹ *New Zealand Official Year Book*, annually.

¹² *International Labour Review*, Vol. 16, No. 3, for 1920-26; *Bulletins* issued by the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs for 1927-32.

¹³ *Estadístico de España*, annually.

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